Governors Messages and Letters

MESSAGES AND LETTERS
OF
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

VOL. I

1800-1811

EDITED BY
LOGAN ESAREY

PUBLISHED BY THE
INDIANA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
INDIANAPOLIS
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INDIANA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

GOVERNORS MESSAGES AND LETTERS

VOLUME I

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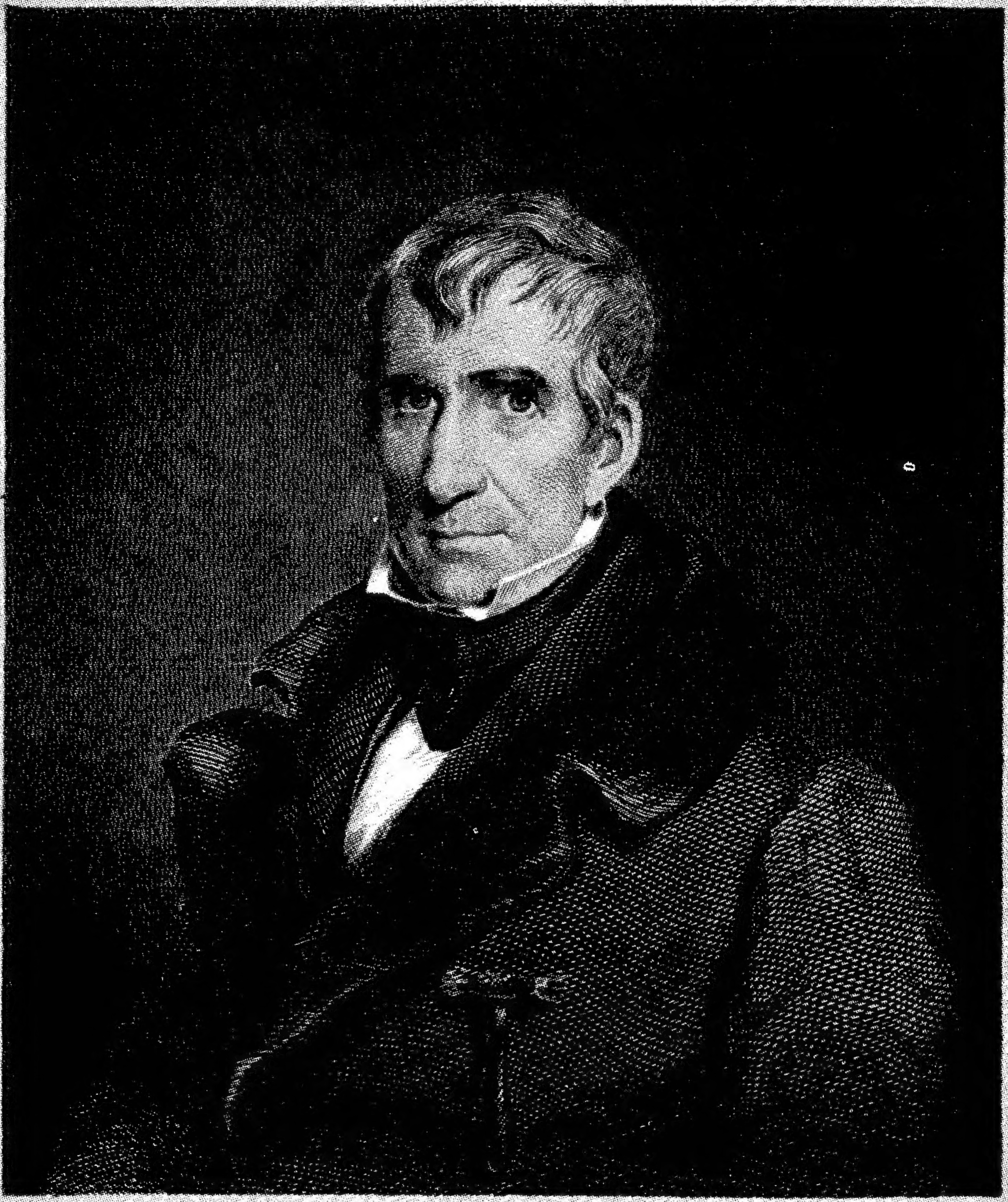

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MAJOR GEN^{L}. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

W. H. Harrison

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"William Henry Harrison was clothed with power more nearly imperial than any ever exercised by one man in the Republic. He was authorized to adopt and publish such laws, civil and criminal, as were best adapted to the condition of the Territory; he could arbitrarily create townships and counties, and appoint civil officers, and militia officers under the grade of general. Most extaordinary of all, however, to him belonged the confirmation of an important class of land grants. In this regard his authority was absolute. Other approval or countersign was not required. The application was to him originally; his signature was the perfect evidence of title. When one thinks of the temptations to which he was subjected, and of the fortune he might have amassed, the fact that he issued from the trial poor, and without a taint upon his honor, must be regarded as creditable to him in the highest degree."

LEW WALLACE

INTRODUCTION

In issuing this volume, the Indiana Historical Commission is undertaking a series of publications that long since should have been made available to the readers of Indiana history, and the history of the Old Northwest Territory. In the "Messages and Papers of Indiana Governors" is to be found much of the material that is fundamentally essential to a proper understanding of Indiana history. In fact, the real background for the early history of the Old Northwest Territory is found in the messages, proclamations and letters penned by William Henry Harrison during the years 1800 to 1816.

The Historical Commission is indebted to Dr. Logan Esarey of Indiana University, for the thorough and exhaustive search he has made in collecting these Messages and Papers. For six years he has been devoting much of his time to this work. A diligent search has been made in the different libraries and private historical collections of the United States. No effort has been spared to obtain copies of Governor Harrison's messages and letters, regardless as to where they were found. By reason of his intimate knowledge of Indiana history and Western history, Dr. Esarey is peculiarly qualified to select and edit these valuable documents, so necessary to a study of early Indiana history.

This is the first of a series of volumes containing the Messages and Papers of Indiana Governors which the Indiana Historical Commission expects to issue within the next few years. The material for the second volume will soon be ready, and will immediately follow this one. The remaining volumes will contain the messages and papers of later Indiana governors, and will appear within the next few years.

State House,
Indianapolis
April 26, 1922

JOHN W. OLIVER, Director
Indiana Historical Commission

PREFACE

In offering this collection of Harrison papers the editor is entirely conscious of its meagerness. No doubt the best collection of historical material for the time and place covered was destroyed when the home of General Harrison at North Bend burned July 25, 1858. Harrison carried on an extensive correspondence. No man in the west had so wide a circle of friends. Like Washington and Jefferson he kept copies of his letters. His reputation has been so warped by the exigencies of party politics that one is apt to forget that he met Henry Clay, Governor Shelby, Governor Meigs, Jackson and the best men of the west on easy and equal terms. He came of a proud house and was well educated. In his correspondence there is no suspicion of fawning or flattery—the certain evidences of little men. His own reputation, however, does not concern this volume further than to state that he was a keen observer and was rarely deceived by men or events.

The letters and papers here presented have been gathered from all available sources: The departments at Washington, Library of Congress, Kentucky State Library, Mercantile and Public libraries of Cincinnati, Mercantile Library of St. Louis, Burton Collection in the Public Library of Detroit, the Indiana and Wisconsin State libraries, from The Burton Historical Collection, *Niles' Register;* Dawson, *A Historical Narrative,* etc.; McAfee, *History of the Late War in the Western Country;* Andreas, *History of Cook County* (Chicago), *Annals of Congress* and various other publications. It may be observed in this connection that Dawson and McAfee wrote with the original documents before them, while Niles was compelled to use the censored copies furnished by the government. In no case have I found a material variation from the original in Dawson or McAfee. Moses Dawson was an editor in Cincinnati and the warm personal friend of Harrison. George McAfee was a captain under Richard M. Johnson and thus served under Harrison.

It will not be possible to name all the persons who have aided us in the collecting but mention must be made of Mr. H. V. McChesney of Frankfort, Ky., who has furnished copies of the Shelby letters; Miss Belle Hamlin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio; Miss Caroline Blanton of the

Mercantile Library of Cincinnati; Miss Hazel Burnett and Mrs. Fannie G. Hendryx of Cincinnati; Joseph Schafer of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; C. M. Burton of Detroit, Mich.; Hetta M. Drumm of the Missouri Historical Society; the librarian of Chicago University; Mrs. Fannie Scott Rumely of Laporte, for the papers of William Polke; Miss Cory Curry of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Rose Schultheiss of the D. A. R., Vincennes, Ind.; B. J. Griswold of Fort Wayne; Miss Esther McNitt and her associates of the Indiana State Library, and perhaps a score of others.

In selecting the documents the editor has included everything that would throw light on the administration of Governor Harrison in some cases only to show their worthlessness. Professional historians will know and other readers should bear in mind that these are Harrison papers and in the decision of his many controversies opposing evidence must be sought elsewhere.

Many of these documents have been printed elsewhere. The most authentic text has been published and reference has been made to that alone. Many interesting variations have been discovered. Tracing these variations to their probable sources has been an interesting and valuable experience to the members of my seminary class—Lessie Lanham, Mary Fletcher, Frances Fields, Arthur Miller, and Gerald Scudder, who have read the letters with me and assisted in their verification. Finally recognition should be given to Mary Short, Myra Esarey of Bloomington, and Marguerite Lewis and Maude Venn of the Indiana State Library for copying the original letters. Those who have not experienced the thrill of deciphering old letters may not appreciate its difficulties.

LOGAN ESAREY, Editor

Indiana University, April 28, 1922

HARRISON CHRONOLOGY

William Henry Harrison was born February 9, 1773, at Berkely Manor, on the banks of the James river, twenty-five miles from Richmond, Virginia. One of his direct ancestors was a general under Cromwell, his father, Benjamin Harrison, represented Virginia in the Continental Congress, 1774 to 1776; was presiding officer of that body when the Declaration of Independence was agreed to in committee of the whole, and signed it after it was engrossed; he was speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates from 1777 to 1782 and governor of Virginia from 1782 to 1784. William Henry Harrison received a good education at Hampden-Sidney college, 1787 to 1790, after which he entered a medical school in Philadelphia, but discontinued his course in 1791 upon the death of his father. October 31, 1791, he secured an appointment as ensign in the First U. S. regulars, then stationed at Cincinnati. February 22, 1793, he became lieutenant and from 1792 to 1794 he served as aide-de-camp to Gen. Anthony Wayne in his campaign against the Miami confederacy. July 10, 1797, he was made captain, with which rank he resigned from the army June 1, 1798. These appointments bear date as follows: ensign, 1st Reg., Aug. 16, 1791; lieutenant, June 2, 1792; captain, May 15, 1797; brigadier-general, Aug. 22, 1812; major-general, March 2, 1813. The dates in the text refer to the confirmations by the senate.

Captain Harrison was appointed secretary of the Northwest Territory June 26, 1798, and held this position till October 3, 1799, when he was elected delegate from the territory to congress. In 1800 he gave up the office to accept the governorship of Indiana territory to which he was appointed May 12, 1800, and which he held until March 3, 1813, although not acting-governor after September, 1812. In the meantime he had been commander of the territorial militia in the campaign against Tecumseh's Confederacy in 1811 and in August, 1812, was appointed by the governor of Kentucky to the command of the militia of that state for the War of 1812. At the same time (August 22, 1812), though not confirmed till Dec. 3, 1812, he was made a brigadier-general, major-general Feb. 27, 1813, in the U. S. regular army. In September, 1812, he took command of the Northwestern army of the United States. His military reputation, which began with his campaign under General Wayne, was heightened by his victory over the Prophet at Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, and culminated with his defeat of the British and Indians at the Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813. From 1814 to 1816 he was busy carrying on negotiations with the Indians of the Old Northwest. From 1816 to 1819 he was representative in congress from Ohio; from 1819 to 1821 he sat in the Ohio State senate; from 1825 to 1828 he was a United States senator from that state. Excepting a short service as minister to Columbia he lived quietly on his farm at North Bend, Ohio, from 1828 to 1835, when he was put forward by his Whig friends as a presidential candidate against Martin Van Buren. He was defeated in 1836, but was elected in 1840, after the most spectacular political campaign ever waged in the United States. He died in Washington, April 4, 1841, just one month after his inauguration.

His appointments as governor of Indiana are dated May 12, 1800, December 15, 1806, and December 19, 1809. His commission bears date of January 16, following. His commission as brigadier-general dates from August 22, 1812; major-general, February 27, 1813. At the latter date, he ceased to be governor of Indiana territory.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Gen. Harrison's home life was as pleasant as can be imagined. He married the woman he loved, and their mutual affection continued throughout life. They were blessed with ten children. The youngest, a son, died in infancy. The others lived to maturity, and all married and had families. The first few years of Gen. and Mrs. Harrison's married life were spent within the fort of which he was in command. He was a captain of infantry at the time of their marriage. Their first child, a daughter, was born in the fort. Capt. Harrison had received his commission of ensign (a rank long ago abolished—which is now that of second lieutenant) from Gen. Washington himself, to whom he had applied directly. He was sent out to Fort Washington in southern Ohio situated upon the site now and for many years occupied by a portion of lower Cincinnati.

It was high above the Ohio river, but not far away from it. Mrs. Harrison was Anna Symmes, the youngest daughter of Hon. John Cleves Symmes, who was known as the Miami Purchaser from the fact that he had bought of the government all the land between the Big and Little Miami rivers, in southwestern Ohio, comprising a million acres, though he relinquished much of the original part and paid for only about 250,000 acres. He was a special federal judge, with jurisdiction from Pittsburg to Cincinnati. His oldest daughter, Maria, had married Major Peyton Short of Lexington, Kentucky, and after finishing her education in New York City the younger daughter, Anna, came west and met her future husband at the home of her sister, Mrs. Short. Judge Symmes was not pleased with Capt. Harrison's request to marry his daughter Anna. He feared he had not sufficient means to support her in the manner she had been accustomed to, as his daughter. But upon finding that their attachment was genuine and his would-be son-in-law was a man of sterling character, he withdrew his objections, though was not altogether well pleased with the match. She was married at the Judge's own home, near the little village of Cleves, in the presence of her sister, Mrs. Short, and her step-mother, who had been married but a short time (she was the sister of Brockholst Livingston of New York City). Judge Symmes purposely absented himself from the wedding, but afterwards gave the pair his blessing, and was ever thereafter an admirer of his new son-in-law.

After Capt. Harrison left the army they removed to North Bend to a beautiful farm on the banks of the Ohio river—fifteen miles below Cincinnati—where he built a hewed log house of three or four rooms, with an outside kitchen. There they lived until he was appointed to the position of governor of Indiana territory, when they removed to Vincennes and resided there during the time of his incumbency as governor of Indiana territory. Gen. Harrison built a fine and comfortable brick house in Vincennes, which remains today and is the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

When the War of 1812 broke out Gen. Harrison took his family to Cincinnati to live while he was at the front. Their home was on Broadway just below Fourth street in the then best residence district of the city—indeed, it has never lost its prestige as a fine part of town—the house was a stone front city dwelling opening on to the street. During their long absence from their North Bend home it was in care of a reliable farmer and under the oversight of Judge Symmes. Upon the retirement of Gen. Harrison from the army after war closed, they again removed to North Bend. Not however until a large and commodious mansion had been built taking in and making a part the log house (enclosing the latter). The larger house was a frame structure, consisting of a two-roomed main building with rooms on each side of a wide central hall—and an ell running back some distance in the rear. There were two wings at each end of the main buildings, a low one-storied apartment directly attached to the main building, and at the ends of these were higher ones of a story and a half with gables to the front. There was therefore an immense frontage, which had three front doors, one entering the middle hall, and one in each one-storied wing. The central front door was of the colonial type with transom and narrow side windows of leaded glass. The other doors had only transoms above them. Large native stones were used at each entrance, instead of the conventional steps, which were not only more in keeping with this plain colonial house, but decidedly more artistic, in the estimate of modern constructors.

Surrounding the house on the front or southern side and on the western side was a beautifully kept velvety lawn of six acres through which a stream of clear water from a spring in the hill at the back of the grounds wound its way, and in the formation of the ground widened at two places into ponds or miniature lakes. The lawn was enclosed originally by a rail fence, but in time gave way to a good modern fence. There were large locust and catalpa trees up one side of the driveway and about the house. At the rear of the house a formal garden was laid out when first they moved to North Bend and in which both fruits and flowers were lavishly planted. As time went on this garden became one of the loveliest of the old-fashioned gardens. Its wide tan-barked walks, some of which were covered with grape arbors, and the regularly laid out grass-bordered beds with lilac bushes at the four corners, and with roses and other flowering shrubs—besides the rows of gay hollyhocks, it was indeed a rare old garden, and much-talked-of even to this day by those who were visitors at North Bend. On the east side of the house were grass covered knolls and a deep valley leading down to "Indian creek"—a rocky stream in those days that went tumbling along from its source among the higher hills, but now almost nil by the cutting down of the woods.

The interior of the house was furnished comfortably without display or pretension, though there was enough of rich mahogany and cherry to give it the appearance of a cultured and refined home. There were fine oil portraits, some of which were painted by the best artists of the times, and other pictures and home furnishings that had been in the Harrison and Symmes families for generations. Books were abundant and with the wide, open fireplaces in each room with brass andirons and fenders, an air of delightful comfort was everywhere visible. Chintz hangings in winter and cool white dimities at the windows in summer, high four-posted bedsteads in the large airy bedrooms—many of which were carpeted with rag carpets from the country looms about, are well remembered attractions. An orchard covering many acres extending from the river up over the hills was planted in the log-cabin days at North Bend and many of the trees, though gradually diminished in number by the building of the White Water canal and railroads in later years, were still bearing up to within a very few years.

The North Bend mansion was renowned for its hospitality. Not only did relatives come from near and far, some of them bringing horses and servants with them to make long visits, but friends and people from all over the country were often entertained. There were plenty of servants, some of whom had been slaves at the home of General Harrison's father in Virginia, and others were of the tenant families upon the estate. Most of the visitors were people of refinement, among them many of the most prominent people of the country—Webster, Clay and many others, but there were many others welcomed of the plainer sort—though genteel and refined. Others, however, came who were not invited but ushered themselves along with the characteristic presumption so well recognized in a class that ought to know better, curiosity and lack of good manners sometimes causing them to ask all sorts of questions relating to General Harrison's own affairs and his family. Sometimes these same people went away and told untruths about the family and the home, probably from not being satisfied in their prying inquiries.

Another sort of visitor that was extremely annoying was the politician who desired to promote their candidate and get votes for him by declaring that the man was only a common, uneducated man, his home only a log cabin, so poor that he ought to have the office, and every "working man" should therefore vote for him. Strange to say even men of intelligence occasionally made similar statements for political effect, when they actually knew it was contrary to the truth. General Harrison was often annoyed and sometimes amused by efforts of this kind. He was so honest himself that he could not endure any attempt to misrepresent his claims for office. He was often declared to be a man of no education in speeches made by irresponsible speakers, and that he lived in a log cabin and drank hard cider. That hard cider boom was a misnomer. It was never offered at North Bend, though sweet cider was plentifully served. Pictures of a single room log cabin with a coonskin tacked on the outside and a hard cider barrel at the door were frequent boomers for votes, but all of them were without foundation as far as the candidate was concerned. It however made no difference to the wily political stump speaker, it had been decreed and the wild tales went on, much to the distaste of Harrison and his family, and his more refined supporters.

FANNIE G. HENDRYX

[*Granddaughter of General Harrison*]

Clifton, Cincinnati, April 28, 1922

ST. CLAIR TO HARRISON

February 17, 1800

Cincinnati *Western Spy, May 28, 1800*

A division of the territory[1] is a subject on which I have thought a great deal and have fervently wished and you well know that from the enormous extent of it at present, it is almost impossible to keep even the executive part of the government in order. The great and growing importance of this country seems never to have been attended to. In truth, there were few persons who knew much about it and the concerns of the state they represented together with the great interest of the Union kept it in a great measure out of sight. We may now hope that more attention will be paid to it and it is with great pleasure that I have seen that you have been appointed the chairman of a committee for taking its concerns into consideration.

How much, soever, a division is to be wished, there are difficulties in the way—the increase of expense will form one; but it is an ill calculation to put a little money on the scale against the welfare and happiness of a multitude of people. To render the territory manageable, it would require to be divided into three districts; and there it may be thought that the ordinance [1787] stands in the way that has provided for a division into two only and it is a general supposition that the ordinance cannot be altered but by common consent. This I think a mistake. There is indeed a part of it where the fundamental principles of the states which may hereafter be erected or laid, that is declared to be a compact, not to be changed but by common consent; but every other part of it is a matter in the power of congress to alter or repeal as a law, which may have passed yesterday.

Suppose these difficulties got over, how are the districts to be bounded? The object of such, is that the eastern district should extend from the line of Pennsylvania to the great Miami—the middle district to comprehend the country between the Great Miami and the Wabash and the western district, the country between that and the Mississippi. On that proposition, I would observe that the eastern division would be still too large and in the middle one, there would be very few people and that the Indian title to a great part of it, is not extinguished. The manner that strikes me as most eligible is that the Scioto and a line drawn north from the forks of it, should form the western boundary of the eastern district —a line drawn north from that part of the Indian boundary opposite the mouth of the Kentucky the western boundary of the middle division and the western division to comprehend all the country between that line and the Mississippi. The material advantages would in this manner remain to every part—Marietta would most probably be the seat of the government in the eastern district and sufficiently convenient to every part of it. Cincinnati would continue to be with equal convenience the seat of the middle district and St. Vincennes in the western, not indeed equally convenient, but more so than any other place that could be chosen.

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[1] The Northwest territory was divided by act of congress, May 3, 1800, which organized that part west of the mouth of the Big Miami river into Indiana territory. *U. S. Statutes at Large, Sixth Congress, Sec. I, Ch. 41*

There are many other advantages which would flow from this measure which I will not trouble you with; I will only observe that almost any division into two parts which could be made would ruin Cincinnati.

HARRISON TO HIS CONSTITUENTS[1]

Phila, Pa. 14th May, 1800

Western Spy, June 11, 1800

DEAR SIR:

The ardent desire I feel to visit again my native state, from which I have been upwards of seven years absent, and the whole of that time engaged in public service in the western country, will I feel, put it out of my power to return to the territory until after the ensuing session of congress. I have therefore thought proper to make this circular communication that my fellow-citizens may be in some measure informed on the subject acted upon by the national legislature at their late session; but particularly on those which relate more immediately to their own interests.

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[1] Harrison finished his first session as delegate from the Northwest territory, May 14, 1800. He intended to spend the recess till November in visiting his old home in Virginia. For political reasons and in line with the general custom he sent the following circular to the newspapers of his district. While not strictly within the field of these papers it forms a good introduction to the subject and the man, especially the reference to the division of the Northwest territory and the organization of Indiana territory.

Amongst the variety of objects which engage my attention, as peculiarly interesting to our territory, none appeared to me of so much importance as the adoption of a system for the sale of public lands, which would give more favorable terms to that class of purchasers who are likely to become actual settlers, than was offered by the existing laws upon that subject: conformably to this idea I procured the passage of a resolution at an early period of the session for the appointment of a committee to take the matter into consideration. And shortly after I reported a bill containing terms for the purchasers as favorable as could have been expected. This bill was adopted by the House of Representatives without any material alteration; but in the Senate, amendments were introduced obliging the purchaser to pay interest on that part of the money for which a credit was given, from the date of the purchase and directed that one half the land (instead of the whole as was provided by the bill from the House of Representatives) should be sold in half sections of 320 acres and the other half in whole sections of 640 acres. All my exertions, aided by some of the ablest members of the lower house at a conference for that purpose, were not sufficient to induce the Senate to recede from their amendments; but upon the whole, there is cause of congratulation to my fellow-citizens, that terms as favorable as the bill still contains have been procured. This law promises to be the foundation of a great increase of population and wealth to our country; for although the minimum price of land is still fixed at two dollars per acre, the time for making payments has been so extended as to put it in the power of every industrious man to comply with them, it being only necessary to pay one-fourth part of the money on hand and the balance at the end of two, three and four years; besides this odious circumstance of forfeiture, which was made the penalty of failing in the payments, of the old law, is entirely abolished and the purchaser is allowed one year after the last payment is due to collect the money, if the land is not then paid for, it is sold and after the public have been reimbursed, the balance of the money is returned to the purchaser. Four land offices are directed to be opened—one at Cincinnati, one at Chilicotha, one at Marietta and one at Steubenville, for the sale of lands in the neighborhood of those places. In a communication of this kind it is impossible to detail all the provisions of the law; I have, however, sent a copy of it to the printers at Cincinnati, with a request that they would publish it several weeks.

A law supplementary to the act appropriating land for the satisfying of the United States military warrants has been enacted, warrants have been located, the patents issued and many persons, who are holders of those lands, are preparing to make settlement on them the ensuing summer.

Petitions and letters from various parts of the territory, having been forwarded to me, expressed a desire that the territory should be divided into two great governments and as my opinion of the policy of the measure strongly coincided with them, a bill was passed by the House of Representatives on my motion for this purpose; and that line which is declared by the ordinance of congress [1787] for the government of the territory, the line of division between the eastern and middle states was to have formed the division between the opposite districts; this bill also received very material alteration in the Senate, which alterations were finally adopted by the House of Representatives and the bill passed into a law. The division line by this law, runs from the mouth of the Kentucky River to Ft. Recovery and from thence north till it intersects the northern boundary of the United States, running through the lakes. The western division is called "the Indiana Territory" and the other district is to retain the appellation of territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio and is to remain in every respect in *statu quo*. The most objectionable part of the bill is that it fixed the seat of government for the eastern division; and it was opposed by me on the grounds of its being a violation of the ordinance for the government of the territory, which gives the sole and exclusive right of legislature to the general assembly of the territory, but in the cases, where it is expressly withheld.[2]

However, as the seat of the government is fixed at Chillicothe which is certainly the most central and eligible situation and as the continuance of the legislature at Cincinnati for the short time that the territory will remain under its present dependent form of government can be of very little moment to the citizens of that place and none to the neighboring country; we have nothing to regret upon the subject, but the fear that

[2] For this statute see *Annals*, 6th congress, 1798

the interference of Congress in a matter over which, in my opinion, they had no cognizance may establish a precedent of control over our legislature which may be productive of future evil. But the unanimous disapprobation of the principle expressed by the House of Representatives in their rejecting the amendment of the Senate in the first instance and the warm opposition which it met with in the Senate itself gives good ground to hope that no attempt will be hereafter made to revise it.

The petitions from the people living between the Great and Little Miami and above the land patented to Judge [John Cleves] Symmes, which were forwarded to me, were presented to the House of Representatives and the selected committee to whom were referred generally the business relating to lands, were charged to examine into them and to report by bill or otherwise. As I was myself the chairman of this committee, I thought it proper to make my suit whenever the subject of these petitions were under consideration. The committee then consisted of the following members viz: Mr. [Jonathan] Brace of Connecticut, Mr. [Samuel] Lyman of Massachusetts, Mr. [William] Gordon of New Hampshire, Mr. [Albert] Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, Mr. [William Barry Grove] Glove[3] of North Carolina and Mr. [Thomas Terry] Davis of Kentucky; after a very lengthy investigation and discussion of the subject (at which I was always present) a bill was reported containing the unanimous opinion of the committee; the principal features of the bill were that if Judge Symmes, should pay into the treasury of the United States on or before the 1st day of February, 1802, five shillings per acre in specie for the land between his patent line and that which was run by Mr. [Israel] Ludlow from the head spring of the Little Miami to the Great Miami, with the interest from the 15th of July, 1795; the President of the United States should make him a patent for the said land in trust for himself and the persons who had purchased of him and who at the time of the passing of the act were entitled in equity to the land they had contracted for. And if the judge should fail to give notice on or before the 1st day of January next, that he acceded to all the terms and conditions of this act, or should fail to make the payment at the time specified, then the purchasers under him were to have the land at the same prices that it was to be granted to him, with the additional advantage of one year to raise the money from and after the 1st of February, 1802. It was also required of Judge Symmes to convey in fee simple to such trustees as the legislature of the territory may think proper to appoint, land equal in quality and quantity, to the township reserved in his former patent for the purpose of education and the legislature were authorized to receive such land as an equivalent for the said township; the bill was finally adopted by the House of Representatives without a dissenting voice. The Senate referred it to a select committee, consisting of Messrs. [James] Ross, [John] Brown and [Samuel] Livermore, who reported the bill without amendment; but the day before the session closed, Mr. Ross moved to strike out the whole bill for the purpose of inserting a new one (the object of which I have not learnt) but this was rejected and for want of time the business was finally postponed until the next session. Whilst the bill was before the committee of the Senate, it was suggested to me that doubt had arisen with some whether those persons who had sued Judge Symmes in the courts of common pleas would be entitled to remedy in equity against the Judge. I therefore went before the committee and urged them to insert a provision in their favor, declaring that it was the meaning of the committee who formed the bill that those persons should be entitled to all the benefits arising from it and that I should object to the passage of the bill if they were not included; but upon my stating the question to the attorney general of the United States, to Mr. [Robert G.] Harper and other characters eminent in the law, it was their unanimous opinion that they were within the provision of the act. I send a copy as it passed the House of Representatives to the printers in Cincinnati. What I have given you is the substance of this bill. Nothing surely could be more fair towards the purchasers and I had in view the pleasing prospect that this law would be the means of restoring harmony and peace to the hitherto distracted settlement between the two Miamis. In the management of this business, I was placed from my connection [son-in-law] with Judge Symmes in the most delicate situation; whether my conduct has been such as to merit the approbation of my friends and disappoint the malice of my enemies is not for me to declare: my fellow-citizens will determine it for me; and well I may sure believe that my whole conduct was meant to be guided by moral integrity. A law in addition to the act upon the subject of post offices and post roads has been passed and a post is ordered to go from Louisville to Vincennes and Kaskaskias; a post office is also established at Manchester in the county of Adams. It would have been very desirable to have extended the benefits of this establishment to Detroit, but the great number of additional post roads which were applied for at this session from every state in the Union, has drawn so large upon the post office funds, that I have found it impossible for the present to have it effected; indeed from the want of information upon the subject, I could not say whether the measure would be burthensome to the United States or not. I recommended it to my fellow citizens of that place if they supposed that the emoluments of a post office there would support the expense of conveying the mail, to make an offer to the post master general for taking upon themselves the risk of the establishment; this was done by the people of Vincennes and the Illinois country and as there was no reason to believe that it would not have been done if their loss had been very great; the committee of the House of Representatives adopted their road without hesitation.

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[3] In the *Annals*, 6th congress, 210. The committeeman's name is Grove

A law for the purpose of designating a tract of land upon which the ancient inhabitants of the Illinois, who were entitled to donation, under the act of the 3rd of March, 1791, might locate the same, was passed.

A bill was also reported making a disposition of the salt springs on the public lands and was postponed until the next session.

Several other matters of great importance to our territory were also unavoidably postponed. I regret exceedingly that it was not in my power to procure the passage of a law authorizing the appointment of commissioners for the purpose of adjusting the land terrors in the county of Wayne [Detroit] and for enlarging and ascertaining the boundaries of that county and those of the Mississippi and Wabash; but the great press of business for the last three months of the session rendered it utterly impossible. I was also very desirous to have the territory formed into a separate revenue district and the secretary of the treasury promised to report in favor of it officially to congress; but the multiplicity of his duties prevented him. We may, however, with confidence, promise ourselves that both these measures will be adopted at the next session of congress.

Among the laws of a general nature which were passed at the late session are the following:

1st. "An act providing for the second census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States". The census in the territory is to be taken under the direction of the secretary.

2nd. "An act to establish an uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States".

3rd. "An act further to suspend the commercial intercourse between the United States and France and the dependencies thereof."

4th. "An act to suspend in part an act entitled "an act to augment the army of the United States and for other purposes". This act directs the suspension of enlistment in the army which will cause a saving to the public revenue of one million of dollars.

By the latest arrivals from Europe, we are informed that the French government has received our commissioners with great cordiality and that three persons have been nominated by the chief Consul to open all negotiations with them upon the existing differences between the two nations: it is generally thought that an accommodation will take place—in which event the whole of the additional army will be disbanded.

With respect and regards,
I am, Dear Sir,
Your very humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The papers mentioned in the preceding letter to have been forwarded to the printers have not come on hand. Last Monday's mail not arrived.

Harrison to Findlay

Richmond, Va., July 18, 1800

Pub. Hist. and Phil. Soc. of Ohio, I, 100

Dear [James] Findlay,[1]

It has been a long time since I received a line from you—what can be the reason? I arrived here with my wife and family about six weeks ago. Mrs. H. is not very well. What are you doing at Cincinnati? does trade flourish? are the crops promising? what has our Distiller done last winter? I should like to hear from you on all these subjects. I expect to leave this State about the 10th of October for the Ohio and shall see you at Cincinnati about the 10th of November. Who is talked of as my successor in Congress? Do not abuse me for filling my letter with interrogatories; I could give you no intelligence from hence, that would not be old by the time you received it, as you get the Philadelphia papers regularly. By a paragraph in the Norfolk paper of Monday last I see that General [James] Wilkinson and his family have arrived there after a tempestuous voyage of 35 days from the mouth of the Mississippi. I must get the favour of you to enter with the auditor the following described land and pay the taxes for it—4,000 acres surveyed for my brother-in-law, Anthony Singleton deceased. I do not know where this land has been located except one thousand acres which is described as lying on the waters of the little Miami and of course in Hamilton County. The other 3,000 acres must be entered as lying some where in the Virginia Reserve between the Scioto and Miami. The quality of this land is not known so that it must be entered second Rate. I wish you to enter and pay also for 1,000 acres of land the property of Seth Bird of the State of New York in the Ohio Company purchase. The site of this land is not known either but I suppose if the money is paid to the Auditor it will prevent a forfeiture; don't fail to pay the taxes on this land as I have promised the owner that it shall not be neglected.

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[1] James Findlay of Cincinnati became one of the first 5 councillors of the Northwest territory in 1799 and helped elect Harrison to congress. He was a native of Penn. In the War of 1812 he was colonel of the Second Ohio volunteers. He served in Cong. 1825-1833 and in 1834 ran for governor on the Democratic ticket. He was involved deeply in the Burr affair. He was a leading business man of Cincinnati, a manufacturer, a partner of Harrison, Jacob Burnet and John H. Piatt; died in Cincinnati Dec. 21, 1835.

Give Mrs. Harrison's and my best regards to Mrs. Findlay and to Smith and all our mutual friends.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM H. HARRISON

COMMISSION OF PETER MENARD

August 1, 1800

Fergus Historical Series, 31, Early Illinois, 30

By JOHN GIBSON, Esq'r. Secretary and now acting as Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory:

United States }
Indiana Territory } To PETER MENARD, Esq'r. of the County of Randolph, *Greeting:*

You being Appointed a Major of a Regiment of the Militia in said County. By Virtue of the power Vested in me; I do by these presents, (reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty; Courage and Good Conduct) Commission you accordingly; You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Major in leading, ordering and exercising said Regiment in Arms, both inferior officers and Soldiers; and to keep them in good order and discipline; And they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Major. And you are yourself to observe and follow such orders and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from me or your Superior Officers:

Given under my hand and the seal of said Territory, the (Seal) first day of August in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Eight hundred and of the Independence of the United States of America, the Twenty-fifth.

JNO. GIBSON

(Endorsed:) PETER MENARD, *Esq'r, Major*

PROCLAMATION: CONVENING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE, January 10, 1801

Executive Journal of Indiana Territory, 2[1]

The Governor Issued a proclamation for the meeting of the legislature, and requiring the attendance of the judges of the territory, on Monday the 12th of this instant at St. Vincennes for the purpose of adopting and publishing such laws, as the exigencies of the government may require, and for the performance of such other acts and things as may be deemed necessary and conformable to the ordinances and laws of Congress, for the government of the territory.[2]

PROCLAMATION: DIVIDING KNOX COUNTY, AND ERECTING CLARK COUNTY

February 3, 1801

Executive Journal, 2

The governor [Harrison] Issued a proclamation dividing the county of Knox and erecting a separate county to be stiled the county of Clark the boundaries of which are as follows: beginning at the Ohio river at the mouth of Blew river, thence up the said river to the crossing of the same by the Road [Buffalo Trace] leading from Saint Vincennes to Clarksville, thence by a direct line to the nearest part of White River [Driftwood, or East Fork], thence up the said river and that branch [Blue River] thereof which runs toward Fort Recovery, and from the head springs of said branch to Fort Recovery, thence along the boundary line between the Indiana, and Northwestern Territory, to the Ohio, thence down the same river to the place of beginning at the same time directing the first session of said courts to be held at Springville in said county.

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1. The references to the *Executive Journal* are to the printed version in *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, III, No. 3 (1900). The original pagination is cited as therein given. Although the act setting off Indiana Territory was approved May 7, 1800, and Governor Harrison was appointed May 13, he did not arrive in the new Territory until early in the next year. Meanwhile the necessary measures for the administration of the Territory were taken by Secretary John Gibson. The *Executive Journal*, kept by the secretary, begins with these words, under date of July 4, 1800: "This day the government of Indiana Territory commenced." The issuance of the proclamation of January 10, 1801, is the first evidence we have of Harrison's presence at Vincennes. The last preceding entry in the *Executive Journal* is dated November 5, 1800. The proclamation no doubt was read to the three judges who with the governor constituted the territorial legislature. The text of this proclamation has not been found.

2. The three judges were William Clark, chief justice, Henry Vander Burgh, second judge, and John Griffin, third judge. Clark died at Vincennes, November 11, 1802; Vander Burgh died at Vincennes April 12, 1812. December 23, 1805 President Jefferson nominated Griffin "judge of the territory of Michigan, agreeably to his own desires, as is represented." (*Executive Journal* U. S. Senate.) Waller Taylor was appointed judge April 14, 1806. Benjamin Parke was appointed in place of Thomas Terry Davis April 21, 1808. Davis was appointed February 4, 1803 on the death of Clark. For biographies, see Esarey, *Courts And Lawyers Of Indiana.*

PROCLAMATION: ALTERING THE BOUNDARIES OF KNOX, RANDOLPH AND ST. CLAIR COUNTIES

February 3, 1801

Executive Journal, 3

The governor [Harrison] issued a proclamation altering the boundary lines of the counties of Knox, Randolph and St. Clair as follows, to wit; the boundary of the county of Randolph shall begin on the Ohio river at a place called the Great Cave [Cave-in-rock] below the Saline Lick [near Shawneetown], thence by a direct north line until it intersects an east and west line running from the Mississippy through the Sink hole springs [this line still separates St. Clair and Randolph counties]; thence along the said line to the Mississippy thence down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio and up the Ohio to the place of beginning. The county of St. Clair shall be bounded on the south by the beforementioned east and west line, running from the Mississippi through the Sink hole Spring to the intersection of the north line running from the Great Cave aforesaid, thence from the said point of intersection by a direct line to the mouth of the great Kennoumic river [Great Calumet] falling into the southerly bend of Lake Michigan, thence by a direct north east line to the division line between the Indiana and North Westrn Territorys, thence along the said line to the territorial boundary of the United States, and along the said Boundary line to the Intersection thereof with the Mississippi and down the Mississippi to the place of beginning. The county of Knox shall be bounded by the Ohio from the Great Cave above mentioned to the mouth of Blue river, thence up the said river and along the lines and boundaries seperating the said county of Knox from the county of Clarke, in their whole extent to Fort Recovery, thence along the line seperating the Indiana from the North Westrn Territory, until it will intersect a line drawn north east from the mouth of the great Kennoumic River aforesaid and along the said Line to the mouth of the Great Kennoumic river thence by a line running from the mouth of said river so as to strike the point of intersection formed by a line drawn due east through the Sink Hole spring above mentioned and a line drawn due north from the great cave above mentioned and along the last mentioned line to the said Great Cave the place of beginning.

COMMISSION OF PETER MENARD

February 5, 1801

Fergus Historical Series, Early Illinois, 31

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Esq., Governor and Commander in Chief of Indiana Territory,

Indiana Territory } To PETER MENARD, Esquire, of the County of Randolph sends Greeting:

Know you that reposing Especial trust and confidence in your abilities, integrity and judgment, I, the said WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON have appointed, and do by these presents appoint and commission you, the said PETER MENARD, to be one of our Judges of the court of common pleas, in and for our said County, hereby giving and granting unto you full right and title to have and Execute all and singular the powers, Jurisdictions and authorities, and to receive and enjoy all and singular Emoluments, of a Judge of the court of common pleas, of a Judge of the Orphans Court, and of a Justice of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the peace in and for the county aforesaid agreeable to the constitution of the laws of this Territory to have and to hold this commission and the office hereby granted to you so long as you shall behave yourself well.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Territory at Vincennes (Seal) this fifth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one and of the Independence of the United States the twenty fifth. By the governor,

JNO. GIBSON, *Secretary*

(Endorsed) Commission PETER MENARD, Esq.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON TO WILLIAM MCINTOSH[1]

GREENFIELD KENTUCKY, 3rd April 1801

Burton *Historical Collection, 59*

DEAR SIR:

I am informed by Judge [John] Griffin[2] that the land which I bought of [Francis] Vigo was included in the Mortgage given to his Creditors at Detroit—if so I must ask the favor of you to get these gentlemen to release the Mortgage on Condition of my securing the purchase money to them—

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[1] William McIntosh, one of the well known Scotch family of McIntosh, moved to Vincennes about the time of the Revolution, received an appointed 1801 of major of

This I will do—& pay it in two equal annual payments Viz one half on the 1st of Jany next & the ballance the ensuing Jany. (1803) this will certainly be favorable for them as there is no chance of their getting the money from Vigo—but by foreclosing the Mortgage or in this way—I wish you could get Authority from this Company to release any other land which I may purchase from Vigo—& the payments of which to be made to them—

I shall set out for Vincennes in a few days where I hope to see you soon—

I am with great Regard
Your Humb Servt.

WILLM H. HARRISON

PROCLAMATION: FORBIDDING SETTLING, HUNTING, AND SURVEYING ON INDIAN LANDS

May 9, 1801

Executive Journal, 3

The Governor [Harrison] Issued a proclamation forbidding all persons from setleing, hunting, and surveying on any of the Indian lands and requiring all officers Civil and Military to remove any that should have setled, and prevent as much as possible any such attempt in future. [Abstract]

PROCLAMATION: CONCERNING THE COURTS IN CLARK COUNTY

June 22, 1801

Executive Journal, 4

The Governor issued a proclamation for the continuing of the Courts at Springville in[1] Clark county until a permanent seat of Justice for said county is fixed on.[2] [Abstract]

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militia and treasurer of the territory, later fell out with Harrison. Burton *Collection*, 59; Dunn, *Indiana* 323, 328, 362, 413

[2] Judge John Griffin, a Federal Judge when Indiana territory was organized; judge in Michigan territory 1805, native of Va. son of Cyrus Griffin, last president of the Continental congress. He left Detroit 1824, went to Philadelphia, and died there 1840. Burton *Historical Collection 59*

[1] Springville was located on donations 94 and 115, Clark's Grant, about two miles west of Charlestown. There seems to have been a trading post there in the eighteenth century. The town site was plotted in 1800. The home of Jonathan Jennings was nearby. It was a thriving little village of Indian traders until June 9, 1802 when Jeffersonville became the county seat. One of the French traders was named Tully and the Indians called the place Tullytown.

[2] A court had been established by Governor St. Clair at Clarksville near what is now Jeffersonville, January 8, 1790; see also proclamation of February 3, 1801. June 9, 1802, the governor by proclamation designated Jeffersonville as the county seat and ordered the courts to meet there on August 1, following.

HARRISON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR

July 15th, 1801

Dawson, *Harrison, 10-11*

SIR

For the last ten or twelve weeks I have been constantly engaged in receiving visits from the Chiefs of most of the Indian nations which inhabit this part of the Territory. They all profess and I believe that most of them feel a friendship for the United States—but they make heavy complaints of ill treatment on the part of our Citizens. They say that their people have been killed—their lands settled on—their game wontonly destroyed—& their young men made drunk & cheated of the peltries which formerly procured them necessary articles of Cloathing, arms and amunition to hunt with. Of the truth of all these charges I am well convinced. The Delaware Chiefs in their address to me mentioned the loss of six persons of their nation, since the treaty of Greenvill having been killed by the White people—& I have found them correct as to number. In one instance however the White boy who killed the Indian was tried and acquitted as it was proved that it was done in self defence. In another instance the Murderrer was tried and acquitted by the Jury, altho it was very evident that it was a cruel and unprovoked murder. About twelve months ago a Delaware was killed in this Town by a Citizen of the Territory against whom a bill has been found by the grand. He has however escaped and it is reported that he has gone to Natchez or New Orleans. [See May 5, 1802, below.] But the case which seems to have affected the Indians more than any other is the murder of two men and one woman of this same nation about three years ago. This cruel deed was perpetrated on this side of the Ohio, forty or fifty miles below the falls & is said to have been attended with circumstances of such atrocity as almost to discredit the whole story—were it not but too evident that a great many of the Inhabitants of the Fronteers consider the murdering of Indians in the highest degree meritorious—the story is this. About three years ago two Delaware men and a woman were quietly hunting in the neighbourhood of the Ohio—I believe on the waters of Blue river their Camp was discovered by two men I think of the name of Williams—brothers—and these Williams mutually determined to murder them for the purpose of possessing themselves of about fifty dollars worth of property and the trifling equipage belonging to the hunting Camp of a Savage. They thought it too dangerous to attack them openly as one of the Indians well known to the white people by the name of Jim Galloway or Gilloway —was remarkable for his strength and bravery. They approached the camp as friends & as I am toled they have since confessed asked leave to stay at the Indians Camp and hunt for a few days. Their request was granted & they remained until a favorite opportunity offered to carry their design into effect—& the then Indians were murdered. Altho they were missed by their friends it was a long time before their fate was ascertained. The murderers thinking themselves safe from the length of time which has elapsed, now begin to talk of the affair, and one of them is said to have declared that he was very nearly over-powered by the Indian after he had wounded him—that he had closed in with him and the Indian was on the point of getting the better of him when his brother to whom the murder of the other Indian had been committed came to his assistance. Altho I am convinced that the facts above stated are all true—yet so difficult is it to get testimony in a case of this kind, that I have not as yet been able to get the necessary depositions on which to ground an application to the Executive of Kentucky for the delivery of these people to Justice. Whenever I have ascertained that the Indian boundary line has been encroached on by the white people I have caused the Intruders to withdraw. But as the boundary line seperating the Indian land from that to which the title has been extinguished has not been run—nor the manner in which it is to run precisely ascertained either at this place or in the country on the Mississippi called the Illinois—it is impossible to tell when encroachments are made on the Indians at those two places. As this is an object of considerable importance to the Citizens of the Territory I must beg you Sir to obtain the directions of the President to have it done as soon as possible. The people have been about petitioning Congress on this subject—Untill it was observed that the President was authorized by law to cause all the boundaries between the lands of the U.N. States & the Indian tribes to be ascertained and marked—Untill their boundaries are established it is almost impossible to punish in this quarter the persons who make a practice of Hunting on the lands of the Indians in violation of law and our Treaty with that people. This practice has grown into a monstrous abuse. Thousands of the wild animals from which the Indians derive their subsistance have been distroyed by the white people. They complain in their speeches to me that many parts of their Country which abounded with game when the general peace was made in 1795 now scarcely contains a sufficiency to give food to the fiew Indians who pass through there. The people of Kentucky living on the Ohio from the mouth of the Kentucky river down the Mississippi make a constant practice of crossing over on the Indian lands opposite to them every fall to kill deer, bear, and buffaloe—the latter from being a great abundance a few years ago is now scarcely to be met with, in that whole extent. One white hunter will distroy more game than five of the common Indians—the latter generally contenting himself with a sufficiency for present subsistance—while the other eager after game hunt for the skin of the animal alone. All these Injuries the Indians have hitherto borne with astonishing patience but altho they discover no disposition to make war upon the United States at present—I am confident that most of the tribes would eagerly seize any favorable opportunity for that purpose—& should the United States be at war with any of the European nations who are known to the Indians there would probably be a combination of nine tenths of the Northern Tribes against us—Unless some means are made use of to conciliate them. The British have been unremitted in their exertions to preserve their influence over the Indians resident within our Territory ever since the surrender of the Forts upon the Lake—& those exertions are still continued—last year they delivered a greater quantity of goods to their Indians than they have been ever known to do—and I have been lately informed that talks are now circulating amongst them, which are intended to lesten the small influence we have over the Indians—I cannot vouch for the truth of this report—but I think it very probable that the British will redouble their efforts to keep the Indians in their Interest as a mean of assisting them in any designs they may form against Louisiana which it is said will be shortly delivered up to the French.

I have had much difficulty with the small tribes in this immediate Neighbourhood—viz.—the Peankashaws, Weas & Eel river Indians, these three tribes form a body of the greatest Scoundrels in the world—they are dayly in this town in considerable numbers and are frequently intoxicated to the number of thirty or forty at once—they then commit the greatest disorders—drawing their knives and stabing every one they meet with—breaking open the Houses of the Citizens killing their Hogs and cattle and breaking down their fences. But in all their frolicks they generally suffer most severely themselves they kill each other without mercy, some years ago as many as four were found dead in the morning—& altho these murders are actually committed in the streets of the town, yet no attempt to punish them has ever been made. This forbearance has made them astonishingly insolent & on a late occasion (within 8 weeks) when one of these rascals had killed without provocation two of the Citizens in one of the Traders Houses in this place, & it was found impossible to apprehend him alive, he was put to death. This peice of Justice so exasperated those of his tribe in the neighbourhood that they actually assembled in the borders of the town with a design to seize some favourable opportunity of doing mischief—the Militia were ordered out and their resentment has subsided.

Should you think proper to garrison Fort Knox with a small body of troops it will be the means of keeping the Indians under much better controle when they come here to trade—& would enable the civil Magistrates to punish those who violate the laws. Inded I do not think that a military force is so necessary on any part of the fronteers as at this place—the inhabitants tho fully able to repulse them when aware of their designs are constantly in danger from their treachery. Five Hundred Warriers might introduce themselves into the settlement undiscovered by the White people—& after doing all the mischief in their power might make—their escape with as much facility. I do not indeed apprehend in the least that the neighbouring tribes have any inclination to make open war upon us—I fear only the effect of some sudden resentment arrising from their constant intercourse with the people of this town. In this intercourse causes of irritation are constantly produced twice within a few weeks an appeal was made to arms by both parties—one occasioned by some drunken Indians attempting to force a House in which one was killed and an other wounded. The other at the time when the two white men were killed as above mentioned. Luckily however no other mischief was done in either instance.

The Indian Chiefs complain heavily of the mischiefs produced by the enormous quantity of Whiskey which the Traders introduce into their Country. I do not believe there are more than six Hundred Warriers upon this River (the Wabash) and yet the quantity of whiskey brought here annually for their use is said to amount to at least six thousand Gallons. This poisonous liquor not only incapasitates them from obtaining a living by Hunting but it leads to the most attrocious crimes—killing each other has become so customary amongst them that it is no longer a crime to murder those whom they have been most accustomed to estem and regard. Their Chiefs and their nearest relations fall under the strokes of their Tomhawks & Knives. This has been so much the case with the three Tribes nearest us—the Peankashaws, Weas, & Eel River Miamis that there is scarcely a Chief to be found amongst them.

The little Beaver a Wea Chief of note well known to me was not long since murdered by his own son. The Little Fox another Chief who was always a friend to the white people was murdered at mid day in the Streets of this by one of his own nation. All these Horrors are produced to these Unhappy people by their too frequent intercourse with the White people. This is so cirtain that I can at once tell by looking at an Indian whom I chance to meet whether he belong to a Neighbouring or a more distant Tribe. The latter is generally well Clothed healthy and vigorous the former half naked, filthy and enfeebled with Intoxication, and many of them without arms except a Knife which they carry for the most vilanous purposes. The Chiefs of the Kickapoos, Sacks, & Patawatimies, who lately visited me are sensible of the progress of these measures, and their Views amongst themselves—which they are convinced will lead to utter exterpation—and earnestly desire that the introduction of such large quantities of Whiskey amongst them may be prevented.

Whether some thing ought not to be done to prevent the reproach which will attach to the American Character by the exterpation of so many human beings, I beg leave most respectfuly to submit to the Consideration of the President—That this exterpation will happen no one can doubt who knows the astonishing annual decrease of these unhappy beings. The

Delawares are now making an other attempt to become agriculturists—they are forming settlements upon the White river a branch of the Wabash under the conduct of two Missionaries of the Society of "The United Brethren for propogating the gospel amongst the Heathens" otherwise Meravians.[1] To assist them in this plan the Chiefs desire that one half of their next annuity may be laid out in impliments of agriculture, and in the purchase of some domestic animals as Cows and Hogs. The Kaskaskeas & Peankashaws request the same thing and the Patawatimies wish a few corse hoes may be sent with their goods. The sun a great Chief of the last mentioned Nation requests that a Coat and Hat of the Uniform of the United States & to prevent Jealousy a few more may be aded for the other Chiefs, of his nation. Indeed I am convinced that nothing would please the Chiefs of all the Nations so much as a distinction of this kind. It was a method always persued by the British and nothing did more to preserve their Influance. I therefore take the liberty of recommending that about a half dozen Coats made in the uniform of the United States and ordinary Cocked Hats may be sent for each of the nations who have an annuity of one thousand dollars, and Half that number for the Nations who receive 500 dollars—the expence to be taken from the allowance of each nation. The Kickapoos who are a strong and warlike Nation have not a proper proportion of goods allowed them by the United States their annuity is 500 dollars only, which is the sum allowed to the remnant of the Kaskaskias which have only fifteen or twenty warriors. The Kickapoos of the Priaria a large branch of that nation never receive any part of the goods. They frequently steal Horses which are never returned because they do not fear the withholding of their annuity. The Socks a very large nation which Inhabit the Waters of the Illinois River are not bound by any treaty—and will not deliver up horses or prisones in their possession. I have reason to believe that there are several persons still with them which were taken during the late war. They say they are very willing to treat if they are put upon the same footing that the rest of the Indian Nations are.

The contractor to the army had untill lately an agent at this place—from whom I had procured the provisions which were necessary in the Councils I have had with Several nations which have visited me. I have signed an abstract for the quantity furnished. In their issues I have been as economical as possible—perhaps more so than was proper—the whole amount of Issues under my direction until this—amounted only to 13 rations.

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[1] For description of the old Moravian Mission see J. P. Dunn's article *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 9, p. 73; and paper by Arthur Brady, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Proceedings*, Annual meeting, 1919.

PROCLAMATION: FORBIDDING TRADERS FROM SELLING LIQUOR TO INDIANS IN AND AROUND VINCENNES

July 20, 1801

Executive Journal, 4

This day the Governor Issued a proclamation expressly forbidding any Trader from selling or giving any Spirituous Liquors to any Indian or Indians in the Town of Vincennes and ordering that the Traders in future when the sold Liquor to the Indians should deliver it to them at the distance of at least a mile from the village or on the other side of the Wabash River. And Whereas certain evil disposed persons have made a practice of purchasing from the Indians (and giveing them Whiskey in exchange) articles of Cloathing, Cooking, and such other articles as are used in hunting, viz; Guns powder, Ball &c. he has thought proper to publish an Extract from the Laws of the United States, that the persons offending against the Law may know the penalties to which they are subject. he also extorts [exhorts] and requires all Magistrates and other Civil officers vigilantly to discharge their duties, by punishing, as the Law directs, all persons who are found drunk, or rioting in the streets or public houses; and requests and advises, the good Citizens of the Territory to aid and assist the Magistrates, in the execution of the Laws by Lodgeing information against, and by assisting to apprehend the disorderly and rioutuos persons, who constantly infest the streets of Vincennes and to inform against all those who violate the Sabbath by selling or Bartering Spirituous Liquors or who pursue any other unlawful business on the day set apart for the service of God.[1] [Abstract]

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[1] For a description of the lawlessness in Vincennes 1796, see C. F. Volney, *View*, *393 seq.*

PROCLAMATION: AGAINST TRADING WITH THE INDIANS

August 31, 1801

Executive Journal, 4

Frequent complaints having been made to the Governor by the Indians of the great mischiefs which have arisen from the Traders frequenting their Hunting Camps, the Governor Issued a proclamation notifying them that a regulation has been made by the Executive of the United States which declares that all persons who receive Licenses to trade with the Indians should confine themselves to the Towns and not follow the Indians to their Hunting grounds and that in future the said regulation would be strictly Enforced, and requireing all concerned to govern themselves accordingly; and whereas he had received undoubted information that a number of persons who were now trading in the Indian Country without Licences in Contempt of the Laws and authority of the United States he in the same proclamation Charged and required all officers Civil and Military Legally authorized to apprehend the persons and seize the goods of all such offenders, to the end that they may be dealt with according to Law.[1]

[Abstract]

HARRISON TO BONO COMMISSION

September 12, 1801

Mss. Vincennes D. A. R.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Esquire
Governor & Commander-in-chief of the Indiana Territory
To NICHOLAS BONO Gentleman, Greeting:

Reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism courage and good conduct I have appointed you Ensign in the Battallion of the Regiment of the Militia of the county of Knox and you are hereby appointed accordingly. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Ensign in leading ordering and exercising said company in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline; and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Ensign, and you are yourself to observe and follow such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from me, your superior officers, or the Governor of the territory for the time being.

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[1] Harrison was superintendent of Indian Affairs for Indiana territory. Each trader was required to hold a license from the superintendent and give bond for good behavior.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed the twelfth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one and of the independence of the United States of America the twenty sixth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Seal

By the Governor's command
JOHN GIBSON, *Secy.*

HARRISON TO BONO COMMISSION

September 12, 1801
Mss. Vincennes D. A. R.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Esquire
Governor & Commander-in-chief of the Indiana Territory
To PIERRE BONO, Gentleman, Greeting:

Reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism courage and good conduct I have appointed you 2d Lieutenant in the Battallion of the Regiment of the Militia of the county of Knox and you are hereby appointed accordingly. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Lieutenant in leading ordering and exercising said company in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline; and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Lieutenant, and you are yourself to observe and follow such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from me, your superior officers or the Governor of the territory for the time being.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed the twelfth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one and of the independence of the United States of America the twenty sixth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Seal

By the Governor's command
JOHN GIBSON, *Secy.*

TRADER'S LICENSE, FRANCOIS BUSSERON

October 8, 1801

Mss. in Indiana State Library

By WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON Esquire and Commander in chief in and over the Indiana Territory

Licence is granted to FRANCIS BESAION,[1] [Busseron or Bosseron] an Inhabitant of Vincennes, of the County of Knox, to trade with the different Tribes of Indians residing on the Wabash below Vincennes he having given Bond for the due observation of all the laws and regulations relating to Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Nations, that now are, or hereafter shall be made issued or declared during the term for which the same is Granted. This Licence to continue in force for one year, unless sooner revoked by the Governor. Given at Vincennes the eighth day of October in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and one, and of the Independance of the United States of America the Twenty Sixth.

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

HARRISON TO FINDLAY

VINCENNES, October 15th, 1801

Pub. His. and Phil. Soc. of Ohio, I, 101

DEAR FINDLAY,

I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 22nd August a few weeks ago. Mrs. Harrison and myself are much rejoiced to hear that Mrs. Findlay enjoys better health than formerly for be assured that we both feel for her a sincere regard. My family have I think enjoyed quite as much health here as they have ever done. My youngest child[1] has been until lately a good deal afflicted but is now much better; and I have had the ague and fever—that is, I had three fits of it, but am now as well perhaps better than I have been for several years. I am much pleased with this country—nothing can exceed its beauty and fertility. I have purchased a farm of about 300 acres joining the town which is all cleared. I am now engaged in fencing it and shall begin to build next spring if I can find the means. How comes on the Distillery?[2] I wish you to send me some Whiskey as soon as possible, consign it to the care of Messrs. Prather & Smiley of Louisville who will take charge of it and send me also a couple of calf skins and a little soal leather. Cant you continue to patch up some sort of settlement between us? I will leave entirely to yourself knowing that it will be done as well as the circumstances will permit; for my part I know nothing of the business.

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[1] Francois Bosseron, made a judge at Vincennes May 14th, 1779; major and commandant at Vincennes 1780. Todd *Papers*, 165; 194; 279. Wealthiest Citizen in Vincennes, ruled the council or court. Esarey, *History of Indiana*, 67; 134.

[1] Lucy Singleton Harrison, born in Richmond Va. 1800, died 1826, married Judge David K. Este of the Ohio Supreme court.

I wish you could muster resolution enough to take the woods and pay us a visit, I am sure you will be so much pleased with this place and the prospects that you would consent to move here. I now nominate to you Mr. William Prince[3] as a proper person to be appointed your Deputy here. He is a very honest man and a clever fellow. We have here a Company of troops commanded by Honest F. Johnston[4] of the 4th. We generally spend half the day together making war upon the partridges, grouse and fish—the latter we take in great numbers in a seine. Is there no one with you who will purchase my tract of land on Mill Creek below Simmons Hutchinson (word illegible) Mill? I have there 419 acres which I would sell very low. I dont know but I would take two Dollars per acre in cash.

I have long given up the Judge [John Cleves Symmes, his father-in-law] as a ruined man—which he owes in part to himself but much more to the cursed Malevolence of his enemys. They have however in some measure got this reward in the loss of character. I have heard several disinterested respectable persons speak of the treatment he has met with, with horror and detestation. Give Mrs. Harrison's and my best regards to Mrs. Findlay and to Smith if he is in the land of the living—to Dr. Sillman and family and all who remember us with friendship.

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[2] Harrison and James Smith in 1797 operated a distillery on Deer Creek. After losing considerable money he gave up the business.

[3] Findlay was receiver at the Cincinnati land office and William Prince was to act as his deputy at Vincennes.

[4] Francis Johnston of N. Y. was an ensign in the 4th sub legion with Wayne, Lieut. in 4th Inf. 1797; Capt. 1800. Died Feb. 17, 1809. "Honest" was a nick name.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF STATE

VINCENNES, January 19, 1802

American State Papers; Public Lands, I, 123

The circumstances mentioned in this letter I have considered of sufficient importance to be communicated to the President. The court established at this place, under the authority of the State of Virginia, in the year 1780, (as I have before done myself the honor to inform you) assumed to themselves the right of granting lands to every applicant. Having exercised this power for some time [1780-1788] without opposition, they began to conclude that their right over the land was supreme, and that they could with as much propriety grant to themselves as to others. Accordingly, an arrangement was made, by which the whole country to which the Indian title was supposed to be extinguished, was divided between the members of the court [Francis Bosseron, Louis Edeline, Pierre Gameline, Pierre Querez]: and orders to that effect entered on their journal, each member absenting himself from the court on the day that the order was to be made in his favor, so that it might appear to be the act of his fellows only. The tract thus disposed of extends on the Wabash twenty-four leagues from La Pointe Coupée to the mouth of White river, and forty leagues into the country west, and thirty east from the Wabash, excluding only the land immediately surrounding this town, which had before been granted to the amount of twenty or thirty thousand acres.[1]

The authors of this ridiculous transaction soon found that no advantage could be derived from it, as they could find no purchasers, and I believe that the idea of holding any part of the land was by the greater part of them abandoned a few years ago; however, the claim was discovered, and a part of it purchased by some of those speculators who infest our country, and through these people, a number of others in different parts of the United States have become concerned, some of whom are actually preparing to make settlements on the land the ensuing spring. Indeed, I should not be surprised to see five hundred families settling under these titles in the course of a year. The price at which the land is sold enables any body to become a purchaser; one thousand acres being frequently given for an indifferent horse or a rifle gun. And as a formal deed is made reciting the grant of the court (made as it is pretended under the authority of the State of Virginia) many ignorant persons have been induced to part with their little all to obtain this ideal property, and they will no doubt endeavor to strengthen their claim, as soon as they have discovered the deception, by an actual settlement. The extent of these speculations was unknown to me until lately. I am now informed that a number of persons are in the habit of repairing to this place, where they purchase two or three hundred thousand acres of this claim, for which they get a deed properly authenticated and recorded, and then disperse themselves over the United States, to cheat the ignorant and credulous. In some measure, to check this practice, I have forbidden the recorder and prothonotary of this county from recording or authenticating any of these papers; being determined that the official seals of the Territory shall not be prostituted to a purpose so base as that of assisting an infamous fraud.

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[1] For a good discussion of this see George R. Wilson "Land Surveys of Early Indiana" in Vol. XII, *Indiana Magazine of History.*

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect,

Your Obedient Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

HARRISON TO SEC. OF WAR

VINCENNES, February 19th, 1802

Dawson, *Harrison, 12-15*

If this measure, is not effected, I apprehend some serious consequences. It has already become a subject of discussion among the people of the territory, whether an Indian is punishable by our laws for a murder committed on their own lands, or on a road leading through their country; the negative of this question is strongly maintained by many; and, should it reach the Indians, it will be no longer safe to pass the roads which connect the several settlements of the Territory. I have taken much pains to find the drift of the talks, which the British agents in Canada so frequently send to the Indians residing within our limits. The report mentioned in the postscript of my letter of the 3d December last, came from Mr. Wells,[1] the person who attended the Indian chiefs who were lately in Washington. I have since seen the chief who is said to have been the bearer of the talk alluded to. Upon my interrogating him, he denied that he had received any particular message from M'Kee,[2] the British superintendant for Indian affairs for Upper Canada, whom he acknowledged to have visited. But he made so many complaints of the usage which the Indians had received from the Americans, and some of them were of a nature so far above his capacity, that I am sure they must have been put into his mouth by the said M'Kee, or by some of the British merchants.—Among other grievances, he mentioned the high price of Indian goods, which he attributed entirely to the duty which was laid upon the importation of those goods at Detroit, and which he said was contrary to the practice under the British government, and intended to impoverish and reduce the Indians. Indeed, other chiefs have frequently informed me that they had heard we resolved to destroy them, that we might take possession of their lands. This idea I am confident has been infused into their minds by the British agents or traders, which last enjoy every opportunity to prejudice the Indians against us. They have even attempted to make the Indians believe that the United States intended to destroy them by means of the small pox, which was to be communicated to them by the goods which they receive from us. I have never been able to fix the spreading of these lies upon any one of the traders, they manage their business with so much art; but when I do make such discovery, I shall make an example of him, by instantly depriving him of his license, and sending him out of the Indian country. In order the better to find out what is going forward among the Indians, I have endeavored to attach some of the best informed traders to our interest; but, generally speaking, they are unprincipled men, and entirely devoted to the British, by whom they are supplied with all their goods. Could this be otherwise—could the valuable skin and fur trade which our territory supplies, be diverted to the ports of the United States, instead of Canada, it would not only give a handsome emolument to our merchants, and increase our revenue by the additional consumption of imported goods, but it would also confirm the dependence of the Indians upon us. The principal objection made by the traders to whom I have recommended the carrying of their furs and peltry to the ports of the United States, is, that there are none of our merchants who make the importation of Indian goods, or purchase of furs and peltry their business, and of course they are not always certain of making sale of their commodities, or of obtaining in return goods suitable for their purpose; both of which, they are sure of when they go to the British merchants, who are exclusively employed in this kind of traffic.

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[1] Capt. William H. Wells was stolen by Miamis at age of 12; parents lived in Ky; married daughter of Little Turtle; broke away from Indian alliance and joined Wayne's army; killed in Fort Dearborn massacre Aug. 15th, 1812; Wells County, Indiana, named in his honor. Griswold, *History of Ft. Wayne,* 136.

[2] Alexander McKee was born in Penn; wealthy citizen of Pittsburg at outbreak of Revolution; fled from Pittsburg to join the ranks of enemy; as reward made captain and interpreter of Indian Dept. in employ of British. Known as stimulator of war between Indians and Americans 1790-'95. Butterfield, *History of Girty's,* 43-49; Griswold, *Hist of Ft. Wayne; Michigan Pioneer and Historical collections.* Index.

SEC. OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 23d, 1802

Dawson, *Harrison, 34*

SIR: It is the ardent wish of the President of the United States, as well from a principle of humanity, as from duty and sound policy, that all prudent means in our power should be unremittingly pursued for carrying into effect the benevolent views of congress relative to the Indian nations within the jurisdiction of the United States. The provisions made by congress, under the heads of intercourse with the Indian nations, and for establishing trading houses among them etc. have for their object, not only the cultivation and establishment of harmony and friendship between the United States and the different nations of Indians, but the introduction of civilization, by encouraging and gradually introducing the arts of husbandry and domestic manufactures among them. The President is more induced to continue to raise all the means in his power for effecting the foregoing object from the happy effects already produced in several of the Indian nations, by the zeal and industry of the agents among them.

With a view of giving every assistance in the power of the executive, to the measures contemplated, relating to the Indians generally, the President has considered it necessary to make the following regulations:

That the Governors of the North Western, Indiana, and Mississippi territories, in their capacities as agents for Indian affairs, will in future consider themselves as having the superintendence of all business relating to the Indians in their respective territories, and will from time to time call upon such sub-agents as may be appointed by the President of the United States to reside among the Indian nations within their respective territories, for such information as may be necessary for ascertaining any facts or circumstances relating to the said Indians, or the conduct of any such sub-agents, and for any other information which may be useful and proper; and to give all such sub-agents such instructions and advice from time to time, as may be found necessary and not incompatible with the laws, or instructions given by the immediate direction of the President of the United States.

The sub-agents and agents of the territories, will, in future, correspond with the respective governors of the territories in which they may be placed, and communicate generally with the department of war through that channel, and consider themselves under the general direction of the governors respectively. And temporary or sub-agents, or agents of factories, will regularly make report, once, at least, in every three months to the governor and to the secretary of war, of all circumstances relating to the agencies, with a correct statement of all expenses incurred under their direction, which report should be made from a journal, regularly and correctly kept by the sub-agents, of all accounts worth noticing, relating to disputes, complaints, misfortunes, etc. including likewise, whatever may relate to the progress of civilization among the Indians, and such remarks as their knowledge may, from time to time, enable them to make, relating to the natural history of the country, the population and the particular manners of the inhabitants, and likewise of the increase or decrease of population.

The agents of factories will make correct returns of the state of the factory, of the sales and receipts, etc. to the governor of the territory in which they shall respectively reside, once in three months, noticing all circumstances proper to communicate relating to the kind and quantities of goods wanted, from time to time, and will transmit a duplicate thereof to the secretary of war.

Colonel [Benjamin] Hawkins and the agents of the factories at Tellico in Tennessee, and in Georgia, will communicate immediately with the secretary of war as usual.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of esteem, your humble servant.

H. DEARBORN

HARRISON TO SEC. OF WAR

February 26, 1802

Dawson, *Harrison, 16-20*

SIR:

The subject of the boundary line between us and the Indians, has engaged my attention for some time past; and as I consider myself possessed of all the information relating to it which I am likely to obtain in this quarter, I have thought it best to state to you the result of my inquiries and reflections.

If the obvious construction of the treaty of Greenville[1] is to be taken as the ground upon which our claim to land in this country is to be supported, I believe it will be found to be much more extensive than is generally imagined. The tract which the United States may rightfully claim, extends on the Wabash from Point Coupee, 12 leagues above the mouth of White river, to 12 leagues below this town, and in width from the river on the east, 40 leagues, and on the west 30 leagues.

The grant of the land is said to have been made to Monsieur De Vincennes, a captain in the French army, and the founder of the colony which bears his name, for the use of the French settlers, and although the instrument of conveyance (if there ever was one in writing) is lost, the fact is ascertained not only by the testimony of all the old French inhabitants, but is completely authenticated by a clause in a subsequent deed, made by the Indians to the Wabash Company in the year 1775, in which the bounds of the tract before granted to the French are laid down, for the purpose of excepting it from the sale then about to be made. An extract from the said deed, which is on record here, is enclosed. Although our title to the land is thus clearly ascertained, I think it would be extremely impolitic to insist on taking the whole of it. I am not certain that the Indians would agree to it. At present I believe they have no idea of a claim being set up to that extent, and it is said that general Putnam gave them assurance when he assembled the Wabash chiefs at this place in 1793, that our claim would not be very extensive.[2] The right to the whole tract may be declared, but the lines which are to run from the two points on the Wabash above mentioned, may be extended no further than 10 or 12 leagues, on each side the river. This would readily be acceded to by the Indians and would make the settlements here sufficiently large. None of the Piankishaw chiefs (by which tribe all the former sales in this country were made) attended the treaty of Greenville, and the Wea chiefs, who are said to have represented them, are all dead.

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[1] Greenville treaty, negotiated by Wayne Aug. 3, 1795 fixed the boundary beginning at the mouth of the Cuyahoga up that stream to the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum down it to Fort Lawrence, west to Loramie's store on the headwaters of the Miami; thence to Fort Recovery, thence by direct line to the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Kentucky. Besides this there were 16 separate reservations around posts and portages in the Indian country. *State Papers, Indian Affairs, I, 562*

At a council which was held here last summer, the subject of the boundary line was mentioned by the Piankishaw chiefs, and they expressed great uneasiness that the boundary line had not been ascertained, and at the reports which had been circulated amongst them, that the Americans meant to take from them all their country. They also said, that the settlements which had been formed on the south side of White river,[3] were an encroachment upon them. I took this opportunity to explain to them that part of the treaty of Greenville which relates to this place, and assured them that an investigation would take place, in order to ascertain the extent of country which had been actually conceded to the French. That from what I can learn, our claim on the Wabash was contained between Point Coupee and White river, but I could not determine how far it might extend on each side the river,—nor in what direction the lines would run from these two points; but if it should appear on investigation, that it was the intention of their forefathers, that the line should run from the mouth of White river up the channel of that river, instead of at right angles to the Wabash, that they would be paid for all the land on the south side of White river which had been included in our settlements and surveys. This explanation seemed satisfactory. It appears that all the Indians have understood that the claim to the land between Point Coupee and White river had been extinguished, and I believe they would readily agree that it should extend in depth on each side the river so far as to make a square of 24 leagues, which is the distance between the above-mentioned points. The remainder of their claim may be relinquished, and this liberality will authorize us to ask for an extension of our territory on the Illinois, if our claim in that country is not sufficiently large to prevent our settlement from being cramped.

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[2] General Rufus Putnam was sent by Washington to Vincennes in 1792 to try the temper of the Wabash Indians. His elaborate instructions are in *Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs, I, 234.* On the 27th of September 1792 he concluded a treaty of friendship. John Baptiste Mayee, a French trader produced a copy of the treaty referred to by Harrison but the Indians denied its validity. It is given in *Sta. Pap. Ind. Affairs I, 338,* bearing date of 1775, witnessed by St. Marie and Phillibert.

[3] Hazeltons, Robbs, Severns, Hargroves, Johnsons, Prides, Mileys, and Tislows were a few of the pioneers who had already settled on the south side of White river. See histories of Pike, Gibson, and Daviess counties

My views as to the boundary line in that quarter are, that it should commence at the mouth of the Illinois river, run up that river for 30 or 35 miles, thence by a line parallel to the course of the Mississippi, until it intersects at right angles a line to be drawn from a point opposite Cape St. Combs, which is on the west side of the Mississippi, and about 10 miles below Kaskaskia. This would give a tract of country of 80 miles by 35, over almost the whole of which our settlements are now scattered.

There are some other objects of importance which might be settled at the time the Indians meet upon the subject of the boundary line. I have before stated to you that none of the roads passing through one settlement to any other in this Territory were made free by treaty, admitting that free ingress and egress were contemplated at the time that the several tracts were ceded to the French. Yet this can, I should suppose, extend no further than the allowance of one road to the Ohio, and one to the Mississippi, but the extension of the settlements and the constant emigration from the Ohio to this place, and the countries on the Mississippi, make it necessary to have two or three main roads. The settlements which extend from the Great Miami to the Indian boundary, running from the Kentucky river, will shortly be attached to this territory, and will totally be cut off from a communication with the seat of government unless we can have a new road; and the opening of those I presume ought not to be attempted without the consent of the Indians; this consent I am sure can be had, as well as permission to establish small stations at the distance of 25 or 30 miles apart on the roads most used for the accommodation of travellers. Another object to be provided for is the security of the persons and property of the traders residing in the Indian country. Frequent complaints have been made to me of robberies and personal injuries committed by the Indians on the traders, and I know of no redress for them.

In the treaty of Greenville the chiefs promised to take the traders under their protection, but there is no specific mode of redress pointed out. Their treatment of the traders shows that they consider them entirely at their mercy, and they do frequently rob and abuse them. This insecurity to the persons and properties of the traders is the reason that so few decent and respectable men are employed in the Indian trade, which, with a few exceptions, is in the hands of the greatest villains in the world, and the authors of all those falsehoods which so frequently agitate the Indians.

The Sacks or Sackees, a considerable nation who reside between the Illinois river and the Mississippi, were not included in the treaty of Greenville. They sent deputies to agree to a cessation of hostilities the spring previous to the treaty, but by some accident or other, they mistook the time, and did not attend the treaty. They are now extremely desirous to be put on a footing with the other tribes, and receive an annual present, and it appears reasonable that they should. There is another reason for including them in the treaty of Greenville. I have reasons to believe that several of the white persons and negroes who were taken during the wars are still in the possession of those people, particularly the son of a Mr. Tanner of Kentucky who is extremely desirous to recover him.

To accomplish those objects I beg leave, Sir, respectfully to recommend to the President, that a deputation from each of the neighboring tribes, viz: the Delawares, Potawatamies, Miamis, Eel river Indians, Weas, Kickapoos, Sacks, and Kaskaskias should be assembled early in the ensuing summer, and that some person on the part of the United States be empowered to agree with them on the permanent boundaries between theirs and the lands of the United States at this place and the Illinois, country. To obtain their consent to open the following roads, viz: one from the Ohio at or near the mouth of Pigeon creek to Vincennes; one from the settlements between the Great Miami and the Indian boundary line to Vincennes; and one from some convenient spot on the Ohio to Kaskaskia.

To extend to the Sack nation the provisions of the treaty of Greenville.

To provide for the security of the persons and properties of the traders residing in the Indian country, and the punishment of those who injure them.

To obtain the consent of the Indians to establish houses of accommodation at the distance of twenty-five or thirty miles apart on the post road from Louisville to Vincennes, and thence to Kaskaskia.

And should it be considered practicable, to make new arrangements of the annuities. The Kaskaskias, for instance, who have only fifteen or sixteen warriors, and the Piankishaws who are reduced twenty-five or thirty, receive each 500 dollars, which is the sum allowed the Kickapoos, who have some hundreds. I think it possible to prevail upon those two tribes to give up 200 dollars each of their annuity, which may be added to those of the Kickapoos and Potawatamie; or with the addition of another 100 dollars, make an annuity of 500 dollars for the Sacks.

I am persuaded, Sir, that nothing can be done with respect to any of these objects but in a general assembly of the chiefs of all the tribes. There appears to be an agreement amongst them, that no proposition which relates to their lands can be acceded to without the consent of all the tribes; and they are extremely watchful and jealous of each other lest some advantage should be obtained in which they do not all participate.

A general meeting of the chiefs has been long wished for, in order to settle some disputes which have arisen amongst them, which but for my interposition, would have terminated in war. These disputes cannot (on account of the jealousies above mentioned) be amicably adjusted but by the mediation of the United States.

The meeting would be further beneficial, as it would give an opportunity of explaining to them the conditions of the treaties they have made with us, which are very imperfectly understood.

I do not know of any pretensions to land on the part of individuals without the acknowledged boundary of the lands of the United States, but those which are made by the Illinois and Wabash companies; these companies are composed nearly of the same persons, and their claims include almost the whole country between the Lakes, the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Indian boundary line, running from the mouth of the Kentucky river to the northern boundary of the United States.

A person attended at the treaty of Greenville on behalf of one or both of these companies, and as well as I can recollect (for I was at that time in the family of General Wayne) the subject was not brought before the Indians. It is I believe, acknowledged that these purchases were unauthorized by any government. To remedy this the conveyance is made to the company or to the King of Great Britain.

I can form no idea of the number of Indians that may attend at the proposed meeting; I shall, however, endeavor to make it as small as possible, and dismiss them as soon as the business can be done. I believe that the chiefs will endeavor to bring with them as large a retinue as possible, which some will do from ostentation, and some from apprehension of danger, several of the tribes being much irritated against each other.

I think it would be better to have the meeting immediately after the delivery of the annuities at Fort Wayne; no other presents will then be expected, excepting a few special ones for the chiefs. Should the President approve of giving an annuity to the Sacks, they will probable expect to have an advance of one year on their arrival here. One of the chiefs of this tribe attended the trial of the Delaware Indian at Kaskaskia last fall, and complained heavily of the neglect with which his tribe was treated by the United States.

I have enclosed a sample of virgin copper, found on the Vermillion river, about eighty miles above this place. This piece has undergone no process excepting that of being heated in a common fire, and then beaten with a hammer to get off some small bits of stone and earth which adhered to it. I have reason to suppose that there is a considerable quantity at the place whence this piece was brought. Recollecting that there was a resolution of congress, passed two years ago, directing a search to be made after copper on Lake Superior, it occurred to me that the President might wish some inquiries to be made after the mine from which this sample was taken.

HARRISON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR

March 25, 1802

Dawson, *Harrison*, *29*

With respect to the salt spring [in Saline county, Ill.] which the chiefs who were at the seat of government lately expressed a wish to lease, my opinion is, that it would be altogether improper to comply with their request, considering both the present advantage of the Indians and the interests of the white settlers, now and in time to come. The spring alluded to, is perhaps the very best in the whole extent of country from the Alleghany mountains to the Mississippi, and may, if the preservation of the wood in the neighborhood be properly attended to, give so large a supply of salt as very considerably to reduce the price of that indispensable article in all the settlements of the Ohio and the navigable branches of that river. Should the proposed lease take place, the tenant would endeavor to make as much present advantage as possible—the young trees and the branches of the older would alone be made use of, while the heavy trunks would be left to rot on the ground, and in a few years would be effected the destruction of as much timber as would be sufficient, under proper management to last for a century. The leasing of this spring would probably produce a disagreement among the Indians themselves. Every tribe in the country would expect to partake in the benefits of the lease, and the proportion which would fall to the lot of each would be so small, as to disgust those who really have a right to the land: the Delawares and Shawnese have none. The better plan appears to be to extinguish the title altogether to the spring and a small tract around it: the United States could very well afford to give each of the tribes a sum equal to one year's annuity for the spring and 10,000 acres around it. It might then be put under such management as completely to indemnify the public for the expense of the purchase, and produce a sufficiency of salt at a moderate price for the present inhabitants and those who are to follow.[1]

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[1] The Salines were just below the mouth of the Wabash. Some Shawnee and Delaware chiefs on a visit to Washington offered to cede these to the U. S. This was done and on January 18, 1803 Jefferson in a special message advised Congress to carry out the plan here suggested by Harrison. April 30, 1805, Harrison appointed Col. Isaac White supt. of the Salt Works on Saline creek.

Ind. Mag. of Hist. XV, 332
Am. Sta. Pa. Ind. Aff. I, 683, 688

PROCLAMATION: RIGHTS OF SETTLERS AT PEORIA

April 8, 1802

Executive Journal, 5

The Citizens of the Village of Peoria on the Illinois River having presented a petition to the Governor, stating that a considerable quantity of wood and prairie land adjoining the said Village, from whence they have been accustomed to procure hay and fuel, had been granted by a Certain Mallier [Paulette Maillet] who stiled himself Commandant of Peoria to a number of Individuals by whom the said Citizens have been forbidden to Cut Wood, or Hay as usual, to their great Inconvenience and Injury; The Governor Issued a proclamation publicly notifying, that all the land included within a Square of six miles [Ceded by Indians in Wayne's treaty, 1795] round the said Village is the property of the United States, that the said Mallier nor no other persons have ever been authorized by the United States to dispose of the land, and that the sales, and Concessions made by him are Fraudulent and Void; And as the only agent of the United States in this Territory, he gave to the Citizens of the said Village permission to Cut wood and Hay upon any of the Public lands, which are not Enclosed or have not been yearly Enclosed, at the same time he expressly forbids any new settlement, plantation or farm to be made upon any part of the said six miles square, until it shall be authorized by the Government of the United States.[1]

PROCLAMATION: OFFERING A REWARD FOR A JAIL BREAKER

May 5, 1802

Executive Journal, 6

The Sheriff of Knox County having reported to the Governor that a Certain John Williams, confined in the jail of the said County, on the Charge of murder, did on the night of the 4th. Instant [May] Break the Jail, and from thence Effected his Escape, the Governor Issued a proclamation offering a Reward of three hundred Dollars, to any person or persons, who should apprehend the said Williams, and deliver him to the Custody of the Sheriff of said County, he also in the same proclamation Charges and requires all Sheriffs, Constables, and other Civil officers of the Territory to make diligent search for the said Culprit; and he requests the good Citizens of the Territory to give all the assistance in their power towards apprehending him, and as there is great reason to believe the said Williams was assisted by some Villian or Villians in making his Escape, the Governor offers a further reward of one hundred dollars, to any person or persons who will give information of any accomplice or accomplices of the said Williams in Breaking the Jail so that the offenders may be prosecuted with effect.[1]

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[1] Paulette Maillet was born at Macinac in 1753. His life was that of the French woods ranger, roaming the forest as an Indian partisan from Lake Erie to the Rocky mountains. He is best known for his daring capture of Fort St. Joseph in 1778. This same year he founded Peoria, Ill., opposite the present city. Here in 1805 the trader lost his life in a quarrel with another ranger named Senegal who shot him dead.

HARRISON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

July 7th 1802

Mss. in Indiana State Library

SIR:

The mail which will carry this letter is the first from this place, since the month of March last—or I should before have done myself the honour to write to you—altho I had nothing material to communicate. This barrenness of events still continues, with the exception of such as come under my notice as Superintendent of Indian affairs & these as has been the custom will be detailed to the Secretary of War.

The Secretary of this Terretory will transmit you a Copy of our proceeings from the commencment of the Government to the 4th Instant, & a Copy of the Laws—adopted by the Governor and Judges during the last Winter. The expence of printing laws adopted in the Territory has usually been borne by the United States, & I believe that part of the Contingent money voted annually by Congress is intended for this purpose. If I am correct will you please to inform me, Sir, whether it will be done under your direction at the seat of Government, or will you authorise me to employ some one of the printers in Kentucky to do this and other trifling articles in the Printing line—Such as land Patents, Civil and Military Commissions &c. The Citizens of the Territory suffer great inconveniance for the want of Printed Laws—& I shall shortly be ready to issue Patents for such of the land claims as have not been decided on by the former Governor. My proceeding on this subject shall be transmitted to you as it is brought to a close—which I hope to be able to effect in the course of one year from the present time. My labour in this business would be much lightened and the chance of making blunders rendered much less; If I could procure from Governor St. Clair certain Records in his possession, which exclusively relate to the land business in this Country. I have enclosed an extract of his answer to my application for these papers, in which he declares he does not think himself authorised to deliver them, without an order for that purpose from the President.[1]

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[1] A small hunting party of Indians under the lead of an Indian named Jim Gallaway were hunting on Blue river. They had about $50 worth of fur when their camp was discovered by three white wretches named John Williams, Martin Williams and a man named Cutchelow who murdered all the Indians and escaped with the plunder to Kentucky. On the order of the Governor of Kentucky Captain Davis Floyd arrested John Williams in Breckinridge county, Kentucky. Cutchelow was rescued by his neighbors from the sheriff and Martin Williams escaped to New Orleans. John Williams was lodged in jail at Vincennes where he broke jail by the aid of friends and escaped, as shown in the proclamation. The criminals escaped conviction but were all killed by the Indians a short time later while on a trapping expedition. See Harrison to Sec. of War July 15, 1801. Dawson, *Harrison*, 29 *seq.*

I am with respect &c.

WM. HENRY HARRISON

HARRISON TO JEFFERSON

VINCENNES 8th Augt. 1802

Jefferson Papers: 2d series, vol. 42, no. 75

SIR:

When I had the honour to see you in Philadelphia in the Spring of the year 1800 You were pleased to recommend to me a plan for a Town which you supposed would exempt its inhabitants in a great degree from those dreadful pestilences which have become so common in the large Cities of the United States. As the laws of this Territory have given to the Governor the power to designate the seats of Justice for the Counties, and as the choice of the Citizens of Clark County was fixed upon a spot where there had been no town laid out, I had an opportunity at once of gratifying them, of paying respect to your recommendation, and of Conforming to my own inclinations. The proprietor of the land having acceded to my proposals a Town has been laid out with each alternate square to remain vacant forever (excepting one Range of squares upon the River) and I have taken the liberty to call it Jeffersonville. The beauty of the spot on which the Town is laid out, the advantage of the situation (being just above the Rapids of the Ohio) and the excellence of the plan, make it highly probable that it will at some period not very remote become a place of considerable Consequence. At the sale of the lots a few days ago several of them were struck off at 200 Dollars. It is in contemplation to cut a canal round the Rapids on this side—a project which it is said can be very easily executed and which will be highly beneficial to the Town. Indeed I have very little doubt of its flourishing. It is my ardent wish that it may become worthy of the name it bears, and that the Humane & benevolent views which dictated the plan may be reallised.

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[1] For further details concerning the contents of this letter, see letter of Jan. 19, 1802, above.

If Sir it should again happen that in the wide Range which you suffer your thoughts to take for the benefit of mankind the accomplishment of any of your wishes can in the smallest degree be aided by me, I beg you to believe that your Commands shall be executed to the utmost extent of my small talents.

I have the Honour to be with sincere Attachment Sir your Most

Hume. Sevt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

THOMAS JEFFERSON,
President of the United States

P. S. I have done myself the Honour to enclose a plan of the Town of Jeffersonville[1] and one which shows its situation with Regard to Louisville & Clarksville.

[Indorsed] Harrison Govr. Wm. Henry. Vincennes Aug. 8, 1802 recd. Aug. 29.

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[1] Jeffersonville was laid off in 1802 by Marston G. Clark, William Goodwin, Richard Pile, Davis Floyd and Samuel Gwathmey. The plan of Jefferson was carried out. "The original plan resembled a checkerboard; the black squares to be sold in lots, the red squares to be crossed diagonally by streets, leaving four triangular parks at the intersections of streets." This plan was changed in 1810.

Baird, *Clark county,* 49

HARRISON'S ADDRESS TO INDIAN COUNCIL[1]

August 12, 1802

Dawson, *Harrison*, 22-25

My Children—

I have been, for a considerable time, desirous of having a general council composed of the chiefs and wise men of all the different tribes, whose concerns have been committed to my management, by your great father, the President of the United States.

Since my first arrival in this country, you well know how extremely anxious I have been to preserve your peace and harmony, not only between you and your white brethren, but between each particular tribe of my red children.

When the tomahawk was raised some time ago by some of your inconsiderate and rash young men, and your blood already began to flow, you know what pains I took to arrest the fury of the bloody weapon and to bury it where I thought it could never again be found.

My children, the great tree of peace which was planted at Greenville, I have watered and cultivated with the greatest care, and I have cherished the hope that this tree would spread its branches over the whole of this great Island, and that the white and red people would smoke the pipe of friendship under its shade till the end of time.

But in spite of all my care, this fair and flourishing tree has been severely wounded by the rash and inconsiderate young men of both colors; and but a very few weeks ago, it received a most terrible gash, and one, which I much fear, will endanger the very existence of those large branches which hang over the Illinois river.

My Children, let us all exert ourselves to shield from future danger this sacred plant: let us cut off the branches which are withered and decayed, and extirpate the weeds which have hitherto retarded its growth, and then let us entwine our arms around its trunk, that the vicious and unruly may be unable to injure it.

My Children whilst your father, the President, was form-

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1. This council was called at Vincennes and got to business September 2. Kaskaskias, Kickapoos, Weas, Eel river Miamies, Piankeshaws and Pottawattomies attended. Compare the letter from the Sec. of War, Feb. 23, 1802, and Harrison's letters of Feb. 26, above for purpose. See also the report of this council under date of September 17, 1802.

ing plans for your future happiness, and was communicating to me his directions upon the subject of clearing your understandings, and making you acquainted with those arts by which the white people are enabled to live with so much ease and comfort, how much must he have been grieved and surprised to hear that two of his people had been murdered by some of those very persons for whose welfare and happiness his thoughts were thus anxiously employed. Are these delightful plains, which were made by the Great Spirit to afford nourishment for his children, to be for ever deluged with blood? Will foolish men never learn that war and bloodshed are as offensive to the maker of us all, as they are destructive of the happiness of those which might engage in it?

My Children, aim your arrows at the buffaloe, the bear, and the deer, which are provided for your use, but spare your brother man; let those whom the Great Spirit has placed upon the same Island, live in peace with each other. Let the nations to whom it has pleased God to give abundance of the comforts of life, share them with their neighbors who may be deficient.

My Children, by this principle your great father, the President of the United States is strongly actuated; he bids me inform you that it is his ardent wish to see you prosperous and happy; he has directed me to take every means in my power to have you instructed in those arts, which the Great Spirit has long ago communicated to the white people, and from which they derive food and clothing in abundance.

My Children, some of you whom I now address are old and wise men, who have lived long enough to see that the kind of life you lead is neither productive of happiness to yourselves, nor acceptable to the Great Spirit. You know the constant state of warfare in which you have lived has reduced some of your most powerful nations to a mere handful; and even in time of peace, the difficulty of procuring provisions at some seasons of the year is so great, that your women are unable to raise a sufficient number of children to supply the constant waste occasioned by the excessive use of that most pernicious liquor, whiskey.

My Children, the Great Spirit must assuredly have been angry with us when he discovered to man the mode of making this mischievous liquor. You well know the innumerable miseries which this fatal liquor has produced amongst you. Many of your young men spend the whole profit of their hunting in whiskey, and their children and old fathers are left to struggle with cold and hunger. Nay more, when reason is driven away by the intoxicating draft—what shocking scenes have been exhibited. The knife of a brother is aimed at a brother's life, and the tomahawk of the son is frequently buried in the head of his father; and those beautiful plains which were only to be stained by the blood of the deer and buffaloe are crimsoned with the gore of your best chiefs and warriors.

But *my Children,* let us turn away our eyes from those shocking scenes, and let us unite our endeavors to introduce other manners amongst the generation which is now growing up.

Your father, the President, has directed me to inform you, that he wishes you to assemble your scattered warriors, and to form towns and villages, in situations best adapted to cultivation; he will cause you to be furnished with horses, cattle, hogs, and implements of husbandry, and will have persons provided to instruct you in the management of them. My children, turn your thoughts seriously to this important object. You know that the game which afforded you subsistence is yearly becoming more scarce, and in a short time you will be left without resource, and your wives and children will in vain ask you for food.

My Children, it is very easy for you to avoid this calamity. A great many years ago the white people subsisted as you do now upon the wild beasts of the forest. When those were becoming scarce the Great Spirit communicated to them the method of raising grain for bread, and taught them to bring the ox and the horse under their subjection though they had been as wild as your deer and buffaloe and thus to assist them in cultivating the earth.

My Children, our Great Father, who lives in heaven has admirably contrived this earth for the comfort and happiness of his children; but from the beginning he has made it a law that man should earn his food by his own exertions: the beasts of the forest cannot be taken without trouble and fatigue; nor can bread or clothing be made without considerable labor. It is necessary that the grain should be deposited in the earth, and the intruding beasts kept off and noxious weeds destroyed; the munificent Deity performs the rest. He sends the rain and the dew to fertilize the soil and give vigor to the tender plants, and causes the sun to ripen and perfect the fruit.

There is nothing so pleasing to God as to see his children employed in the cultivation of the earth. He gave command to our ancestors to increase and multiply until the whole earth should be filled with inhabitants. But you must be sensible my Children that this command could not be obeyed if we were all to depend upon the chase for our subsistence. It requires an immense extent of country to supply a very few hunters with food, and the labor and fatigue which the wives of hunters undergo and their constant exposure to the inclemency of the seasons make the raising of a very few children a matter of the greatest difficulty.

My Children, you may perhaps think that the plan I have recommended is too difficult to be effected; but you may depend upon it that with the proper exertions on your part there is no doubt of its success. The experiment has been fairly tried with your brothers the Creeks and Cherokees. Many individuals of the former have herds of cattle consisting of some hundreds together with an abundance of corn and vegetables. This has had a most happy effect on their population and all their wigwams are already filled with children.

At any rate let me entreat you to make the experiment, for the sake of the rising generation; although it may be difficult for an old man to change entirely the mode of life in which he has been brought up, with children it is otherwise; they can be formed to any thing, can be made to assume any shape like the young shoots of the willow or the tender branches of the vine.

MINUTES OF INDIAN CONFERENCE

September 17, 1802

Dawson, *Harrison, 27*

In a conference, holden by William Henry Harrison, Governor and commander in chief in and over the Indiana Territory, and intendant of Indian affairs, and the Sachems and Chiefs of the Potawatamy, Kickapoo, Eel River, Kaskaskia, Wea, and Piankishaw nations, the said Sachems and Chiefs aforesaid have nominated and appointed the Little Turtle, Richarville, To-pinee-bik, and Winemak, or a majority of them, to finally settle and adjust a treaty with such agent or agents as may be appointed on behalf of the United States, which shall be established on the following article, to wit:

That the United States shall relinquish all claim to lands in the neighborhood of Vincennes, excepting the following described tract, which we the undersigned Sachems and Chiefs for ourselves and the nations we represent, do by these presents authorize and empower you, the said Little Turtle, Richarville, To-pinee-bik, and Winemak, or a majority of you, to transfer and make over to the United States in consideration of the relinquishment above mentioned, the tract of land comprised within the following lines and boundaries, to wit: beginning at Point Coupee on the Wabash river, thence running a westwardly line four leagues, thence southwardly by a line drawn parallel to the general course of the Wabash river until it will be intersected by a westwardly line drawn from the confluence of the White river and Wabash river, thence from the point of intersection aforesaid along the said line by the confluence of the White and Wabash rivers in an easterly direction twenty-four leagues, thence northeastwardly by a line drawn parallel to the general course of the said Wabash river until it will intersect an easterly line drawn from Point Coupee aforesaid, on the Wabash river, thence by the line last mentioned to Point Coupee, the place of beginning.

And we, the undersigned Sachems and Chiefs, also authorize and empower you the said Little Turtle, Richarville, To-pinee-bik, and Winemak, or a majority of you, to transfer and make over to the United States the privilege of making salt for ever at the salt lick on the Saline river, and also a tract of land four miles square, including the salt lick aforesaid.

Done at Vincennes, the 17th day of September, 1802.

Wonongaseah, (or five medals)	Pottawatamy Chiefs
Ma-Gaa-Goh, X	
Wake-Nah, (or Left Hand) X	
Kee-Sas, (or Sun) X	
Ma-Mi-La-Chich, (or ground hog) X	Eel river Chiefs
Ma-Top-Sa-Ni-Ah, (or Sam) X	
Nontour, X	Piankishaw Chiefs
Grosble, X	
Troisfesses, X	
Fusee, X	Wea Chiefs
Young Labossiere, X	
Se-Con-Quan-Ing-Guah, X	
Baptiste Ducoigne, X, a Kaskaskia Chief	
Pa-Ke-Ka-Nak, X	Kickapoo Chiefs
Pos-Se-Lan-Con-Guah, X	

Done in the Presence of

W. Wells, agent for the district of Fort Wayne
Jno. Gibson
Henry Vanderburgh
Jno. Rice Jones
B. Parke
David Coupland, Virg'a
Cornelius Lyman, com't 1st In'fy Reg.
Carter B. Harrison, Virg'a
Joseph Baron, sworn Interpreter
Jas. Johnston

Commissions for Holding Court

September 24, 1802

Fergus Hist. Series 31, Early Illinois 31

Indiana Territory, ss. William Henry Harrison Esquire, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, to John Edgar[1] and Peter Menard[2] of the County of Randolph Esquires, Greeting:

Whereas we assigned the Honble. John Griffin[3] Esqr. one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Indiana Territory, our Justice to enquire by the Oaths of Honest and Lawful Men of the County of Randolph, by whom the truth of the Matter may be better known, of all Treasons, Insurrections and Rebellions, and of all Murders, Felonies, Manslaughters, Burglaries, Rapes of Women, unlawful uttering of Words, unlawful assemblies, Misprisions, Confederacies, false allegations, Trespasses, Riots, Routs, Contempts, falsities, Negligencies, Concealements, Maintainances, Injuries whatsoever, and by whomsoever and howsoever done, had or perpetrated and Committed, and by whom, to whom, where how and in what Manner the same have been done, perpetrated or committed and all and singular the premises and every of them for this time to hear and determine according to Law, and to cause to be brought before him all the prisoners who shall be in the Jail of the said county together with all and singular the Warrants, attachments, Mittimuses, and other documents, touching the said prisoners, and for this time to deliver the Jail of the said County of all the prisoners in the said Jail, for all and every of the said offences, according to Law. And we have associated you the said John Edgar and Peter Menard to act in the premises with the said John Griffin. Yet so, that if at certain days and places, which the same John Griffin shall appoint for this purpose, you shall happen to be present, then that he admit you a Companion, otherwise the said John Griffin (your presence not Being expected) may proceed to act in the premises, and therefore we commend you and each of you that you attend to act with the said John Griffin in form aforesaid in the premises For we have Commanded the said John Griffin to admit you as a Companion for this purpose as aforesaid.

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[1] John Edgar, a native of Ireland, at the beginning of the American Revolution gave up command of a British ship on the Great Lakes and joined the Americans, 1776. In 1787 he located at Kaskaskia as a merchant remaining there till his death in 1832. He was wealthy, owning a large flour mill and shipping to New Orleans. He also operated a salt mill. He served in many official capacities.

Reynolds *Pioneer Illinois, 116*

2 and 3. For sketches of Menard and Griffin, see index.

Witness: William Henry Harrison, Esquire, Governor and (Seal) Commander of the Indiana Territory at Vincennes this 24th September 1802 and of the Independence of the United States the Twenty Seventh.

By the Governor,

JNO. GIBSON, *Secrety* WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Indana Territory } ss. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON Esquire Governor of the Indiana Territory to the Honble. JOHN GRIFFIN Esqr. one of the Judges in and over said Territory and JOHN EDGAR and PETER MENARD Esquires of the County of Randolph, Greeting:

Whereas, we have assigned you the aforesaid John Griffin our Justice, to Inquire more fully by the Oaths of Honest and lawful men of the County of Randolph, by whom the Truth of the Matter may be Better known, of all treasons, Insurrections and Rebellions, and of all Murders, Felonies, Manslaughter, Burglaries, Rapes of Women, unlawful Uttering of Words, unlawful Assemblies, Mis-prisons, Confederacies, Maintainances, Oppressions, deceits and all other Misdeed and offences and Inuries, whatsoever and by whomsoever, and howsoever, done, had, perpetrated or committed and all and Singular the premises and every or any of them for this time to hear and determine according to Law. And afterwards associated the said John Edgar and Peter Menard with you the aforesaid John Griffin in the premises. We command you, that if You all cannot conveniently attend to act in the premises, that you or any two of you, who shall happen to be present, of which we will that you the said John Griffin be one, proceed to act in the premises according to Law.

(Seal) *Witness* WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Esquire Governor of the Indiana Territory at Vincennes this Twenty Fourth day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two and of the Independence of the United States the Twenty Seventh.

By the Governor,

JNO. GIBSON, *Secrety*

PROCLAMATION: SELLING LIQUOR TO INDIANS

October 24, 1802

Executive Journal, 7

The Congress of the United States having by the act of the 30th March, 1802, authorized the President of the United States to take such measures as he may deem Expedient for preventing the Introduction of ardent Spirits amongst the

Indian Tribes, and the Governor of the Territory having received Instructions and authority from the President to suppress the sale of ardent Spirits to the Indians within the Territory, The Governor Issued his proclamation strictly Enjoining upon all traders and other persons, to forbear in future to sell any ardent spirits or Intoxicating Liquors to any Indian or Indians whatever; Such Traders as may heretofore [have] taken Liquors into the Indian Country are allowed to remove the same after which period it shall be considered as an Infraction of the Regulations for the Government of the Indian Department, if any such ardent spirits are found in their possession and their Bonds will be forfeited accordingly.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

October, 1802

Dawson, *Harrison*, 45

The white man and the Indian were drinking together at a tavern, a quarrel ensued, and the Indian was taken off by another white man to a distant house till he would become sober. The man with whom the Indian disputed, after providing himself with a cudgel, proceeded to the house where the Indian was, and forced open the door of the room in which he lay, and beat him to death with the cudgel. He was apprehended, but there were strong doubts that a jury could not be procured that would convict him, although the evidence was indisputable; such was the delusion under which the white inhabitants labored with respect to the crime of murdering an Indian. (Extract)

PROCLAMATION: CALLING A CONVENTION TO PETITION CONGRESS TO ALLOW SLAVERY IN INDIANA TERRITORY

November 22, 1802

Executive Journal, 7

Petitions having been presented to the Governor by a Considerable number of the Citizens of the Territory praying that a proclamation should Issue from the Executive authority for Calling a General Convention for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of repealing the sixth article of Compact between the United States and the people of the Territory, and for other purposes, and proof having been adduced to the governor that a very large majority of the Citizens are in favor of the measures: the Governor in Compliance with their wishes Issued his proclamation notifying all whom it may concern that an Election will be held at the Respective Court Houses in Each County of the Territory on Tuesday the 11th. day of December for Choosing representatives to a General Convention, and the number of Representatives from the several Counties to be as follows Viz. from the County of Knox four, from the County of Randolph three, from the County of St. Clair three, and from the County of Clark two, and the Sheriffs of the several Counties are authorized and required to hold the Elections in their Respective Counties, and in Case of any of the Sheriffs are Candidates, then the election to be held by the Coroners.[1]

RESOLUTION OF VINCENNES CONVENTION

December 25, 1802

Indiana Historical Society Publications, II, 469

We the People of Indiana Territory inhabiting the middle and western Divisions of the Country Northwest of the Ohio, do by our Representatives in general Convention assembled, hereby agree that the operation of the Sixth Article of Compact between the United States and the people of the Territory [Ordinance of 1787] should be suspended for the space of ten years from the Day that a law may be passed by Congress giving their Consent to the Suspension of the said Article.

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[1] By a subsequent proclamation, dated November 24, the time for opening this convention was changed to Monday, December 20th, *Executive Journal*, 7, at which time it duly met. On December 25th the convention adopted a resolution in favor of a ten year suspension of the article of the Ordinance of 1787 which prohibited slavery; and on the 28th the substance of this resolution, together with some additional requests concerning the grant of lands, provisions for education, roads, salt springs, the franchise, etc., was embodied in a petition to Congress, which was transmitted to that body by the Governor with an accompanying letter on the same day. An adverse report to the request concerning slavery (and most of the other matters) was returned in the House of Representatives by a committee presided over by John Randolph, on March 2, 1803; but a year later (February 17, 1804) a second committee reported in favor of it. The desired authorization for the introduction of slavery, however, was not obtained, either at this time or later, when the petition was several times renewed. The documents cited above are here printed as necessary to an understanding of this proclamation.

See Jacob Piatt Dunn's *Slavery Petitions and Papers* in *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, II, No. 12 (1894); also his *Indiana: A Redemption From Slavery* ("American Commonwealths" series.)

Provided however that should no law be passed by Congress for suspending the said article before the 4th day of March 1805, then the Consent of the people of this Territory hereby given shall be void and of no effect. [See Nov. 22, above]

Done at Vincennes in the Indiana Territory the twenty-fifth day of December one thousand Eight hundred and two, and in the twenty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States.

By order of the Convention.

WILLM HENRY HARRISON,
President & Delegate from the County of Knox

Teste: JNO. RICE JONES,
Secretary

PETITION OF THE VINCENNES CONVENTION

December 28, 1802

Indiana Historical Society Publications, II, 461

That nine-tenths of your memorialists being of opinion, that the sixth article of Compact contained in the ordinance for the Government of the Territory has been extremely prejudicial to their Interest and welfare, requested the Governor by petitions from each of the several counties to call a general convention of the Territory for the purpose of taking the sense of the whole People by their Representatives on a subject to them so interesting and of afterwards taking such measures as to them might seem meet by petition to your honorable Bodies not only for obtaining the repeal or suspension of the said article of Compact but also for that of representing and Petitioning for the passage of such other Laws as would in the opinion of the Convention be conducive to the general welfare, population and happiness of this distant and unrepresented portion of the United States.

This convention is now sitting at Vincennes and have agreed to make the following representations to the Congress of the United States, not in the least doubting but that everything they can desire (not prejudicial to the Constitution or to the Interest of the General Government) will readily be granted them.

The Sixth article of Compact between the United States and the people of the Territory which declares that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in it has prevented the Country from populating and been the reason of driving many valuable Citizens possessing Slaves to the Spanish side of the Mississippi, most of whom but for the prohibition contained in the ordinance would have settled in this Territory, and the consequences of keeping that prohibition in force will be that of obliging the numerous Class of Citizens disposed to emigrate, to seek an Asylum in that country where they can be permitted to enjoy their property.

Your memorialists however and the people they represent do not wish for a repeal of the article entirely, but that it may be suspended for the Term of Ten Years and then to be again in force, but that the slaves brought into the Territory during the Continuance of this Suspension and their progeny, may be considered and continued in the same state of Servitude, as if they had remained in those parts of the United States where Slavery is permitted and from whence they may have been removed.

Your memorialists beg leave further to represent, That the quantity of lands in the Territory open for Settlement is by no means sufficiently large to admit of a population adequate to the purposes of Civil Government. They therefore pray that the Indian titles to the land lying between the settled part of the Illinois country and the Ohio, between the general Indian boundary line running from the mouth of the river Kentucky [Greenville Treaty Line] and the tract commonly called Clark's Grant [Clark County, Indiana] and between and below the said Clark's Grant and the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, may be extinguished; and as an incouragement for a speedy population of the Country; that those lands and all other public lands in the Territory may be sold in Smaller Tracts and at a lower price than is now allowed by the existing Laws. A purchase of most of the Country above mentioned but more especially of that part lying between the Illinois and the Ohio it is conceived may be easily obtained from the Indians and on very moderate and advantageous Terms.

Several persons (as your memorialists are informed) having settled on the public lands in this Territory with the intention of purchasing the same when offered for sale by the United States are fearful that advantages may be taken of their Improvements to enhance the Price. Your Petitioners therefore pray, That a law may be passed for their relief, giving the right of Pre-emption to all those who may have so settled on the public lands, and also as one of the more sure means of populating the Country as of enhancing the value of the United States lands remaining undisposed of in the Territory. They further pray, that provision may be made in the said Law for securing a certain part of every Section of Such public land to those who will actually settle and cultivate the same.

The United States having pledged themselves in the Ordinance that Schools and the means of Education should be forever encouraged, and having in all the Sales of land heretofore made, reserved considerable portions thereof for that purpose.

Your memorialists, therefore, humbly pray that a law may be passed making a grant of lands for the support of the Schools and Seminaries of learning to the several Settlements in the Illinois, the Settlement of Vincennes, and that of Clark's Grant, near the Rapids of the Ohio.

The means of communication as well between the several Settled parts of the Territory as between the Territory and the State of Kentucky, being extremely difficult and inconvenient, as well for want of good Roads as for want of houses of Entertainment, and as neither of those objects can be obtained otherwise than by application to the United States who own or may own the lands through which the said Roads must pass.

Your memorialists, therefore, further pray that a law may be enacted granting to such persons as the Governor of the Territory may recommend, Four hundred acres of land to each in such places as the said Governor may designate, not exceeding the distance of Twenty miles from each other, on the road leading from Clark county to Knox county, and from Vincennes in the said County to the Bank of the Ohio opposite to the town of Henderson, in Kentucky; also from Vincennes to Kaskaskia, in Randolph county, and from thence to Lusk's Ferry on the Ohio [15 miles above the mouth of Cumberland river], who will open good waggon roads and Establish houses of Entertainment thereon for Five Years, under such restrictions as to your Wisdom may Seem Necessary.

And your Memorialists further beg leave to represent that one of the most indispensable articles of life (Salt) is very Scarse and difficult to be obtained, That for the want of a sufficient number of Salt Springs in their Country, that difficulty must increase with the population, and if effectual methods are not taken to secure the Timber in the neighbourhood of the Salt Springs [near Shawneetown] from being willfully or carelessly wasted and destroyed, they will in a very few years indeed be utterly destitute of that very valuable article; that there is but one Salt Spring known in the Country of any value, and that is situate below the mouth of the Wabash River, Commonly called the Saline, and is very advantageously placed for the accommodation of most of the Inhabitants of the Territory, and has, moreover, been lately ceded by the Indians to the general Government.

Your memoralists, therefore, humbly pray the Congress of the United States to extend their Bounty to this Territory as they have lately done to that Northwest of the Ohio, and vest the said Salt Spring in the Legislature of the Territory, as soon as it is formed in trust, for the use of the Territory, and untill the Legislature be formed, that the management of said spring be committed to the Governor of the Territory, or to such other person as the President of the United States may think proper to appoint.

By a Resolve of Congress of the 29th August, 1788, confirmed by an Act of the United States of the 3d March, 1791, a donation of Four hundred acres of land is given to each of those persons who were heads of Families in the Illinois Country on or before the year 1783, which the Governor of the Territory was directed to cause to be laid off to the several claimants in a form of a Parallelogram adjoining the several Villages therein mentioned.

The whole of the lands adjoining those Villages were before the passage of the above Resolve the private property of Individuals who claimed the same by Virtue of old grants made to them and their ancestors during the time of the French government so that the Governor could not cause the said donation to be laid off in the form and manner designated by the said Resolve.

This has been very detrimental to the several Grantees, and in a great measure prevented the further population of the Country, your memorialists however beg leave to observe, that if the said donation lands are directed to be laid off in distinct Bodies for each Village, by far the greatest part of them must from the very large and extensive Prairies with which the whole of that country abounds be wholly and absolutely useless through the entire want of Timber.

Your memoralists therefore pray you to take the situation of the antient Inhabitants of the Illinois Country into Consideration and as the humane Intention of Congress was to give such lands as would be useful, that you will permit the said Grantees, their Heirs and assigns especially after a period of Fourteen years, to locate their said donation of Four hundred acres of land in separate Tracts, in such parts of the Illinois Country to which the Indian titles may have been extinguished, and that the Governor of the Territory may be authorized to issue Patents therefor. This permission to locate the lands in separate Tracts, will not it is conceived be prejudicial to the United States, as the value of the lands in the neighbourhood of each Settled Tract will thereby be considerably augmented.

Your memorialists further shew that they view that part of the ordinance for the Government of the Territory which requires a freehold qualification in fifty acres of land as Electors for members to the general assembly as subversive of the liberties of the Citizens and tending to throw too great a weight in the Scale of wealth. They therefore pray that the right of Suffrage (in voting for representatives to the general assembly) may be extended to the free male Inhabitants of the Territory of the age of Twenty one years and upwards, but under such Regulations and Restrictions as to you in your Wisdom may seem proper.

Since the Erection of the Territory into a separate Government, the Attorney General [John Rice Jones] therof has prosecuted not only for offenses committed against the Municipal Laws of the Territory but also against the Laws of the United States, and has been obliged at three different Times to travel one hundred and sixty miles, from his home to the seat of the Territorial Government to prosecute offenders against those Laws, and yet he has received no Compensation for his Services either from the United States or the Territory, nor is it probable that the Territory can afford to allow him any Salary for his future services.

Your memorialists, therefore, pray that a Law may be passed allowing a Salary to the Attorney-General of the Territory adequate to the important services which are rendered by that officer to the United States as well as to the Territory.

Your memorialists are well aware that the consideration of the numerous objects contemplated by this memorial will require more time than can well be spared from the important and general concerns of the Union, but when they reflect upon their neglected and orphan-like Situation they are emboldened to hope that their wants and wishes will meet with all the indulgence and attention necessary to secure to them the relief which is so essential to their welfare and happiness.

Done at Vincennes in the Indiana Territory the twenty-eighth day of December in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, and of the Independence of the United States the Twenty-Seventh.

By order of the Convention.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,
President, & Delegate from the County of Knox

Teste: JOHN RICE JONES,
Secretary

HARRISON TO SPEAKER OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

December 28, 1802

Indiana Historical Society Publications, II, 470

In Convention, Vincennes, Indiana Territory
To The Honorable, The Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States:

Sir—The people of the Indiana Territory, having by their representatives in general convention assembled, determined to suspend, for a term of years, the operation of the sixth article of Compact between the United States and the people of the Territory, I have the honor herewith to inclose you for the information of the house of Representatives, the instrument declaratory of their consent. I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, Sir,

Your humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,
President, and Delegate from the County of Knox

(By order of the Convention)

PROCLAMATION: ERECTING THE LOWER PENINSULA OF MICHIGAN INTO WAYNE COUNTY, AND ATTACHING THE WHITEWATER VALLEY TO CLARK COUNTY

January 14, 1803

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Collections VIII, 540

WHEREAS, By an act of Congress passed the 30 of April 1802 entitled "An act to enable the people of the Eastern Division of the Territory North West of the River Ohio, to form the constitution and State Government and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states and for other purposes". It is declared that from and after the formation of the said states, all that part of that part Northwestern territory which is not included within the boundaries prescribed for the said state shall be attached to, and made part of the Indiana Territory;

and *whereas* the inhabitants of the said Eastern division have formed themselves into an independent state by the name of the State of Ohio it has become necessary for the convenience of the citizens in the newly acquired territory and the due administration of justice that a new county should be laid off and alterations made in the boundaries of those formerly established.

Wherefore I William Henry Harrison Governor of the Indiana Territory by the authority vested in me by the ordinance for the Government of the Territory, do ordain and declare that a county shall be formed in the North-eastern part of the Territory to be known and designated by the name and style of the County of Wayne. And the boundaries of the said county shall be as follows *to wit:* Beginning at a point where the East and West line passing through the Southerly extreme of Lake Michigan would intersect a North and South line passing through the most Westerly extreme of the said Lake, and thence north along the last mentioned line to the Territorial boundery of the United States, thence along the said boundry line to a point where an East and West line passing through the Southerly extreme of Lake Michigan would intersect the same, thence West along the last mentioned line to the place of beginning.—And all the aforesaid lands lying within the above described lines and boundaries are hereby erected into the county of Wayne. And the inhabitants of the said county of Wayne shall have and enjoy (from the date hereof) all the rights, privileges and immunities whatsoever which to a county and the inhabitants thereof in anywise appertain.—And each and every person within the bounds of said county of Wayne who held commissions civil or military under the government of the Northwestern territory at the time of the formation of the State of Ohio, shall still continue to exercise and enjoy their respective offices. And the justices of the Court of common pleas; of the general quarter sessions of the peace, and of the orphans court shall (until otherwise directed) continue to hold their respective courts at the place and times at which they were accustomed to be held under the Government of the Northwestern Territory.

And *whereas* I have not received sufficient information respecting the settlements, below the great Miami, to enable me to form in that quarter a county establishment, for the present, that tract of country included between a North line drawn from the mouth of the big Miami River; the Ohio, and the indian boundery line running from a point opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky River shall be attached to and form part of the county of Clark. And such persons within the said bounds as may have held civil or military commissions under the Government of the Northwestern Territory, at the time when the said described tract was attached to this territory, are hereby appointed to the same offices respectively in the County of Clark which they held under the Government of the Northwestern Territory.

Done at St. Vincennes the 14 day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three and of the Independence of the United States the 27.

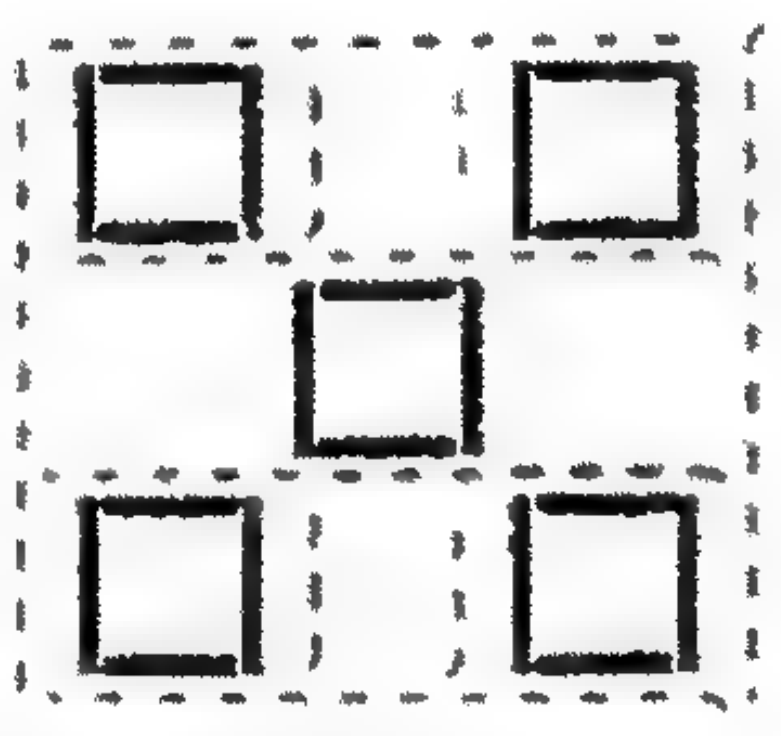
JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary*
By the Governor PETER AUDRAIN, *proth.*

JEFFERSON TO HARRISON

WASHINGTON Feb. 27, 1803
[Jefferson Papers 1st series, vol. 9 no. 208]
Dawson, *Harrison, 35-38*

DEAR SIR:

While at Monticello in August last I received your favor of Aug. 8 [see above] and meant to have acknowledged it on my return to the seat of government at the close of the ensuing month, but on my return I found that you were expected to be on here in person, and this expectation continued till winter. I have since received your favor of Dec. 30.

In the former you mentioned the plan of the town which you had done me the honour to name after me, and to lay out according to an idea I had formerly expressed to you. I am thoroughly persuaded that it will be found handsome, & pleasant, and I do believe it to be the best means of preserving the cities of America from the scourge of the yellow fever which being peculiar to our country must be derived from some peculiarity in it, that peculiarity I take to be our cloudless skies. In Europe where the sun does not shine more than half the number of days in the year which it does in America, they can build their towns in a solid block with impunity; but here a constant sun produces too great an accumulation of heat to admit that. Ventilation is indispensably necessary. Experience has taught us that in the open air of the country the yellow fever is not only not generated, but ceases to be infectious. I cannot decide from the drawing you sent me, whether you have laid off streets round the squares thus  or only the diagonal streets therein marked. The former was my idea, and is, I imagine, more convenient.

You will recieve herewith an answer to your letter as President of the Convention; and from the Secretary at War you recieve from time to time information and instructions as to our Indian affairs. These communications being for the public records are restrained always to particular objects and occasions. But this letter being unofficial, and private, I may with safety give you a more extensive view of our policy respecting the Indians, that you may better comprehend the parts dealt out to you in detail through the official channel, and observing the system of which they make a part, conduct yourself in unison with it in cases where you are obliged to act without instruction. [The] system is to live in perpetual peace with the Indians, to cultivate an affectionate attachment from them, by every thing just & liberal which we can [offer?] them within the bounds of reason, and by giving them effectual protection against wrongs from our own people. The decrease of game rendering their subsistence by hunting insufficient, we wish to draw them to agriculture, to spinning and weaving. The latter branches they take up with great readiness, because they fall to the women, who gain by quitting the labours of the field [for] these which are exercised within doors. When they withdraw themselves to the culture of a small piece of land, they will perceive how useless to them are their extensive forests, and will be willing to pare them off from time to time in exchange for necessaries for their farms & families. To promote this disposition to exchange lands which they have to spare and we want for necessaries, which we have to spare and they want, we shall push our trading houses, and be glad to see the good and influential individuals among them run in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands.[1] At our trading houses too we mean to sell so low as merely to repay cost and charges so as neither to lessen or enlarge our capital. This is what private traders cannot do, for they must gain; they will consequently retire from the competition, and we shall thus get clear of this pest without giving offence or umbrage to the Indians. In this way our settlements will gradually circumscribe and approach the Indians, and they will in time either incorporate with us as citizens of the United States or remove beyond the Missisipi. The former is certainly the termination of their history most happy for themselves. But in the whole course of this, it is essential to cultivate their love. As to their fear, we presume that our strength and their weakness is now so visible that they must see we have only to shut our hand to crush them, and that all our liberalities to them proceed from motives of pure humanity only. Should any tribe be fool-hardy enough to take up the hatchet at any time, the siezing the whole country of that tribe and driving them across the Missisipi, as the only condition of peace, would be an example to others, and a furtherance of our final consolidation.

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1. Harrison has been criticised by most writers dealing with this period for his "aggressive" policy in purchasing Indian lands. This criticism began with disgruntled land speculators such as William McIntosh. Dunn, *Indiana* 323-416; "*Decius*" *Letters;* Marshall, *History of Kentucky;* Adams, *United States VI, 107;* Alvord, *The Illinois Country.*

For a similar case, see the attacks made on Michael Jones, land agent in Illinois, at the same time. The criticism plainly has no sufficient foundation. On the other hand compare Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, 276, 280.*

Combined with these views, and to be prepared against the occupation of Louisiana by a powerful and enterprising people, it is important that setting less value on interior extension of purchases from the Indians, we bend our whole views to the purchase and settlement of the country on the Missisipi from it's mouth to it's Northern regions, that we may be able to present as strong a front on our Western as on our Eastern border, and plant on the Missisipi itself the means of it's own defence. We now own from 31° to the Yazoo, and hope this summer to purchase what belongs to the Choctaws from the Yazoo up to their boundary, supposed to be about opposite the mouth of Acanza [Arkansas]. We wish at the same time to begin in your quarter, for which there is at present a favorable opening. The Caskias [Kaskaskias] being extinct, we are entitled to their country by our paramount sovereignty. The Peorias we understand have all been driven off from their country, and we might claim it in the same way; but as we understand there is one chief remaining, who would, as the survivor of the tribe, sell the right, it will be better to give him such terms as will make him easy for life, and take a conveyance from him. The Kaskaskias being reduced to a few families, I presume we may purchase their whole country for what would place every individual of them at his ease, and be a small price to us: say by laying off for each family wherever they would chuse it as much rich land as they could cultivate, adjacent to each other, inclosing the whole in a single fence, and giving them such an annuity in money or goods for ever as would place them in happiness; and we might take them also under the protection of the United States. Thus possessed of the rights of these three tribes, we should proceed to the settling their boundaries with the Poutawatamies and Kickapoos; claiming all doubtful territory but paying them a price for the relinquishment of their concurrent claims, and even prevailing on them if possible to cede at a price such of their own unquestioned territory as would give us a convenient Northern boundary. Before broaching this, and while we are bargaining with the Kickapoos, the minds of the Poutawatamies and Kickapoos should be soothed and conciliated by liberalities and sincere assurances of friendship. Perhaps sending a well qualified character to stay some time in Decaigne's[2] village as if on other business, and to sound him and introduce the subject by degrees to his mind and that of the other heads of families, inculcating in the way of conversation all those considerations which prove the advantages they would receive by a cession on these terms, the object might be more easily and effectually obtained than by abruptly proposing it to them at a formal treaty. Of the means however of obtaining what we wish you will be the best judge; and I have given you this view of the system which we suppose will best promote the interests of the Indians and of ourselves, and finally consolidate our whole country into one nation only, that you may be enabled the better to adapt your means to the object. For this purpose we have given you a general commission for treating. The crisis is pressing. Whatever can now be obtained, must be obtained quickly. The occupation of New Orleans, hourly expected, by the French, is already felt like a light breeze by the Indians. You know the sentiments they entertain of that nation. Under the hope of their protection, they will immediately stiffen against cessions of land to us. We had better therefore do at once what can now be done. I must repeat that this letter is to be considered as private and friendly, and not to controul any particular instructions which you may receive through an official channel. You will also percieve how sacredly it must be kept within your own breast, and especially how improper to be understood by the Indians. [For] their interests and their tranquillity it is best they should see only the present [stat]e of their history. I pray you to accept assurances of my esteem and consideration.

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[2] Where identifications do not follow immediately see index.

TH:JEFFERSON

RANDOLPH'S REPORT ON SLAVERY IN INDIANA

March 2, 1803

Am. Sta. Pa. Public Lands, I, 161

Mr. [John] Randolph, from the committe[1] to whom were referred a letter from William Henry Harrison, President of the Convention, held at Vincennes, declaring the consent of the people of Indiana to the suspension of the sixth article of compact between the United States and the people of that territory: also, a memorial and petition of the inhabitants of the said territory; made the following report:

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[1] This House committee consisted of John Randolph of Va., Roger Griswold of Connecticut, Robert Williams of North Car., William Hoge of Penn., and L. R. Morris of Vermont. It is worth keeping in mind that there was about as much opposition to slavery at this time in the south as in the north. For petitions see Nov. 22, 1802, above.

"That the rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region. That this labor, demonstrable the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States: that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the Northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of emigration.

On the various objects of the memorial, your committee beg leave to observe:

That, an appropriation having been made, empowering the Executive to extinguish Indian titles to lands within the limits of the United States, the particular direction of that power rests entirely with that department of the Government; that, to permit the location of the claims under the resolve of Congress of the 29th of August, 1788, and the act of the 3d of March, 1791, (of whose number and extent the committee are entirely ignorant) in the mode pointed out in the memorial, would be an infringement upon that regular mode of survey and of location which has been so happily adhered to in relation to the public lands. At the same time, the committee are of opinion that, after those lands shall have been surveyed, a certain number of townships should be designated, out of which the claims aforesaid ought to be satisfied. In a country abounding in new and unsettled lands, it is presumed that every individual may become a proprietor of the soil; and inasmuch as the people of Indiana will at a period not far distant, be enabled to establish the right of suffrage on such principles as the majority may approve, the committee deem it inexpedient to alter a regulation whose effect is to retain in the hands of persons necessarily attached to the welfare of the country, the Government of a remote dependency, which, from its vicinage to the territories of foreign States, and from the sparseness of its population, might, otherwise, be exposed to foreign intrigue and influence.

Measures having been taken to put the salt spring below the mouth of the Wabash river in a situation to yield every possible benefit to the adjacent country, the committee are of opinion that it is, at this time, enexpedient to vest that property in the Legislature of the Indiana territory. From such a consideration as they have been enabled to bestow on the subject at this late period of the session, and under the pressure of accumulating business they recommend the following resolutions, which are respectfully submitted to the judgment of the House:

1. *Resolved,* That it is inexpedient to suspend, for a limited time, the operation of the sixth article of compact between the original States and the people and States west of the river Ohio.

2. *Resolved,* That a provision, not exceeding one thirty-sixth part of the public lands within the Indiana territory, ought to be made for the support of schools within the same.

3. *Resolved,* That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he hereby is, required to cause an estimate to be made of the number and extent of their claims to lands under the resolve of Congress of the 29th of August, 1788, and the act of the 3d of March, 1791; and to lay the same before this House at the ensuing session of Congress.[2]

4. *Resolved,* That in all sales of the public lands within the territory of Indiana, the right of pre-emption be given to actual settlers on the same.

5. *Resolved,* That it is inexpedient to grant lands to individuals for the purpose of establishing houses of entertainment, and of opening certain roads.[3]

6. *Resolved,* That it is, at this time, inexpedient to vest in the Legislature of the Indiana the salt spring below the mouth of the Wabash river.

7. *Resolved,* That it is inexpedient to alter the existing regulation of the right of suffrage within the said territory.

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[2] The third resolution refers to French land claims around Vincennes.

[3] Harrison had asked for a donation of land for a tavern every ten miles along the post road from Louisville to St. Louis *via* Vincennes.

8. *Resolved,* That compensation ought to be made to the attorney General of the said territory, for service performed by him in behalf of the United States.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 3rd March 1803

Har. Pa. 109-123

SIR:

Such has been the irregularity of the mails from the severity of the winter that your favor of the 17th of January did not reach me until a few days ago. The same cause must have retarded my letter of the 14th of Dec. which I suppose had not been received when yours of the above date was written.

Capt. [William] Wells has certainly not exerted himself to pacify the Indians who have taken offence at the late Treaties [Vincennes, Sept. 17, 1802] with the Delawares and Piankeshaws. It is equally certain that the disaffected are not as numerous as he has stated them to be and that those who have expressed discontent have been instigated thereto entirely by the Turtle.[1] Whether the idea of opposition to those Treaties originated with himself or with Mr. Wells I cannot determine but that the opinions of the one are always the opinions of the other. I have long known The Turtle has considerable influence over the Five Medals[2] and some others of the Potawatomi chiefs and I believe that Captain Wells and himself control entirely the small band of Eel River Indians. But when Wells speaks of the Miami Nation being of this or that opinion he must be understood as meaning no more than the Turtle and himself. Nine tenths of that Tribe who acknowledge Richardville and Peccan[3] for their chiefs (but who are really governed by an artful fellow called the Owl and Long Beard whom you once saw at the seat of government) utterly abhor both Wells and the Turtle. On this occasion however they may have been induced to join in the clamor from the expectation of deriving some advantage from it.

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[1] Little Turtle, or Mi-shi-kin-na-kwa, was the greatest of the Miamis. Born near the site of Fort Wayne about 1751, he died and was buried there July 14, 1812. He led his tribe at Harmar's defeat, 1790, St. Clair's defeat, 1791, and at his own defeat by Wayne at Fallen Timbers, 1794.

[2] Five Medals, Onoxa or Wonongoseah, war chief of the Pottawatamie tribe on the river St. Joseph of Lake Michigan; his village was upon the Elkhart tributary of the St. Joseph. Harrison, *The Aborigines of the Ohio Valley, 73*

[3] Owl or Long Beard, a Miami chief.

Griswold, *The History of Ft. Wayne, 164*

Peccon, a Miami chief, successor of Little Turtle during War of 1812. Died 1814 just after signing the second treaty of Greenville and was succeeded by Richardville. His home was about 5 miles up the St. Mary from Fort Wayne.

Butler, *Huntington County, 225;* Bryce, *Fort Wayne, 280*

After a careful and a dispassionate consideration of the subject I can see no reason to alter the opinion I had formed that neither the Miamis nor the Potawatomis have any just claim either in common or otherwise to any part of the Tracts ceded to the United States by the Delawares and Piankeshaws. The Delaware claim to that particular tract was derived from Present occupancy and from a grant said to have been made to them upwards of thirty years ago by the Piankeshaws. When the French first descended the Wabash the Piankeshaws were found in the possession of the country on either side of that River from its mouth at least as high up as the Vermilion and the possession of it has never been disputed excepting by the Delawares who claimed under the Piankeshaws and the Weas who have occupied the country above Point Coupee since their Towns at Ouiatenon were destroyed by Generals Scott and Wilkinson in the year 1791.

That the Piankeshaws are a Tribe of the large confederacy which obtained the appelation of Miamis from the superior size of the particular Tribe to which that name more properly belonged is not denied. The tie however which united them with their brethren has become so feeble that for many years past the connection has been scarcely acknowledged. For a considerable time antecedent to the Treaty of Greeneville the Piankeshaws found it necessary to adopt a different policy from that which was pursued by the Tribes their Allies. Three considerable bodies of men led into the heart of their country by General Clark between the years 1779 and 1786 convinced them that their union with the Miamis could not afford them the safety and protection which was no doubt the object of it and several conferences were held between General Clark and his officers and their chiefs which resulted in the establishment of peace between them and the United States. The proceedings at one of these Conferences is presented in Imlays *History of Kentucky* Vol. 2nd page 79 and no mention is made of the Miami Nation.

The assertion of Wells in his letter to you of the 7th Dec. that for upwards of 20 years which he had known the Indians in this Quarter nothing of importance had ever been transacted by the Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias without the consent of the Miamis is a notorious falsehood. A treaty was made at this place in the year 1792 by Genl. Putnam[4] with the Piankeshaws and Weas and peace established between those Tribes and the United States—the Miamis were not parties to his treaty and continued their hostilities against us until they were compelled to sue for peace in the year 1795. Mr. Wells was present at Putnam's Treaty and I believe was employed as an interpreter.

Although the language customs and manners of the Kaskaskias make it sufficiently certain that they derive their origin from the same source as the Miamis the connection had been dissolved even before the French had penetrated from Canada to the Mississippi. At that time a confederacy of five tribes existed in the Illinois Country composed of the Tribes called the Peorias, Kaskaskias, Mitchegams, Cahokias, and Tamaroes.[5] There are persons now alive who remember when these confederates could bring into the field upwards of 2000 warriors. A long and unsuccessful war with the Sacs (in which they received no assistance from the Miamis) has reduced them to the contemptable band which follows Ducoign and a remnant of Peorias who procure a miserable subsistance by begging and stealing from the inhabitants of St. Genevieve, and since these wretched beings have been proscribed by these very Potawatomies who according to Mr. Wells have been and still are so closely united with the Miamis with which they are said to form one nation. The fear of extirpation by the Potawatomies was one of the principal inducements with the Kaskaskias to commit themselves entirely to the protection of the United States.

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[4] Gen. Rufus Putnam, treaty with Indians of Wabash and Illinois tribes, Sept. 27, 1792. Dillon, *History of Indiana, 293.*

[5] Peorias, Indian tribe in central Illinois, Hodge, *Handbook of Am. Indians, II, 228*
Kaskaskias, Indian tribe of southern Ill. *Ibid, I, 661*

Mitchegamies, (Michigamea) tribe of southern Illinois confederacy and near Michigan. *Ibid, I, 856*

Cahokias, first known as Tamaroes tribe western Illinois. *Ibid, I, 185*

Tamaroes, tribe near mouth of Illinois and Missouri rivers, part of the Illinois confederacy; *Ibid, II, 682.* No further explanation of Indian tribes will be given. These can all be found in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* a government publication prepared for the Bureau of Ethnology, 1910.

The Kaskaskia Tribe never lifted the Tomahawk against the United States. The Miamis during the whole war with the Northwestern Indians were amongst the most active of their enemies and the most difficult to bring to a final accommodation.

The Piankeshaws altho they gave assistance to the other Tribes in the commencement of the war seceded from the Confederacy and made peace with us three years before the Miamis.

If then the Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias were competent to the important concerns of making peace and war without the consent of the Miamis, they must be equally so to sell land. Which is acknowledged by them and which is no longer useful to them. The Treaty of Greeneville contains nothing to authorize the belief that those two Tribes were considered at that time dependent upon the Miamis. None of their chiefs were present. They did not think it necessary to go as one of them had never been at war with the United States and the other had made peace three years before. But it was considered just that they would participate in the bounty of the United States for that purpose their names were introduced into the Treaty and the Weas (not the Miamis) their nearest neighbours were requested to sign for them.

Inclosed is an address of the Turtle's to Wells which he desired might be sent to me for the purpose of convincing me that the Piankeshaws had no right to sell their lands. I can see nothing in it however to weaken what I have advanced above. It is my decided opinion that the U. S. have the right to treat with either of the Tribes who were parties to the Treaty of Greeneville. Motives of humanity will always prevent them from purchasing lands which cannot be conveniently spared and the interest of those who without having any just claim to the land but who may desire their support from it will be attended to. These principles are exemplified by the Treaties made with *two* Tribes for one tract of land when a complete and legal title might perhaps have been obtained by the extinction of the claims of one.

The Tract purchased of the Delawares and Piankeshaws [1802] is not nor never has been since my arrival in this country frequented as a hunting ground by either the Miamis or Potawatomies. None of the Indians go there to hunt buffaloes (as Mr. Wells has asserted) not an animal of that kind having been seen within that tract for several years, nor is its generally flat surface well calculated for the residence of bears.

The Potawatomies so far from having any claim to land on the South East side of the Wabash acknowledge that they have trespassed upon the Miamis by settling on the north bank of that river and it has been an object with the Turtle and Wells for several years to get them to remain.

You will perceive by my letter to Mr. Wells a copy of which was inclosed in mine to you of the 14th Dec. that I had directed him to send the Potawatomie and Miami Chiefs to me at this place. The Little Turtle has declined the invitation and gives the artful and mischievous reason which you will see in the enclosed address and I am persuaded that he will make every exertion in his power to prevent my seeing the Potawatomies at any other place than Fort Wayne. I do not know whether Wells has informed the Potawatomie Chiefs of my wishes to have an interview with them. In his answer to my letter he contents himself with announcing the refusal of the Turtle.

As there can be no doubt but that everything that can be advanced in favor of the Miami claim is to be found in the Turtle's Address to the President, in that to Mr. Wells and in Well's own letters the matter will be fully before the President and I must beg for further instructions unless it is determined to admit the principle that the Delawares and Piankeshaws had no right to sell their land without the consent of the Miamis Potawatomies &c. It will be improper in my opinion to have a public conference on the subject as it will be necessary to invite not only the chiefs of those two Tribes but those of the Weas Eel River Kickapoos and Shawnese Tribes and I know that they can never be *convinced* without a gratification which will considerably exceed the original purchase money.

From the enclosed address of Wells which is said to have been made to the Miami chief but I am convinced was made to the Turtle alone I am afraid that he has misunderstood your instructions. He assures the Indians that if they can show a just claim to the land in question *restitution* will instantly be made. He uses the same expression in the letter which enclosed the address.

The violent opposition which the Turtle has made to the

Delaware and Piankeshaw Treaties is easily accounted for. Conscious of the superiority of his Talents over the rest of his race and colour he sighs for a more conspicuous theatre to display them. Opportunities for exhibiting his eloquence occur too seldom to satisfy his vanity and the subjects which are generally discussed in the councils of the few chiefs who adhere to him, are too contemptible to gratify his ambition. A chosen connexion among the neighbouring Tribes and a regular convention of their chiefs has long been the ruling wish of his heart and the object of numberless intrigues. An attachment for his person, a submissive defference to his talents, or a supposed coincidence of interests has caused the Agent of the United States to adopt the opinions and promote the views of the Turtle to the utmost extent of his public as well as private influence. The propriety of delivering at Fort Wayne the annuities for the Tribes on the lower part of the Wabash and of obliging them (the Weas particularly) to remove to the neighborhood of that place and the benefits that would result to the United States as well as to the Indians by an annual assemblage of the chiefs of all the Tribes at which all business was to be transacted has been often pressed upon me. The Treaties with the Kaskaskias or the Delaware and Piankeshaw Tribes has given a mortal stab to the favourite scheme and altho I am convinced that very few of the Indians feel any injury from those Treaties it is very easy to persuade them that they have been injured.

Capt. Wells's conduct in this affair certainly deserves severe animadversion. I think it probable however that he did not *foresee* the consequences of it to the public interests and that some ridiculous *spice* of jealousy towards myself may have mingled itself with his motives. In order to prevent the like in future and to secure a just and proper dependance upon the Head of the Department I must take the liberty to recommend that he may be informed by you that the approbation of the President of the Continuance of his favour will depend upon the reports which I may make of the zeal and fidelity with which he seconds me in executing the orders of the government. There is perhaps no department which requires greater unanimity amongst the agents than that which has the management of Indian affairs. The jealousy of those people is so easily excited that a single artful observation is frequently sufficient to defeat the best concerted plans even when on the point of conclusion.

I was not present when the Miamis recognized the Title of the Delawares to the country between the White River and the Ohio but I have no doubt of the fact; it came to my knowledge in the following manner. I did myself the honor to inform you after my return from Fort Wayne in the year 1803 that the Owl or Long Beard had with very considerable address prevented the great body of the Miamis from attending my summons to meet me at Fort Wayne for the purpose of receiving their annuities and concluding the Treaty the preliminaries of which had been fixed at this place the preceding fall and that after waiting for them a considerable time I was forced to content myself with the signatures of Richardville, the Sachem of the Nation, and the Turtle. Two days after the Treaty had been signed and at the very moment of my departure, the Owl arrived with a principal chief called Peccom [Pecan] a number of minor Chiefs and 100 or 150 Warriors. It was a matter of importance to expose to the Miamis the arts of the Owl and to explain to them the conditions of the Treaty. A council was then appointed for the next day and all the chiefs of the other tribes who were still within reach (for some of them had returned) were requested to attend—the time for the meeting of the council arrived but neither the Miamis nor the Delawares appeared. After waiting for them a considerable time I was informed that those two Tribes were in council together and soon time after the Delawares arrived—there were then with me General Gibson[6], Wm. Wells, The Turtle and a few of his followers and some Potawatomie Chiefs. Tetohoscke the Delaware Sachem produced a belt of Wampum and addressing himself to me through Genl. Gibson observed that the Miami Chiefs had that morning with the consent of all their warriors acknowledged their right to the lands between the White River and the Ohio and had given them that wampum to commemorate the transaction. The Miamis joined in immediately after and as soon as I had reproached them with their im-

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[6] Gen. John Gibson was secretary of Indiana territory, a Pennsylvanian by birth, had served under Forbes, under Lewis at point Pleasant, under Washington during the Revolution a veteran fur trader, then past sixty year of age.

Woolen, *Biographical Sketches*

proper and disrespectful conduct and explained the artifices by which the Owl had mislead and embarrassed their affairs I was obliged to have the conclusion of the council to Wm. Wells set out on my return as I had upwards of thirty miles to ride on that day to the place where my boat had been left on the Wabash and the Water was falling so rapidly as to make the utmost expedition necessary to secure my passage. The Miamis were induced to take this step by the persuasions of the Owl and his object was to strengthen his party by gaining over the Delawares an object which engaged the Turtle's attention at that time also. The charges which the Turtle has brought against me in his address to the President, I should have passed over without an observation if he had not hinted at the use of unfair means in procuring the consent of the Indians to the Treaties, I have made with them and as I have never before that I recollect informed you of my mode of proceeding on these occasions I have thought it proper to do so at the present moment. Whenever the Indians have assembled for any public purpose the use of ardent spirits has been strictly interdicted until the object for which they were convened was accomplished and if in spite of my vigilance it had been procured a stop was immediately put to all business until it was consumed and its effects completely over. Every conference with the Indians has been in public. All persons who chose to attend were admitted and the most intelligent and respectable characters in the neighborhood specially invited to witness the fairness of the transaction. No treaty has ever been signed until each article was particularly and repeatedly explained by the most capable and confidential interpreters. Sketches of the tract of country about to be ceded have always been submitted to the Indians and their own rough delineations made on the floor with a bit of charcoal have proved their perfect comprehension of its situation and extent.

As I am convinced that it will be almost impossible to get the Miami and Potawatomi chiefs here under present circumstances I have held myself in readiness to proceed to Fort Wayne immediately upon the receipt of your answer when I hope to be indulged with your particular instructions. By an indirect channel I am informed that it is in contemplation to continue the United States road which is completed as far as Dayton on the Miami to this place. I fear that it will be very difficult to prevail on the Indians to consent to it.

Richardville the Sachem or Principal Chief of the Miamis whose father was a Frenchman carries on a small trade with that Tribe. He generally procures his goods on the British side of the lakes and the duties have always been exacted from him by the collector of Duties Contrary in my opinion to the Treaty with Great Britain. He had applied to me for redress—if you would think as I do I must beg your interference to relieve him from the Duties in future. There is no doubt of his attachment to our interests.

I have lately received intelligence from the Arkansas informing me that the Osages have plundered the Traders and other inhabitants upon that River to an immense amount.

I have the Honor to be with perfect esteem and respect

Your Servant

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN Esq. *Sec'y of War*

PROCLAMATION ERECTING DEARBORN COUNTY AND APPOINTING OFFICERS FOR SAME

March 7, 1803

Cincinnati *Western Spy, April 6, 1803*

Whereas, I have received a petition from a number of citizens, inhabiting the south-east corner of the territory, stating the inconveniences they labor under for the want of a county establishment in that quarter, and praying that a new county may be laid off.

And *whereas,* I have received satisfactory evidence that there are a sufficient number of inhabitants within the proposed limits to justify a compliance with their request. I have thought proper to erect into a separate county all the lands lying and being within the following lands and lines and bounds, viz. Beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami thence north along the line separating the Indiana territory from the state of Ohio, to the intersection thereof with the Indiana boundary line running from a point opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River, thence, along the last mentioned line to the Ohio river and up the said river to the place of beginning; and the said county shall be known as designated by the name and styled under county of Dearborn and all the lands lying within the above described lines, and boundaries are hereby erected into the county of Dearborn; and the inhabitants of the said county of Dearborn shall have and enjoy all the rights privileges, and immunities whatsoever which to a county and the inhabitants thereof in any wise appertain.

And *whereas* it is of the utmost importance that a proper place should be selected in the name of justice for the said county, and as the information I have received, does not enable me at present to determine on the subject, I have thought proper to declare and ordain that until a permanent seat of justice shall be fixed in the session of the court of common pleas of the general quarter sessions of the peace and of the orphans court of the said county, shall be held at the town of Lawrenceburgh.

And I do hereby appoint Benjamin Chambers,[1] Esquire, and his associates the justices of the courts of the quarter sessions of the peace for said county or any three of them commissioners to enquire into and report to me on a proper place for the permanent seat of justice as aforesaid.

In testimony whereof I, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor, hath hereunder set my hand and caused the seal of the territory to be hereunder affixed, at Vincennes, this 7th day of March, Anno Domino, one thousand eight hundred and three and of the independence of the United States of America the twenty seventh.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

By the Governor.
John Gibson, *Secretary*

PROCLAMATION: CHANGING THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN RANDOLPH AND ST. CLAIR COUNTIES

March 25, 1803
Executive Journal, 8

Sundrie petitions having been presented to the Governor, from a number of the Citizens of the County of Randolph, Complaining of the great distance from the seat of justice of their county, and praying that the line dividing the counties of Randolph and St. Clair may be so altered as to annex them to the latter, the Governor Issued a proclamation, declaring the line seperating the Counties of Randolph and St. Clair [Illinois] shall begin on the Mississippi River four miles and thirty-two chains south of the point where the present division line intersects the Mississippi Bottom, thence by a direct line to the Sinkhole Springs, thence by a line north sixty degrees East until it intersects a north line running from the great Cave on the Ohio River [Cave-in-rocks], and the alterations and boundaries so established shall take place from and after the first day of May next. (Abstract)

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[1] Benjamin Chambers was the founder of Lawrenceburg, a government surveyor by profession. His associates were Jabez Percival, Barnet Hulick, John Brownson, Jeremiah Hunt, Richard Stevens, William Major and James McCarty. *Dearborn County*, 113

PETITION ENSIGN IN MILITIA

May 8, 1803

Mss. in Indiana State Library

The Memorial of the Militiamen in Captain Visgers Company (Detroit) to his Excellency Governor Harrison

Humbly

Whereas there has been a vacancy in our company for some time of an Ensign Owing to Mr. Oneal moving to Post Vincent. We trust your Excellency will not impute it presumptive in us to offer for your Excellency's consideration John Ba. Cicott, Jun. as a fit character to supply the place.

We are sensible Sir of the impropriety of attempting to dictate to our Executive but this is by no means our intention in the most obstant view but we trust that it will strike your Excellency forcibly the being commanded by such person as have our esteem and confidence.

With much Regard we are, your Excellency's
Obedient Servants

WILLIAM RUSSELL
PIERRE LA BADI
JOSHUA OLDS
AUGUSTIN LAGARCE
JABEZ STEVENS
ANTOINE CAMPAN
ANTOINE BELONGA
C. TUTTLE
CHERLE LABASIE
JOHN BAINE
BATISTE DAGEUNES
FRANCOIS AVELINE
JAMES WATSON

JOHN FERRY
JOLE RENARDS
PIERE PERAULT
JEAN BA. CAMPAU
JOSEPH ....
MIXIS CAMPAU
MARTAIN NADACE
PEIRRE NAVARRE
JACQUE CICOTT
J. REYBURN
BENJ. CHAPMAN
LOUIS ROI
PIERRE LE VESEUR

CHAMBERS TO HARRISON

OHIO BANK [LAWRENCEBURG] July 22nd 1803

Mss. in Indiana State Library

DEAR SIR:

I hope you will pardon my long silence the reason of which was that I was informed you had set out to Detroit and not being informed when you were to return I waited, till our last court, where I was told you had return'd, it required some time to get the information necessary respecting the proper Characters for Militia Officers and I have agreeable to your Excellency's request selected such as I conceive will answer

Major—John Brownson[1]

Cap'ts

William Hall, Samuel Fulton, Danl. Linn Barrent Hulick and Jeremiah Johnston

Lieutenants

Israel Standiford. William Spencer William Cheek James Hamilton and William Allensworth—

Ensighns

Garsham Lee. Thomas Fulton, Mickl. Flick. William Thompson and James Buchanan—these are the most proper persons that I could get to serve—many to whom I mentioned the matter would not leave I told them that your Excellency wanted some information respecting the proper persons to fill the offices but never mentioned that the information was to be from myself—. I have been almost determined to except of no Commission what ever, but I concieve I owe something to Society and much to your Excellencys politeness, otherwise I assure you I never would have served in either of the stations in which I am now placed we are much in want of the territorial laws. I have none, nor can I procure them here. When they come forward I will have the Militia law in opperation immediately—W W Clean is now waiting and uneasy to proceed. I will do myself the Honor to write soon. p. post, please to except of my thanks for your polite consideration and believe me to be with respect Dear Sir

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[1] John Brownson and others mentioned below were early settlers of Lawrenceburg. Commissions were made out for them by Gov. Harrison March 7, 1803—*Executive Journal*, 116—, and Samuel Vance, a founder of Lawrenceburg, authorized to swear them into office. This seems to have been done Aug. 15, 1803. *History of Dearborn County*, *113*. The town of Lawrenceburg was advertised in the Cincinnati *Western Spy* Mar. 13, 1802; auction sale of lots, April 11, 1802.

Yr Ob Servt.
B CHAMBERS

His Excellency WILLIAM H. HARRISON,
Vincennes

W W CLAIN [perhaps the carrier]

PETITION FOR POWER TO LAY A TAX

VINCENNES, November 19, 1803

House of Representatives Collection No. 8. 1802-09

TO THE HONORABLE THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED,

The Memorial and petition of William Henry Harrison Governor of the Indiana Territory Respectfully sheweth,

That your Memorialist, being authorized thereto by a Resolution of the Governor and Judges[1] of the Indiana Territory, in their legislative Capacity, a Copy of which is hereunto annexed, has the honor to represent to Congress;

That much Inconvenience has arisen, and does daily arise to the Citizens, from the Want of Money in the territorial Treasury to answer the Exigencies of the Government, which is unable to command a sufficient sum, even for the Apprehension and prosecution of the most notorious offenders against the laws.

Every object which would bear a Tax, and for [which] legal precedent could be found, has been sufficiently burthened to raise County Levies for the Erection of Jails, Court Houses &c. And after the most mature Consideration, it was evident to the Governor and Judges, that no Way of raising the sum, which the Circumstances of the Territory required, was so eligible as by imposing a small Tax upon the Indian Traders. No Tax could be collected with so much facility, or paid with so much Ease; and none can be more equitable, as all the other Traders in the Country contribute fifteen Dollars yearly towards the Support of County Establishments.

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[1] This petition was read in the House of Representatives Jan. 2, 1804, referred to a committee—John W. Eppes of Va., Henry W. Livingston of N. Y. and Ebenezer Elmer of N. J. On the 10th of January this committee made an adverse Report. *Annals of Congress*

Your Memorialist therefore prays, that a law may be passed, authorizing and requiring the Superintendant of Indian Affairs or other persons empowered to issue Licences to Indian Traders, within the Indiana Territory, to receive for each Licence issued, such a Sum for the Use of the said Territory, as in your wisdom may be thought reasonable. And your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c—

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

INDIANA TERRITORY

A Resolution requesting the Governor to make application to congress for the purposes therein mentioned Published at Vincennes the seventh day of November one thousand eight hundred and three, by William Henry Harrison Governor and Thomas T. Davis and Henry Vander Burgh Judges in and over the said Territory

Whereas in the present circumstances of this Territory the revenue is inadequate to the necessary expences thereof. And *Whereas* the Territory frequently incurs expences by reason of prosecuting on behalf of the United States, to defray which, there is no provision by any law of the United States.

Resolved that the Governor be and is hereby requested to make application to Congress for leave to impose a reasonable tax, yearly, on all persons trading with the Indian tribes within this Territory to and for the use thereof.

The foregoing is hereby declared to be a law of the Territory and to take effect accordingly. In Testimony whereof we, William Henry Harrison, Thomas T. Davis and Henry Vander Burgh have caused the seal of the Territory to be thereunto affixed and signed the same with our names.[2]

WILLM HENRY HARRISON
THOMAS TERRY DAVIS
HENRY VANDER BURGH

I do hereby certify that the above is a true Copy of the Original on file in the office of the Secretary of the Indiana Territory

For JOHN GIBSON Secretary
John Gibson Jun,

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[2] The territorial judges of Indiana were: William Clarke, Henry Vanderburg, and John Griffin. Clarke died suddenly Nov. 11, 1802 and was succeeded by Thomas Terry Davis who served till his death at Jeffersonville, Nov. 15, 1807. Davis was succeeded by Benjamin Parke who continued as a federal judge of Indiana till his death, July 12, 1835. The other two served their terms out.

Esarey, *Courts and Lawyers of Indiana, I, 404*

HARRISON TO JEFFERSON

VINCENNES 26th Novr 1803

Jefferson Papers, 2d series, vol. 42, no. 76

The Governor of the Indiana Territory presents his respectful compliments to the President of the United States and requests his acceptance of the enclosed map which is a copy of the manuscript map of Mr Evans[1] who ascended the Missouri River by order of the Spanish Government much further than any other person.

[Indorsed:]

HARRISON Govr. VINCENNES Nov. 26.03.recd Dec.20

MADISON TO CONGRESS

December 1, 1803

Har. Pa. 415, 416

The Secretary of State to whom by a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 2d March last was referred a Petition of sundry inhabitants of Post St. Vincennes in the Indiana Territory; has examined the same, and thereupon makes the following reports, viz. The petitioners assert a right to a tract of land which they describe as extending along the Wabash River from Point Coupee to the Mouth of the White River comprising about seventy-two miles above and below Post St. Vincennes, and on both banks of the said River from the little Wabash to the Protoeas [Panse au Pichou?] River, forming according to their computation an extent in this direction of two hundred and twenty-six miles. This right they pretend to derive from an Indian grant to their predecessors as the first settlers of that District, as well as from a subsequent confirmation of it by the Indians. It is on the basis of these pretentions that they express their hopes that Congress will "allow them at least a part in the grants which have lately been made by the Indians to the United States" and they add the request that a small tract of Woodland on the banks of the Wabash may be annexed to the villages Commons, which is now become destitute of Wood.[1]

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[1] This seems to refer to Lewis Evans, a colonial geographer who died in 1756. His maps were published in 1776 and used by the British armies.

It would be unnecessary to contest the validity of this Indian grant and confirmation, since the inhabitants have repeatedly and formally renounced all the right they possessed to the tract in question, particularly in their address to Congress of the 26 July 1787 in which they use the following words: "Reposing the most unbounded confidence in the justice, humanity and benevolence of the honorable Congress we solemnly surrender our charter whatever it is, and throw ourselves upon your mercy". An extract from this source documents and others from Mr. Tardiveau's[2] address to Congress in their behalf dated 7th August 1787, and 28th Feb. 1788, and also the powers given to him by the inhabitants of St. Vincennes as their agent are annexed. This renunciation as far as it might be supposed by the inhabitants to relate to a valid title in themselves was doubtless one of the motives to the grant and confirmations made to them by Congress in their acts of 20th June and 29th August 1788, and 3d March 1791, the latter of which ought to be considered as closing the claims of the settlers of St. Vincennes.

For these reasons the Secretary of State is of opinion that the petition ought not to be granted, which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES MADISON

Department of State.

SECOND REPORT ON PETITION OF THE VINCENNES CONVENTION

February 17, 1804

Am. Sta. Pa. Misc. I, 387
Annals, 8th Cong. 1 sess. 1023-4

Mr. [Caesar] Rodney, from the committee[1] to whom were referred a letter from William Henry Harrison, President of the general convention of the representatives of the people of the Indiana Territory, also a memorial and petition from the said convention, together with the report of a former committee on the same subject at the last session of Congress made the following report:

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[1] This petition was read in congress Feb. 11, 1803. For the foundation of this grant or pretended grant, see *Am. Sta. Pa. Pub. Lands, I, 32, 68, 71, 84, 85, 90, 122.* See Harrison to Madison supra. For a brief account see Esarey, *Hist. of Ind. I, 132*

[2] Barthelemi Tardiveau. In Alvord, *Kaskaskia Record* is given all these old petitions and papers. Tardiveau came west with Harmar and became the attorney for the claimants but without success. *Kaskaskia Records* 440-496. See also Dunn, *Indiana,* 244; Smith, *St. Claim Papers* II, 27; Alvord, *The Illinois Country,* index.

[1] This committee was composed of Caesar Rodney of Del., John Boyle of Ky., and John Rhea of Tenn. For petition see Nov. 22, 1802, above.

That taking into their consideration the facts stated in the said memorial and petition, they are induced to believe that a qualified suspension, for a limited time, of the sixth article of compact between the original States and the people and States west of the river Ohio, might be productive of benefit and advantage to the said Territory.

They do not conceive it would be proper to break in upon the system adopted for surveying and locating public lands, which experience has proved so well calculated to promote the general interest. If a preference be given to particular individuals in the present instance, an example will be set, by which future claimants will obtain the same privilege. The committee are, nevertheless, of opinion, that after those lands shall have been surveyed, a certain number of townships should be designated, out of which the claims stated in the memorial ought to be satisfied, and that, for the encouragement of actual settlers, the right of pre-emption should be secured to them.

They consider the existing regulations contained in the ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States, which requires a freehold of fifty acres as a qualification for an elector of the General Assembly, as limiting too much the elective franchise. They conceive the vital principle of a free Government is, that taxation and representation should go together after a residence of sufficient length to manifest the intention of becoming a permanent inhabitant, and to evince, by conduct orderly and upright, that a person is entitled to the rights of an elector. This probationary period should not extend beyond two years.

It must be the true policy of the United States, with the millions of acres of habitable country which she possesses, to cherish those principles which gave birth to her independence, and created her a nation, by affording an asylum to the oppressed of all countries.

One important object desired in the memorial, the extinguishment of the Indian title to certain lands, has been happily accomplished; whilst the salt spring below the mouth of the Wabash river has also been placed in a situation to be productive of every reasonable advantage.

After a careful review and an attentive consideration of the various subjects contemplated in the memorial and petition, the committee respectfully submit to the House the following resolutions, as embracing all the objects which require the attention of Congress at this period:

Resolved, That the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery within the said Territory, be suspended, in a qualified manner, for ten years, so as to permit the introduction of slaves, born within the United States, from any of the individual States: *Provided,* That such individual State does not permit the importation of slaves from foreign countries: *And provided further,* That the descendants of all such slaves shall, if males, be free at the age of twenty-five years, and, if females, at the age of twenty-one years.

2. *Resolved,* That every white free man, of the age of twenty-one years, who has resided within the Territory, two years, and within that time paid a territorial tax which shall have been assessed six months before the election, shall enjoy the right of an elector of members of the General Assembly.

3. *Resolved,* That in all cases of sales of land within the Indiana Territory, the right of pre-emption be given to actual settlers on the same.

4. *Resolved,* That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, required to cause an estimate to be made of the number and extent of the claims to lands under the resolution of Congress of the 29th of August, 1788, and the law of the 3d of March, 1796, and to lay the same before this House.

5. *Resolved,* That provision, not exceeding one thirty-sixth part of the public lands within the Indiana Territory, ought to be made for the support of schools within the same.

6. *Resolved,* That it is inexpedient to grant lands to individuals for the purpose of establishing houses of entertainment, and opening certain roads.

7. *Resolved,* That it is inexpedient, at this time, to vest in the Legislature of Louisiana [misprint for Indiana] Territory the salt spring below the mouth of the Wabash river.

8. *Resolved,* That compensation ought to be made to the attorney general of the said Territory for services performed by him on behalf of the United States.

JEFFERSON TO HARRISON

WASHINGTON Mar. 31, 04

Jefferson Papers, 1st series, vol. 10, no. 52

The act of Congress erecting Louisiana into two territories, and providing for their government annexes the upper one by the name of the district of Louisiana to the Indiana government. As you will see the act shortly in print, I shall only observe generally that it does not come into force till the 1st of October, but it provides that the upper territory shall be divided into districts by the Governor of Indiana under the direction of the President, as the convenience of the settlements shall require; the inhabitants of each, between 18 and 45 to be formed into a militia, with proper officers &c. This division being the basis of the government, it must be prepared, and ready to be declared on the 1st day of October and, as we are far apart, we must immediately commence the enquiries necessary, and the mutual intercommunication of sentiment on the subject. I must therefore pray you without delay to inform yourself of the different settlements existing in the country, their numbers black & white, their distance from each other the ease or difficulty of intercourse between them, and to communicate this to me with your first ideas as to the number and divisions of the districts we should lay off. As something to begin upon I will barely mention that on the imperfect information I have, I suppose we may throw the settlements together so as to make three or four districts, something like our frontier counties in Virginia. But to decide on this further information is necessary, and this I shall hope to recieve from you. Accept my salutations and assurances of respect.

TH :JEFFERSON

PROCLAMATION: KIDNAPPING INDENTURED COLORED SERVANTS

April 6, 1804

Executive Journal, 10

The Governor having received information that some evil disposed persons are about to transport from the Territory, certain indented servants of Colour without their Concent first had and obtained, with a design as is supposed of selling them for slaves contrary to the law and dignity of the

United States, he Issued a proclamation, forbidding and strictly enjoining the persons aforesaid from carrying into Execution their nefarious and inhuman design as they shall answer the same at their peril, and at the same time requireing and Commanding all magistrates and other civil officers to exert themselves in their several capacities in giving proper and necessary relief to all persons illegally confined for the purpose above-mentioned and to secure and Bring to Justice the perpetrators for the Violation of Law and Humanity.[1]

SECRETARY OF STATE TO HARRISON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, June 14th 1804

Har. Pa. 417-8

GOVR. HARRISON, Vincennes,
SIR:

I have received your letter of the 17th inst. [?] It was my intention to confide the appointment of a Gazette to print the Laws of the United States entirely to you, and the reasons you assign for the choice of Mr. Bradford's are satisfactory.[1] I have no controul over the sum appropriated for the contingent expenses of your Territory; and therefore cannot prevent the payment of the accounts for stationary out of it, but if neither yourself nor the Secretary of the territory direct supplies of stationary to be furnished your object will be attained provided no outstanding accounts exist to absorb the appropriations.

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[1] "In the spring of 1804, Simon Vannorsdell, acting as agent for the heirs of John and Elizabeth Kuykendall, arrested two negroes named George and Peggy, at Vincennes, and was about to carry them out of the Territory. Harrison issued a proclamation forbidding this, based on information that Vannorsdell was "about to transport from the Territory certain indented servants, without their consent first had and obtained, with a design as is supposed of selling them for slaves." (*Executive Journal, April 6, 1804*). Vannorsdell was indicted, and habeas corpus proceedings were instituted to free the negroes. At the September term of court, Vannorsdell was discharged, no one appearing to prosecute him; but the court released the negroes from his custody. Vannorsdell, assisted by John Huling, at once rearrested the negroes, but a new habeas corpus proceeding was instituted for their release. This was continued to the next term, Harrison, General W. Johnston, and John Johnston becoming bail for the negroes. (Ter. Court Docket, September Term, 1804). At the June term, 1805, the negroes were produced, but pending the proceedings George had indented himself to Harrison for a term of eleven years, and the case as to him was dropped. Peggy was released by the court in April, 1806, and afterwards sued Vannorsdell for wages during her detention, but the trial resulted in a finding for the defendant." Dunn, *Indiana, 312* (Ter. Court Docket, September Term, 1808, p. 337).

1. Bradford was the publisher of the *Kentucky Gazette* at Lexington. From this office came Elihu Stout who started the *Indiana Gazette* at Vincennes July 4, 1804. It is probable Stout was already in Vincennes. One would have expected Harrison to send the printing to Cincinnati.

An appropriation was made to pay the expense of the civil government of Louisiana, but it is feared it will not be sufficient to cover the expenses incurred and to be incurred under the Administration of Governor Claiborne, no part of it can therefore be counted upon for printing the laws, which may be made for that part of the Territory which after the 1st of Oct. next will be united with the Indiana Territory; but no doubt can be entertained that Congress will at their next session make provision for all the expenses which may be necessarily incurred. By recurring to the 13th Section of the law providing for the Government of the two territories in which Louisiana is to be divided, you will find that the Laws of Louisiana will remain in force after the first of October under certain modifications: and therefore the entirely new code you contemplate is unnecessary and ought not to be published: all that appears to be indispensable are laws for organizing the Courts, the Militia and laying out the Territory into districts. Exclusively of the annual appropriation of 350 Doll. for the contingent expenses of the territory, which will be sufficient to pay the current expenses of the year, there is an unexpended balance of 480 dollars which may be applied to the expense of printing territorial laws.

I am etc.

JAMES MADISON

HARRISON TO JEFFERSON

VINCENNES 24th June 1804

Jefferson Papers, 2d series, vol. 42, no. 78, 79

SIR

The result of my enquiries relative to Upper Louisiana fixes the population of that District at 9373 souls of whom 7876 are whites and 1497 blacks.

I am still of opinion that it would answer all the purposes of Civil Government & be sufficiently Convenient to the Inhabitants to lay out the Country into four or five divisions or Counties, whose boundaries might be very nearly the same as those which Seperated the principal Districts under the Spanish Government. From the best information which I have been able to procure the arrangement of the Districts should be as follows viz—

1. The Settlement of Arkansas should form one District, as from its Detached Situation it could not conveniently be connected with any other—it contains 160 Whites & 12 blacks —there are no settlements below it that will fall within the Upper Government, & none above it nearer than 300 Miles.

2 The lower Settlements of the Little Prairie might form the Southern boundary & a line drawn due West from the Southerly extremity of the Great bend of the Mississippi to the River St. Francis the Northern boundary of the 2nd Division or District. The Census of this district was taken in the beginning of the year 1803 & the population (with the addition of five per centum for increase from that time) is about 800 Whites and 100 blacks.

3 The dividing line between the third & fourth Districts should be Apple creek from its junction with the Mississippi to its source & thence by a due West line to the River St. Francis. Adding five per centum to the Census of 1803 & the District as thus described Contains 1200 Whites & 200 blacks.

4. The dividing line between the 4 & 5th Districts ought to commence at the Mouth of Platers Creek on the Mississippi thence up sd. Creek to its source, thence due West to the fork of the Mesumack called Anneau thence down sd. fork to the Mesumack thence up the Mesumack to the upper settlements on the River. The Census of this District has not been taken since the year 1800—the result of that Census & twenty per centum added for increase gives a population of 1978 Whites & 500 blacks.

5. All the Territory to the Northward of the line last described can conveniently be formed into a 5th District, & Contains a population (founded on the same calculations as in the preceding) of 3738 Whites & 667 blacks.

This arrangement of the Districts seems to be the one which is generally expected to be made by the Inhabitants of that country & I immagine it would give as much satisfaction as any other mode of laying it out unless the number of the Districts was encreased. Some of them are however very extensive & the Settlements so widely separated that it may perhaps be necessary that the County Courts should be holden at Different places—of this I am not at present able to decide upon as I could not procure satisfactory information Respecting the relative situations of the Several settlements which compose a district.

I have no means of ascertaining correctly the number of Militia, but from the proportion which that description of persons generally have to the whole population. If they can be estimated at one fifth the number of men capable of bearing arms in the several Districts as I have described them will be nearly as follows Viz In the 1st District 40 whites & 3 blacks in the 2nd 200 Whites & 25 blacks in the 3rd 300 Whites & 75 blacks in the 4th 494 whites & 130 blacks, in the 5th 934 whites & 166 blacks total 1968 Whites & 399 blacks. I understand from Captn [Amos] Stoddard that he has formed the whole Militia of the Country into 24 Companies of which there is in Arkansas one—within the bounds of the 2nd District four, in the 3rd three—in the 4th five & in the 5th eleven. In making this arrangement he says that he attended not so much to the number of men in each Company as to the Contiguity of the Inhabitants & that in some Companies there are nearly 100 men in others not more than 50. The Militia of Louisiana have never been formed into Battalions or Regiments—Companies were the largest divisions & a captaincy the Highest grade. This arrangement ought in my opinion no longer to exist. The prospect of promotion is one of the greatest inducements to men of enterprise to accept of Military appointments & the most effectual stimulus to urge them to a prompt & faithful discharge of their duties I beg leave therefore to recommend that the Militia in the most populous Districts should be formed into Regiments composed of two or more Battalions with a Colonel for the Regiment & a Major for each Battalion. In such of the Districts as are unable to furnish two Battalions a Major might Command.

I am sorry that it is not in my power to give you a more detailed account of the relative situations of the several Settlements in Louisiana—but the information which I have been enabled to procure on that subject is not as perfect as I could wish. & I did not think it proper to delay writing to you until it could be received from a More Authentic Source.

The law providing for the Government of Louisiana directs that the Country should be laid off into "Districts". As the whole Country is called the District of Louisiana it appears to me that the Subdivisions might more properly be called Counties. The District of St. Genevieve in the District of Louisiana would sound rather awkwardly.

There is but one person in Louisiana that I will venture to recommend to you for the Appointment of Military Commandant—it is Mr. Piere Delossus de Luziere an old gentleman of the greatest respectability and of considerable talents—there can be but one objection to him which is that he was a friend to the former Despotic Government of France. I believe however that he is now in Sentiment an American Republican. His Manners His Talents & his destitute Condition have interested me much in his favour & I think I can venture to answer for his good Conduct. He is & has been for a considerable time Commandant of the District of New Bourbon.

I propose to be in Louisiana by the 1st October & as I also intend to visit all the Districts it will be in my power to give you a more perfect account of the Country than I can possibly do at this time.

I have the Honour to be with the most perfect Respect your faithful Sevt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Thomas Jefferson
President of the United States

[Indorsed:] Harrison Govr. W. H. Vincennes June 24.04. recd. July 2

Refered to by the Map

No. 1 Plan

At about three hundred miles from the village of the great Ozages in a west direction, after having passed many branches of the River Arkensas, is found a low ground, surrounded with Hills of an immense extent, having a diameter of about fifteen Leagues. The soil is a black sand, very fine, & so hard, that Horses hardly leave their tracks upon it; in warm and dry Weather, there is exhaled from that swamp, vapours, which being afterwards condensed, fall again upon the black sand and cover it with a bed of Salt very white and very fine of the thickness of about half an inch. The rains distroy this kind of Phenomenon.

No. 2 Plan

At a distance of about fifteen Leagues from the Swamp of which we have spoken, and in a South direction, there is a second mine of mineral Salt of the same nature as the other, these two differing only in their colour, the first inclining to the white, and the second approaching to the red, lastly much farther South and always upon the branches of the Arkansas there is a salt Spring which may be considered as one of the most interesting Phenomenea of nature.

On the declivity of a little hill, there are five holes of about a foot and a half diameter, by two of depth always full, without ever overflowing a drop very salt. If we take away this Salt water, it fills immediately; and at about ten feet lower, there comes out of this same Hill, a strong Spring of pure & Sweet water..

At a distance of about 18 Miles from this low land are found mines of mineral Salt, almost at the surface of the Earth. The Savages who know it perfectly, are found to employ leavers to break it and get it out of the Ground

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SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 27, 1804

Am. Sta. Pa. Ind. Aff. I, 695

SIR:

Your Excellency's letter, of the 24th ultimo, has been duly received and considered. It is the opinion of the President of the United States, that every reasonable accommodation ought to be afforded the old Kaskaskias' chief [Ducoigne]. You will, therefore, please to satisfy every reasonable request he may make on the score of living; he certainly is entitled to attention, and ought to be enabled to live decently, and in a due degree of independence. You will please to draw on this Department, for such sums as may be necessary for furnishing him with suitable supplies for his family use, from time to time. Directions will be given, for having the boundary line ascertained, run, and marked as soon as possible. All adjustments with these nations, whose claims may interfere with the Kaskaskias' boundary, as per treaty, will rest with your Excellency. You will take such measures, and make such pecuniary advances to individual chiefs or others, as their respective cases require. It may not be improper to procure from the Sacs, such cessions on both sides of the Illinois, as may entitle them to an annual compensation of five or six hundred dollars; they ought to relinquish all pretensions to any land on the southern side of the Illinois, and a considerable tract on the other side; and if any of the principal chiefs of the other nations shall discover an indication to follow the example of the old Kaskaskias' chiefs they ought to be encouraged more especially the Piankeshaws, whose lands divide the Vincennes territory, on the Wabash, from the cessions of the Kaskaskias. It would also be desirable to obtain the tract between the southern line of the Vincennes territory and the Ohio. You will, of course, embrace every favorable opportunity for obtaining cessions of such parts of the above mentioned tract as may occur by a fair and satisfactory bargain. It is suggested by the President of the United States, for your consideration and opinion, whether it would not be expedient to give certain annuities, to each actual family, during the existence of said family, even if the aggregate to a nation, should be increased 15 or 20 per cent. For instance, we give the Piankeshaws five hundred dollars per annum; suppose they have fifty families, we agree to give the nation twelve dollars for each family annually and when a family becomes extinct, the annuity to cease, or if, when its members decrease, the annuity to decrease in proportion.

I am, etc.

GOV. WM. H. HARRISON

SECRETARY OF TREASURY TO HARRISON

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, July 10th, 1804

Vincennes *Gazette, Aug. 21, 1804*

SIR:

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 4th ultimo, and feel much obliged for the interesting information it contains. I have no doubt that Congress will agree that the parties whose lands have been surveyed under your direction shall not be charged with additional expense for that object; and I have accordingly instructed the surveyor-general.

On the power of the commissioners to revise any decision of the Governor in case of complete grants, I have great doubts. At all events, it can only amount to a chancery jurisdiction, which may set aside a patent surreptitiously and fraudulently obtained, through the false representations of the party, and never can affect a *bona fide* purchaser; nor be extended to defeat a title on account of what might, by the commissioners, be considered as an error of judgment in making the grant. On that principle, though I am not authorized to lay rules of conduct for the commissioners, in their judicial capacity, I have communicated my opinion in general terms, and have positively enjoined it on the registers to record in cases of Governor's grants, and demand a fee only for the recording of the grant itself, and not for any preceding or subsequent conveyances. The recording of the grants is essential and just, as it was undoubtedly the intention of the legislature to ascertain the number, amount, and authenticity of those grants as well as of other claims; and they have a right to declare in what manner their own grants shall be recorded and authenticated.

I have the honor to enclose copies of my letters to the registers and to the surveyors general, and remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ALBERT GALLATIN

WILL'M. H. HARRISON, Esq. *Governor Indiana Territory*

LICENSE TO AN INDIAN TRADER

July 10, 1804

Mss. in Indiana State Library

Whereas Michael Brouillette[1] of the county of Knox hath made application for permission to trade with the Kickapoes nation of Indians, and hath given bond according to law, for the due observance of all the laws and regulations for the government of the trade with Indians that now are, or hereafter may be enacted and established, license is hereby granted to the said Michael Brouillette to trade with the said Kickapoes nation, at their towns on the Vermillion and there to sell, barter and exchange with the individuals of the said nation, all manner of goods, wares and merchandizes, conformably to the laws and regulations aforesaid; but under this express condition and restriction, that the said Michael Brouillette shall not, by himself, his servants, agents or factors, carry or cause to be carried to the hunting camps of the Indians of said nation, any species of goods or merchandise whatsoever, and more especially spirituous liquors of any kind; nor shall barter or exchange the same, or any of them, in any quantity whatever, on pain of forfeiture of this license, and of the goods, wares and merchandize, and of the spirituous liquors which may have been carried to the said camps, contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof, and of having his bond put in suit: and the Indians of said nation are at full liberty to seize and confiscate the said liquors so carried, and the owner or owners shall have no claim for the same, either upon the said nation, or any individual thereof, nor upon the United States.

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[1] See June 6, 1811, infra. The Kickapoos lived northwest of Lafayette in Indiana and Illinois.

This license to continue in force for one year, unless sooner revoked.

All Spirituous liquors prohibited

GIVEN under my hand and seal, the Tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

JEFFERSON TO HARRISON

WASHINGTON, July 14, 1804

Jefferson Papers, 1st series, vol. 10, no. 119

DEAR SIR

I received in due time your letter on the division of the Louisiana territory into districts, and since that I have been able to collect very satisfactory information on the subject as well from persons from that country as from good maps, on the whole I find we cannot do better than to adopt the existing divisions, which are five in number and will require 5 Commandants of different grade. I would therefore recommend that in the Proclamation which you will isue in due time for establishing the divisions, you use the following definitions.

'All that portion of Louisiana lying North of the river Missouri, shall constitute one district by the name of the district of St. Charles.

All that portion which heretofore constituted the district of St. Louis shall be one district by the name of the district of St. Louis.

All that portion which heretofore constituted the district of Ste. Genevieve shall be one district by the name of the district of Ste. Genevieve.

All that portion which heretofore constituted the district of Cape Girardeau shall be one district by the name of the district of Cape Girardeau.

All that portion which heretofore constituted the district of New Madrid, and that lying Westward & Southward thereof to 33° of latitude shall be one district by the name of the district of New Madrid.

And all the residue of the said country shall be divided by lines running due West from the Western termination of the present lines dividing the said districts, & each division thereof so formed shall be annexed to and make part of the district to which it is adjacent.'

We learn that the Southern boundary of St. Louis is Platine creek:

of Ste. Genevieve Apple creek
of Cape Girardeau the bend above N. Madrid
of New Madrid it was les petites prairies

according to the latest information the districts contain inhabitants as follows

	whites	blacks
St. Charles	1219	107
St. Louis	2519	560
Ste. Genevieve	1978	520
Cape Girardeau	416	312
New Madrid	1173	

I am very sorry to have found lately that Mr. [John] Gibson's commission was omitted to be made out & forwarded. there never existed a doubt one moment about renewing it. it was kept back merely that it's three years might have the longer to run. on the last day of March (being to leave town the next day) I sent a memorandum to the office to have the commission filled up. it was by some means over-looked, and I never knew till a few days ago that it was so. I immediately signed one, giving the date formerly directed, and there is no doubt of his being considered de jure as well as de facto, the Secretary for the intermediate space.

Accept my friendly salutations & assurances of great respect and esteem.

TH:JEFFERSON

BROWNSON AND VANCE TO HARRISON

LAWRENCEBURGH [IND.], 24 July, 1804

Mss. in Indiana State Library

SIR

Part of the inhabitants of this county labor under great inconvenience for want of a magestrate, viz. between the mouth of the Kentucky and Col. [Benjamin] Chamber's—[Lawrenceburg] a distance, with the courses of the river, of near forty miles. The reason application has not e'er now been made, was the want of a suitable character to recommend—and we are sorry to add that this difficulty is not yet removed, but we are of opinion that to make a magestrate of the person hereinafter named will be a benefit to the county—he will, we hope, be better than none—and from the best information we have been able to acquire, the appointment of this man will be agreeable to the people of his neighborhood. We trust it will not be long before better materials may be furnished for the above purpose—in the meantime, we shall feel ourselves obliged, if you will be good enough to forward a commission of Justice of the peace & Judge of the Quarter Session, *during pleasure* if you are in the habit of making appointments in this way, for William Cotton.[1]

We are very respectfully, Sir,
Your most ob. Servant

JNO. BROWNSON[2]
SAM C. VANCE[2]

WILLIAM H. HARRISON, Esq.

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[1] William Cotton was one of the best known pioneers of southern Indiana, represented Switzerland county in the constitutional convention of 1816 and for many years was its political leader. He might not have felt flattered at this recommendation. He was a New Englander.

[2] Samuel C. Vance and Benjamin Chambers were founders of Lawrenceburg. Chambers was a U. S. surveyor, Brownson was one of the first justices of Dearborn county. All the justices, it seems, lived in and east of Lawrenceburg.
Hist. Dearborn County, 113.

PROCLAMATION: FOR AN ELECTION ON ENTERING SECOND TERRITORIAL STAGE

August 4, 1804

Vincennes *Indiana Gazette, August 21, 1804*

Whereas, By a Law of the United States entitled "An act to divide the Territory of the United States North West of the Ohio, into two seperate Governments," it is enacted and declared "that so much of the ordinance for government of the Territory of the United States North West of the Ohio river as relates to the organization of a general assembly therein, and prescribes the powers thereof, shall be in force and operate in the Indiana Territory, whenever satisfactory evidence shall be given to the governor thereof that such is the wish of the majority of the freeholders, notwithstanding there may not be five thousand free male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upward";

And *whereas,* Petitions have been presented to me from a number of the good citizens of the Territory praying that a General Assembly may be organized, conformably to the above recited act, but as no evidence has been adduced to shew that the persons who have signed the said petitions are really a majority of the freeholders:

Now *therefore,* for the purpose of ascertaining more correctly the public sentiment on the subject, I have thought proper to issue this my proclamation hereby making known to all whom it may concern that an election will be held at the court house of each county respectively on Tuesday the eleventh day of September next, for the purpose of giving to all the citizens of the Territory who are qualified by law to vote on the question of going into the second or representative grade of government, an opportunity of declaring their wishes on the subject. And it is hereby made the duty of the several sheriffs to give due notice of the same, and on the said eleventh of September to open polls at the several court houses of their respective counties for the purpose aforesaid; and the said election shall be conducted in the same manner and governed by the same principles as are laid down in a law regulating the elections of representatives for the General Assembly of the North Western Territory passed at Cincinnati, the 6th of December, 1799.[1]

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[1] The passing to the second grade has been treated very extensively by historians, as if it was an event of great moment and achieved by questionable methods. It seems

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed at Vincennes, the fourth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the Independence of the United States the twenty-ninth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

By the Governor:
JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary*

HARRISON TO STOUT

August 20, 1804

Vincennes *Indiana Gazette, August 24, 1804*

MR. [ELIHU] STOUT:—The enclosed letter [July 10, 1804, above] from the Secretary of the Treasury, in answer to one addressed to him by me on the subject of the land claims in this and the two counties on the Mississippi, contains matter so interesting to the citizens who are possessed of those claims that I have thought it proper to give it publicity, through the medium of your paper.

By that letter, and those to the surveyor general and registers to which it refers, it appears that three important points are established:

1st. That the land granted by the Governors, and which has been laid off under their direction, is not to be resurveyed at the expense of the proprietors.

2nd. That no other title paper is to be recorded when the claim has been confirmed but the patent or other evidence of the confirmation. And—

3rd. That all the grants made by the Governors are to be recognized, excepting such only as may have been "surreptitiously and fraudulently obtained, through the false representations of the party."

I am very respectfully, Sir,

Your humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

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to have created little excitement in what is now Indiana. It certainly received little attention. Knox, Dearborn and Clark were the only counties in Indiana and they cast 249 votes; 51 opposing and 198 favoring.

Dunn, *Indiana,* 320 *seq.*
Esarey, *Indiana* I, 160
Alvord, *The Illinois Country,* 423

HARRISON TO FINDLAY

VINCENNES, 22nd Sept., 1804

Pub. Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio, I, 102

DEAR FINDLAY,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters one by post and one by Mr. Thomas. I began to think that you had forgotten me as some of my other friends in Cincinnati have done. I have long wished to pay you a visit but I have been hitherto prevented sometimes by Public and oftentimes by private business. I hope however that this will not always be the case. During the whole of this summer and part of last I have been engaged in building a large House [Harrison House, Vincennes] which will I fear prove rather too expensive for my finances. However the trouble and three fourths of the expense will be at end in a few days and by next Spring I shall be in a situation to accomodate you and your large family,[1] if you should think it worth your while to come and see us. Independent of the gratification of seeing your old friend you will be interested in the Country around this place—the appearance of which is altogether different from anything you ever saw.

I did not accept Mr. [Peyton] Shorts offer because I was informed that $1600 was not enough for my preemption Right; and had I been inclined to have taken $1600 the land which he offered me was certainly not worth $400. I have written to my brother to assist me in paying the first instalment in January next, and as I know he has the command of money I calculate with certainty upon receiving assistance from him unless he has entered into some engagement that I am unaquainted with. I am very much indebted both to [David?] Killgour and yourself for the Indulgence shown with regard to the fees.

Mrs. Harrison requests you to present her in the most affectionate terms to Mrs. Findlay. She (Mrs. H.—) is very much distressed at my being obliged to leave her. I shall set out for Louisiana [St. Louis] about the 2d or 3d of October.[2]

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[1] Findlay had no children.

[2] The law of March 26, 1804, placed Upper Louisiana under Harrison's administration after Oct. 1. Harrison and the territorial judges reached St. Louis that day and took over the government from Capt. Amos Stoddard.

PROCLAMATION DIVIDING LOUISIANA TERRITORY INTO DISTRICTS

October 1, 1804

Vincennes *Indiana Gazette, Oct. 2, 1804*

By William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, and of the District of Louisiana.—A PROCLAMATION:

Whereas by an act of Congress passed the 26th day of March, 1804, entitled "An act erecting Louisiana into two Territories, etc., providing for the temporary government thereof," it is declared that the district of Louisiana shall be divided into districts by the governor under the direction of the president,

Now *therefore,* in conformity to the said recited law and the direction of the president, I do hereby make known and declare that the said district of Louisiana shall be and the same is hereby divided into five districts, which shall be laid off and bounded in the following manner, viz.:

1st, all that part of the said district which lies above the Missouri river shall form one division or district, by the name and style of the district of St. Charles;

2d, another district, to be called the district of St. Louis, shall be bounded by the Mississippi [*Missouri*] on the north, and on the south by Platin creek [south of St. Louis], from its mouth to its source, thence by a due west line to the fork of the Merimack [Meramec], called the Arenean, thence down the said fork to the Merimack, thence up the said Merimack, to the upper settlements on that river, and thence by a due west line to the western line of Louisiana;

3d, the district of St. Genevieve shall be bounded on the north by the last described boundary thro' out its whole extent from the mouth of the Platin creek to its termination at the western boundary of Louisiana, and on the south by Apple creek, from its junction with the Mississippi, to its source, thence by a due west line to the western boundary of Louisiana;

4th, between the last described boundary and that which has heretofore seperated the commanderies of Cape Girardeau and New Madrid there shall be another district to be called the district of Cape Girardeau;

5th, all that part of the district of Louisiana which lies below the district of Cape Girardeau, shall form a fifth district to be called the district of New Madrid. And the seat of justice for the district of St. Charles, shall be at the village of St. Charles; for the district of St. Louis, at the town of St. Louis; for the district of St. Genevieve, at the town of St. Genevieve; for the district of Cape Girardeau, at such place as may be hereafter appointed; and for the district of New Madrid, at the town of New Madrid.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Indiana Territory to be affixed, at Vincennes this first day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the Independence of the United States the twenty ninth.

WILL. HENRY HARRISON

By the Governor:
JNO. GIBSON, *Secretary*

HARRISON TO JEFFERSON

ST. LOUIS 6th Novr. 1804

Jefferson Papers, 6th series, vol. X, no. 88

DEAR SIR

Mr. Augustus Choteau[1] will have the Honor to deliver you this, A gentleman who is justly Considered not only from his large fortune & superior information but from the Amiableness of his character, as the first Citizen of Upper Louisiana. You will I am sure derive great pleasure from his Conversation as his knowledge of this Country is certainly superior to what is possessed by any other person & every thing that comes from him may be relied upon with the utmost Confidence

It gives me great satisfaction to be able to inform you that nine tenths of the people of this Country are warmly attached to the Government of the United States. If in the Petition of Which Mr. Choteau is the bearer there are found expressions which appear to Contradict this opinion they must be attributed to the irritation produced by the insulting misrepresentations of them which have been published through the

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[1] Auguste Chouteau was born in New Orleans Aug. 14, 1750. He early became a fur trader with Laclede, the founder of St. Louis and at Laclede's death in 1778 took charge of the business. From then until his death he was the best known business man in St. Louis.

Scharf, *History of St. Louis, index.*

United States & to the violent language of the speeches of some of the members of Congress (particularly Mr. Lyons)[2] on the subject of the Louisiana bill. It was immagined that they ought not to speak of their own grievances in Terms more moderate than those used by persons who did not feel them. The people of this District wish for nothing more than to have a seperate Territorial Government of their own in the second or representative grade. If I had been so fortunate as to have arrived here before the meeting was dissolved which framed the petition it would have been clothed in very different language.

I have devided the District of Louisiana into five Districts in the manner you directed & am now employed in organising the Courts & Militia. I have the Honor to be Dr. Sir
with perfect esteem your Obliged Sevt.

WILLM. H. HARRISON

The President of the United States

[Indorsed:] Harrison Wm. H. St. Louis Nov.6.04.recd Jan. 10 by Choteau

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McKEE TO INDIANS

November, 1804
Dawson, *Harrison*, 53

My Children, I am surprised that you should rob one of your father's traders; the man that you took the liquor from lately was an Englishman, and sent to trade among you by me; I told him to take some liquor with him to give to the chiefs among my children on the St. Joseph's a dram in cold weather when they came to see him, but not to sell any to you.[1]

My Children, it is true that the Americans do not wish you to drink any spiritous liquors, therefore they have told their traders that they should not carry any liquor into your country—but my Children, they have no right to say that one of your father's traders among you should carry no liquor among his children.

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[2] Matthew Lyons was an erratic Irishman then representing a district of Kentucky in congress. He was born in Ireland, a soldier of the American Revolution, a Jeffersonian republican and congressman from Vermont, where he was fined and imprisoned under the Sedition law. Came to Kentucky; died in Arkansas, August 1, 1822. He was unfriendly to Harrison and the Kentucky Whigs.

[1] The English had a trading post at the mouth of the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan. Here the Indians following general instructions of Harrison robbed an English trader of 20 barrels of liquor, which they are said to have destroyed. The letter is addressed to Five Medals, Topenebee and other Pottawattomies. Dawson, *Harrison*, 53

My Children, your father King George, loves his red children, and wishes his red children to be supplied with every thing they want; he is not like the Americans, who are continually blinding your eyes and stopping your ears, with good words, that taste as sweet as sugar, and getting all your lands from you.

My Children, should you yet have any of the liquor that you took from the Englishman, I wish you to return it to him immediately.

My Children, I am told that [William] Wells has told you, that it was your interest to suffer no liquor to come into your country; you all well know that he is a bad man, you all well know the injuries he done you before you made peace with the long knives, by taking and killing your men, women and children.

ALEXANDER MCKEE

PROCLAMATION: ANNOUNCING THAT INDIANA TERRITORY HAD PASSED TO THE SECOND GRADE

December 5, 1804

Executive Journal, 11

Returns of the Election held on the 11th Sept. last in the several Counties, having been made to the office of the Secretary of the Territory (that of the County of Wayne excepted in which there was no Election in Consequence of the proclamation not arriving in time), and [it] appearing that there was a majority of one hundred and thirty Eight Freeholders in favor of the proposed Change of Government, the Governor Issued a proclamation in which he makes known and Declares the said Indiana Territory is and from henceforth shall be deemed to have passed into the second or representative grade of Government, and that the Good people of the Territory, from the date thereof are entitled to all the rights and privileges belonging to that situation, and further appoints that on Thursday the third day of January next an Election shall be held in each of the several Counties in the Territory respectively for the purpose of Choose-ing the members of the house of Representatives and that the said house of representatives shall be composed of nine members of which there shall be Elected from the County of Knox Two from the County St. Clair one from the County of Randolph one from the County of Clark one from the County of Wayne three & from the County of Dearborn one, and that the said representatives Elected and every of them should meet at the Town of Vincennes on the first day of February next for the purpose of choosing members for the Legislative Council agreeable to the ordinance for the Government of the Territory.[1] (Abstract)

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[1] For details of this election see Dunn, *Indiana, 324;* Esarey, *History of Indiana, 159-161*

HARRISON TO CHOUTEAU

VINCENNES, 21st. Dec. 1804

Mss. in St. Louis Mercantile Library, Chouteau, 29

I do indeed my dear Sir, owe you an appology for not having written to you on the return of your courier—it was my intention to have answered it but before his departure I had not an opportunity of getting your letter explained by a person well acquainted with the French language. I was not sure that I perfectly understood it. I therefore postponed writing until an other convoy & contented myself with informing our common friend Mr. [Charles] Gratiot that I had received your letter as well as those which were to be forwarded to the Seat of the General Government.[1] The latter were all sent on by the mail succeeding their arrival—if they had reached me one day sooner it would have forwarded them one week [sooner] as one mail had set out the day before the arrival of your express.

Congress have already appointed a committee to take into their consideration the affairs of Louisiana & I doubt not but a form of Government will be adopted which will prove satisfactory to the people of that Country. I regret exeedingly the misfortune which has prevented you from going on to Washington & which has deprived the Government of a source of information that would I know have been much relied on. I do not doubt the zeal of your colleague—I believe (from his character) he will not be deficient in that point at least. But I fear that he will not be considered better qualified to give information on the subject of Louisiana than most of the members of the body to which he will address himself. I have omitted nothing in my power to do, to ensure success to the petition which you have forwarded & the way which appeared to me most likely to obtain it wast to counteract & destroy the misrepresentations which had been made respecting the disposition & feelings of the people of Louisiana towards the Government of the United States.

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[1] March 10, 1804 the French flag was lowered on the portico of Charles Gratiot and an American flag run up. Capt. Amos Stoddard took military possession. It is said Gratiot, a republican, called for three cheers. Stoddard did not interfere with affairs, merely kept order, until Oct. 1, 1804 when Harrison arrived as governor. The letters referred to evidently dealt with the petition read in congress Dec. 3, 1804, and the counter petition read Jan. 4, 1805. The report of a committee on these matters, John Randolph, chairman, was made Jan. 25, 1805. A paper is printed along with this report signed by L. Derbigny, P. Sauve and D. Estrehan, "agents of the inhabitants of Louisiana". It may be to these men that Harrison alludes in his letter.

Permit me to introduce to you Col. [Return J.] Meigs [Jr.] the bearer of this who is appointed to the Command of the District of St. Charles with the rank of Colonel in the army of the United States. You will find him in every respect a man of Honor and a gentleman.

It would give me great pleasure to hear from you occasionally but I must be candid enough to inform you that you will find me a negligent & slovenly correspondent.

Please to present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Choteau and believe me to be dear Sir With much respect and Consideration

Your Humble Servant

William Henry Harrison

August Choteau, Esq.

Harrison to Secretary of War

1804

Dawson, *Harrison*, 56

It is his, Ducoigne's[1] wish, that a part of the additional annuity should be laid out in the purchase of groceries, and a few articles of household furniture for himself—and the rest applied to the purchases of horses, provisions, and such other articles as would be necessary to fix his tribe comfortably in the new mode of life, which they are about to adopt. The old annuity furnished as many European goods as they wanted; much the greater part of what they did receive they were accustomed to sell for ardent spirits, and if 5,000 dollars worth of those goods were given them instead of 500 dollars they would not be the better for it. Ducoigne himself is a decent, sensible, gentlemanly man, by no means addicted to drink, and possessing a very strong inclination to live like a white man; indeed he has done so, as far as his means would allow. The prospect of being enabled to live comfortably, was the great motive with him, for selling his lands, and the greater part of the additional annuity could not be better applied than to this object. I am indeed extremely desirous of seeing him so well situated, as to attract the notice of the chiefs of the other tribes, many of whom may probably follow his example, if they see that his situation has been bettered by our means; I was asked this very day, by another, if I was not about to build a handsome house for Ducoigne, in such a manner as induced me to believe that he wished for something in the same way for himself.

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[1] Jean Baptiste Ducoigne was the chief of the small remnant of the Kaskaskias. He had visited General Washington at Philadelphia and received from him a medal which he proudly wore. This ostracised him among the Indians. He and his tribe lived within the immediate vicinity of Kaskaskia. He died about 1832. Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, 23; Handbook of American Indians, 405.*

Ducoigne's long and well-proved friendship for the United States, of which the President is well informed, has gained him the hatred of all the other chiefs, and ought to be an inducement with us to provide, as well for his happiness, as his safety. He wishes to have some coffee, sugar, and chocolate, sent to him, and is also desirous to have a ten gallon keg of wine, to shew, as he says the other Indians how well he is treated by the United States, and how much like a gentleman he lives. I have published proposals for building his house and fence. Upon consulting with him we agreed, that it would be better to fence in a field of 15 acres, only, at first, which is full as much as his tribe will cultivate, and add to occasionally so as to give the quantity of fencing promised in the treaty (Extract)

DEARBORN TO JEFFERSON

January 8, 1805

Jefferson Papers, 3d series, vol. 10, no. 110

Sir—

I do not consider any territorial Govr. as having any direction of the factories or trading houses unless by particular and specific directions from the Presidt. of the U. S.

I think that Govr. Harrison has incorrect ideas as to the command of the regular troops in Louisiana, for although the law gives the respective Commandants the command of the regular troops in their respective districts, it does not give any new authority to the Govr. over the regular troops. Govr. Harrison is undoubtedly intitled to an additional compensation for his services as Govr. of Louisiana, but if Detioco [Detroit] & uper Louisiana shall be made each a Territory, his services will be very much diminished in future.

H. D. [Henry Dearborn]

HARRISON TO CHOUTEAU

GROUSELAND, February 2, 1805

Mss. in Missouri Historical Society

Dear Sir

Let me have the pleasure of Introducing to you the bearer hereof Mr. Michael Jones a gentleman of worth and integrity & one who possesses my entire confidence—any civilities which you may shew to my friend will be highly acceptable to

Your Hum Servt.

WILLM. H. HARRISON

Augt. Choteau, Esq.

HARRISON TO CHOUTEAU

VINCENNES, 19th March 1805

Mss. St. Louis Mercantile Library, Chouteau, No. 30

DEAR SIR

It is only about 12 or 14 days ago that I received from My friend Mr. [John W.] Eppes [Congressman from Va.] an acknowledgement of the letter which accompanied your memorial which had been presented and refered to a committee. He also informs me that he thinks there will be no doubt but the object of the Petition will be obtained so far as it relates to a separate Government. The Committee to which was referred the Memorial from New Orleans had reported in favour of granting them the rights of self government. Indignant at the charge of a breach of Treaty which the Memorialists have urged aginst them they refute the unfounded assertion but grant their request not as a right founded upon the Treaty with France but upon the broad basis of Justice and liberty which is the foundation stone of the American Constitution.

We have had no mail here for two weeks. The communication between us and the Ohio being entirely cut off—from an excessive fall of rain. As soon as I get any further information on the subject of your affairs they will certainly be communicated either to yourself your brother, Mr. [Charles] Gratiot or Mr. [?]

I beg you to present me in the most Respectful manner to your lady & Believe me to be with much Regard[1]

Your Hu'm Servt.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON

DELAWARE INDIANS TO WELLS

WHITE RIVER March 30, 1805

Har. Pa. 169

OUR NEPHEW

We send to you our nephew William Patterson[1] to counsel with you, we wish that you will listen to what he says concerning of Governor Harrison's purchasing a large Tract of Land, we know nothing of it, we have not in our power to sell land and more than that it is contrary to the articles of the Treaty of Greenville therefore we send to you the writing the governor gave us, when he gave it to us, he told us that it was an instrument of writing to keep peace and friendship among us—therefore we wish that you will see into it and let the President our Father know that the purchase is unlegal and that he may take such measures as will prevent it from being settled, this is all, but you will listen to what Patterson says, as we cannot have all wrote what we wish to say, this is all at present but remain your uncles (Patterson's speech follows)

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[1] This memorial reached the House January 4, 1805. It is printed in the appendix to *Annals 8 Cong. 2d. Sess. 1608*. They protested especially against being tacked on to Indiana territory. Harrison favored the petition and during his governorship interefered as little as possible with their government, which went on much as it had under France. There was little friction at St. Louis as compared to that aroused by the captious Claiborne at New Orleans.

[1] Billy Patterson was a half breed Delaware, perhaps a nephew of Tethteposeske, the sachem mentioned below. Buckongehelas was the war chief, then an old man, while Hockingpomskon was the young war chief. At the treaty of Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, the names are signed Teta Buxike, Bukongehelas and Hockingpomskenn.

Capt. William Wells

(Signed) Tethteposeske, his mark x
(Signed) Buckingehelas his mark x
(Signed) Hockingpomskou his mark x

I certify that the foregoing is a true translation of what the above signed chiefs said to William Wells.

(Signed) JOHN CONNOR[2]

CLARK TO HARRISON

FORT MANDAN, April 2d [1805]

Travels of Capts. Lewis & Clark, London, Edition, 1809

DEAR SIR,

By the return of a party which we sent from this place with dispatches, I do myself the pleasure of giving you a summary view of the Missouri.

In ascending as high as the Kanzas river, which is 334 miles up the Missouri on the S. W. side, we met a strong current, which was from five to seven miles an hour, the bottom is extensive, and covered with timber, the high country is interspersed with rich handsome prairies well watered, and abound in deer and bear; in ascending as high as the river Plate we met a current less rapid, not exceeding six miles an hour; in this distance we passed several small rivers on each side, which water some finely diversified country, principally prairie, as between Vincennes and Illinois, the bottoms continue wide, and covered with timber: this river is about 6000 yards wide at the mouth, not navigable; it heads in the rocky mountains with the North river, and Yellow Stone river, and passes through an open country; fifteen leagues up this river the Ottoes and thirty Missouries live in one village, and can raise two hundred men; fifteen leagues higher up, the Paneas and Panea Republicans live in one village and can raise seven hundred men; up the wolf fork of this river, Papia Louises live in one village, and can raise two hundred and eighty men; the Indians have partial ruptures frequently; the river Plate is six hundred and thirty miles up the Missouri on the south west side. Here we find the antelope or goat; the next river of size ascending is the Stone river, commonly called by the Ingaseix, Little River De sious; it takes its rise in lake Dispice, fifteen miles from the river Demoir, and is sixty-four yards wide; here commences the Sioux country. The next by note is the Big Sioux river, which heads with the St. Peters, and water of lake Winnepic, in some high wooded country; about ninety miles, still higher, the river Jacque falls on the same side, and about 100 yards wide; this river heads with lake Winnepie, at no great distance east from the place, the head of the river Demon in Pelican lake, between the Sioux rivers and St. Peters; the country on both sides of the Missouri from the river Plate to that place has much the same appearance; extensive fertile plains, containing but little timber, and that little, principally confined to the river bottoms and streams; the country east of this place, and off from the Missouri as low as stone river, contains a number of small trees many of which are said to be so much impregnated with Glauber's salt as to produce all its effects; certain it is that the water in the small streams from the hill below on the south-west side possesses this quality. About the river Jaqua Bruff, the country contains a great amount of mineral cobalt, cinnabar, alum, copperas, and several other things; the stone coal which is on the Missouri is very indifferent. Ascending fifty-two miles above the Jaqua, the river Quicum falls in on the southwest side of this river, is 1026 miles up, 150 yards wide, not navigable; it heads in the black mountains, which run nearly parallel to the Missouri from about the head of the Kanzas river, and ends southwest of this place. Quicum waters a broken country 122 miles by water higher. White river falls in on the southwest side, and is 300 yards wide, and navigable, as all the other streams are which are not particularly mentioned; this river heads in some small lakes, short of the black mountains. The Mahan and Poncan nations rove on the head of this river and the Quicum, and can raise 250 men; they were very numerous a few years ago, but the smallpox and the Sioux have reduced them to their present state;

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[2] John Connor was a most interesting character. Born perhaps while his father and mother were captives among the Shawnees. When the parents were liberated about 1775 he was kept by the Indians. He became an Indian trader and finally located in Indiana. He was often employed by Harrison and it seems Harrison was not disappointed in the confidence he reposed in him.

Burton, *Hist. Col. 90*

the Sioux possess the southwest of the Missouri above White River, 132 miles higher and on the west side. Teton river falls into it, it is small, and heads in the open plains; here we met a large band of Sioux and the second which we had seen called Tetons; these are rascals, and may justly be called the pirates of the Missouri; they made two attempts to stop us; they are subdivided and stretch on the river near to this place, having reduced the Racres and Mandans, and driven them from the country they now occupy.

The Sioux bands rove in the country to the Mississippi. About forty-seven miles above the Teton river, the Chyanne river falls in from the south-west, 4000 yards wide, is navigable to the black mountains, in which it takes its rise, in the third range; several bands of Indians but little known, rove on the head of this and the river Plate, and are stated to be as follows: Chaoenne 300 men; Staetons 100; Canenaviech 400; Cayanwa and Wetahato 200, Cataha seventy Detame thirty; Memesoon fifty; Castahana 1300 men; it is probable that some of those bands are the remains of the Padaucar nation; at 1440 miles up the Missouri, (and a short distance above two handsome rivers which take their rise in the black mountains,) the Kicaras live in three villages, and are the remains of ten different tribes of Paneas, who have been reduced and driven from their country lower down by the Sioux; their number is about 500 men; they raise corn, beans, etc. and appear friendly and well disposed; they were at war with the nations of this neighborhood, and we have brought about peace. Between the Recars and this place, two rivers fall in on the south-west and one on the north-east, not very long and take their rise in the open country; this country abounds in a great variety of wild animals, but a few of which the Indians take; many of those animals are uncommon in the United States, such as white, red and grey bears; long eared mules, or black tailed deer, (black at the end of the tail only) large heares, antelope or goat; the red fox; the ground prairie dogs (who burrow in the ground) the braroca which has a head like a dog, and the size of a small dog; the White brant, magpie, calumet eagle, etc., and many others are said to inhabit the rocky mountains.

I have collected the following account of the rivers and country in advance of this to wit: two days march in advance of this, the Little Missouri falls on the south side, and heads at the north-west extremity of the black mountains; six days march further a large river joins the Missouri, affording as much water as the Main river. This river is rapid, without a fall, and navigable to the rocky mountains, its branches head with the river Plate; the country in advance is said to be broken.

The trade of the nations from this place is from the north-west, and Hudson's Bay establishments, on the Assinneboin river, distant about one hundred and fifty miles; those traders are nearly at open war with each other, and better calculated to destroy than promote the happiness of those nations, to which they have latterly extended their trade, and intend to form an establishment near this place in the course of this year.

Your most Obedient servant,

WM. CLARK

WILLIAM PATTERSON, A DELAWARE, TO WELLS

FORT WAYNE, April 5, 1805

Har. Pa. 170-172

Friend and *Brother!* listen, to what I now say to you. I am sent by the chiefs of my nation, to speak the following words to you.

Friend and *Brother!* my Chiefs take you by the hand and salute you and inform you that it has pleased God that they should see another spring.

Friend and *Brother,* my chiefs inform you that their minds are troubled concerning the visit they made Governor Harrison. Last summer at Vincennes they were invited to that place by the Governor and on their arrival they were much pleased to hear him say that he wished to brighten the chain of friendship between the white and red people and that he had invited them to see them for that purpose.

Friend and *Brother!* Our chiefs was told by the Governor that he wish them to become more civilized and that he would give them an addition to their annuity of Five hundred Dollars a year to enable them to procure the necessary articles for the purpose of enabling them to cultivate their lands and that he was present when the Miamies gave all White River to the Delawares and that he would give them an instrument of writing that would show that the country on White River belonged to the Delawares. He farther told our chiefs that the Piankeshaws did not acknowledge the right of the Delawares to the lands on White River, but he would satisfy them on this head and would give them money out of his own pocket in order to get them to acknowledge the right of the Delawares to the Lands on White River, and that the road from Vincennes to the Falls should in future be the boundary line between the Lands of the Delawares and Piankeshaws.

Friend and *Brother!* When these words was spoke to our chiefs by the governor they were much pleased with what he said, the Governor then wrote two papers which he told our chiefs contained the words he had just spoken to them and that he wished them to sign them both that he would send one to the President of the United States and one they could keep themselves in order that the good words he had spoke might be kept in remembrance by the white and red people—our chiefs chearfully signed these papers.

Friend and *Brother!* you may judge how our chiefs felt when they returned home and found that the Governor had been shutting up their eyes and stopping their Ears with his good words and got them to sign a Deed for their lands without their knowledge.

Friend and *Brother!* the Chiefs of my nation now declare to you from the bottom of their hearts in the presence of God that they never sold Governor Harrison or the United States any land at Vincennes last summer to their knowledge.

Friend and *Brother!* My chiefs well remembers all disputes between them and the United States are to be settled in a peaceable manner and I am directed by them to tell you that they place confidence in you and it is their wish that you take such immediate steps as may appear to you to be best for bringing about a fair understanding on the subject of the Treaty that it appears they signed last summer at Vincennes, and that you as soon as possible inform our great father the President of the United States how Governor Harrison has attempted to impose on his Red children.

Friend and *Brother!* my chiefs declare to you that they are not willing to sell the lands on the Ohio from the mouth of the Wabash to Clarks Grant at the Falls and that they consider it out of their power to do any such thing without the consent of the other nations in this country.

Friend and *Brother!* my chiefs wishes you to prevent this land being settled by the white people.

Friend and *Brother!* these are the words that was put in my mouth by the chiefs of my nation, in order that I might deliver them to you.

his
(Signed) WM. PATTERSON x
mark

Signed in the Presence of (Signed) John Johnston[3] *U. S. Factor,* (Signed) S. Owens, *Lieut. 1st Regt. Infy.*

I certify that the above is a true translation of what William Patterson a Delaware chief said to William Wells this 5th Day of April 1805

(Signed) JOHN CONNOR

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES, 6th April 1805
Har. Pa. 126

SIR:

For several weeks passed rumours of an approaching Indian war on the Missouri have reached me but I am well convinced that there is not the smallest foundation for them. The Indians on this side of the Mississippi have certainly nothing of the kind in view. As soon as I receive any information that can be depended on it shall be communicated.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir
your Humble Servt

WM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honorable The Secretary of War

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[3] John Johnston was born at Ballyshannon, Ireland, March 25, 1775; came to U. S., 1786; was with Wayne 1793-5; Indian agent at Fort Wayne 1800-1811 and at other northwestern posts 20 years longer. Paymaster in army in U. S. Died at Washington 1861 and was buried at his home in Piqua, Ohio.

Lossing, *War of 1812,* 253
Griswold, *Fort Wayne,* 169

HARRISON TO CHOUTEAU

VINCENNES 7th April, 1805

Mss. in St. Louis Mercantile Library, Chouteau 31

DEAR SIR

I have great pleasure in making you acquainted with Doctor Steel the bearer hereof who goes to St. Louis with the intention of settling there as a Physician. He is a gentleman of the most amiable character and is considered a man of great learning & professional talents. You will I am sure find him a valuable acquisition to your town & I beg leave to recommend him to your notice particularly. A law has certainly passed Congress enacting a government for Upper Louisiana and my most intimate friend General [James] Wilkinson is certainly to be your Governor. I have not yet seen the law nor do I know when it is to take effect.

With my best respect to Mr. Choteau I remain Dr Sr

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. HARRISON

AUGUSTUS CHOTEAU, Esq.

McKEE TO THE INDIANS

April 1805

Dawson, *Harrison, 53*

My Children, I have always told you that I would give you the earliest information of any danger that threatened you, that would come to my knowledge.

My Children, there is now a powerful enemy of yours to the east, now on his feet, and looks mad at you, therefore you must be on your guard; keep your weapons of war in your hands, and have a look out for him.[1]

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[1] This seems to be a fair sample of the talk held between the British Indian agents and the Northwestern tribes. Most of these agents were what has been termed U. E. loyalists during the Revolution and cherished a bitter resentment toward the U. S. This feeling was entirely reciprocated by the western settlers who usually referred to them as "renegades". This "talk" was sent among the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies, Shawnees, Delawares and Miamies during April, 1805.

PROCLAMATION: CALLING FOR A NEW ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM ST. CLAIR COUNTY

April 18, 1805

Executive Journal, 11

The Late Election held on the 3d of January for a Representative to the General Assembly for the County of St. Clair Being, by the resolution of the said assembly declared to be null and void; and by the act of Congress passed at their last session, the County of Wayne [Michigan] is from and after the 30th June next to be formed into a separate Territory; and in order that the said County of St. Clair [Illinois] may have the proportion of representatives in the Legislature to which its population Entitles it, and that the number of Representatives after the 30 June next may be made conformably to the Law Creating in the Indiana Territory: The Governor Issued a proclamation for the holding of an election for the County of St. Clair, on Monday the 20th May next, for two persons to represent said county in the house of Representatives for two years after the 30th June next and he also makes Known and declares, that from and after the said 30th June next the house of Representatives of the Territory shall consist of seven members. [Abstract]

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 26th April 1805

Har. Pa. 128-129

SIR:

The two papers herewith enclosed I received today from Capt. Wells. [March 30 and Apr. 5, above] I am convinced that this man will not rest until he has persuaded the Indians that their very existence depends upon the rescinding the Treaty with the Delawares and Piankeshaws. My knowledge of his character induces me to believe that he will go any length and use any means to carry a favorite point and much mischief may ensue from his knowledge of the Indians, his cunning and his perseverance. If I had not informed you that I should wait here the arrival of your further orders I would set out tomorrow for Fort Wayne. I have lately learnt that Genl. [James] Wilkinson[1] was soon expected in the Indian country. He has considerable influence with the Miamis and particularly with the Turtle. I take the liberty to recommend that he may be associated with me for the purpose of satisfying the Indians. As soon as I receive your answer to my letter of the 1st *ultimo* unless it contains other instructions I will proceed to Cincinnati where I can meet General Wilkinson in his passage down the Ohio and we can then go to Fort Wayne together. The interruption to the General will not be great and the additional expense trifling. I shall be obliged to take General [John] Gibson with me because I can get no interpreter of the Delaware language at Fort Wayne, that can be depended on and as he was the Interpreter to the Treaty with that tribe it is necessary that he should be present at the explanations which take place in presence of the other tribes.

If your expected letter should contain no positive instructions on the subject of my meeting the Indians at Fort Wayne but should leave it to be decided by myself unless some very unexpected circumstance should take place I will certainly go on.

I have the honor to be with great respect
Sir your Humble Servt.

Willm. H. Harrison

Honble. Henry Dearborn, Esq. *Secy. of War*

Jefferson to Harrison

Washington Apr. 28, 05

Jefferson Papers, 1st series, vol. 10, no. 290

Dear Sir

I received some time ago from Mr. Jesse B. Thomas,[1] Speaker of the H. of Representatives of Indiana, a certificate of the election of ten persons[2] out of whom I am to name five for the legislative council. the names being new to me, and utterly uninformed of every character, it would be to substitute chance for choice were I to designate the five. I therefore send you an instrument designating the five who are to compose the council, but leaving a blank for their names to be filled up by you. in doing this I can only recommend an adherence to the principles which would have governed myself in making the selection. 1—to reject dishonest men. 2. those called federalists. even the honest men among them are so imbued with party prejudice, so habituated to condemn every measure of the public functionaries that they are incapable of weighing candidly the pro, and the con, of any proposition coming from them, & only seek in it the grounds of opposition. their effect in the public councils is merely to embarrass & thwart them. 3. land-jobbers are undesirable. it is difficult for them, even with honest intentions, to act without bias in questions having any relation to their personal interests. the principle of distribution merits respect, where there is not too great a disparity between two candidates. I observe the legislature have paid a just attention to it. those in the county of Wayne being now out of the territory, we have of course but 8. out of which the 5. are to be named.

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[1] James Wilkinson enlisted as a private from Penn. in Rev. on staff of Gen. Greene 1775-6 with Arnold 1776; brigade major on staff of Gates 1777-8; Sec. to board of war 1778-9; Col. in U. S. army 1791; brig. Gen. 1792; major Gen. 1812; discharged June 15, 1815; died Dec. 28, 1825.

Heitman, *Hist. Register, 1037*

[1] Jesse B. Thomas came to Lawrenceburg in 1803 from Virginia stopping on the way a few years in Kentucky. He was elected to the territorial legislature in 1805; helped pass the indenture law; became delegate to congress; became U. S. judge for Ill. territory 1809; U. S. senator 1818-1829; died 1850. If he had any political principles they are not disclosed by his record.

Dunn, *Indiana, 327;* Buck, *Illinois in 1818, index.*

Your favor of Mar. 29. is just recieved. commissions issued early in March to the judges of Louisiana. the map of the Arcansa mentioned in your letter has not come with it, but will I suppose find it's way here. accept my thanks for it. we hear rumours of combinations among the Indians on both sides the Missisipi for objects not explained to us. I credit them the less as you say nothing of them. these coalitions merit great attention and should be prevented if possible. justice, favor, & interest must all be kept in activity to counteract them. liberalities and patronage to chiefs of influence may be necessary & cannot but have effect. if each tribe can be satisfied that they have a sure & separate reliance on the justice & liberality of the government of the union, they will probably see their safety and prosperity better secured by that than by a dependance on rival tribes: and in this they shall not be disappointed. the general approbation given to our measures respecting the Indians, shews that they are in unison with the sentiments of the great body of our nation, & that there is no danger of a departure from them. the Little Turtle is indisposed. ambition will account in some degree for his effort to produce a great confederacy; but perhaps we also may have been defective in our kindnesses to him. a liberality towards him which would not be felt by us, might prevent great embarrassment & expence. the Delawares & Piankishaws will of course keep aloof from these plots, & attached to us, because we are maintaining their independance.

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[2] The ten nominated were John Rice Jones, Jacob Kuy Kendall, Samuel Gwathmey, Marston G. Clark, Benjamin Chambers, John Hay, Jean Francis Perrey, Pierre Menard, James May, James Henry. Those selected by Harrison were Chambers, Gwathmey, Jones, Menard and Hay.

Accept my friendly salutations & assurances of great esteem & respect

TH:JEFFERSON

P. S. be so good as to inform me of the names you insert in the instrument of designation, that they may be recorded here.

May 1.05. the map is this moment come to hand.

CHOUTEAU TO HARRISON

ST. LOUIS, May the 22d, 1805

Har. Pa. 131-133

M. WM. H. HARRISON, *Governor.*

SIR:

The barge of Capt. [Meriwether] Lewis[1] arrived the day before yesterday. He has sent by this opportunity Fourty-five chiefs or *considered* of the nations Ricaras, Poncas, Sioux of the tribes on the Missoury, Mahas, Ottos and Missourys, in order that they may be conducted from here to the Federal city. I send you an express to give you notice of their arrival, they unanimously wish to undertake this journey, but as my instructions, whereof you have a perfect knowledge do not permitt the departure of any Indians for the seat of government without a special permission, I think it is my duty to wait your answer, before I give them mine, and I hope that in the shortest time possible you will transmitt to me your orders and will direct my conduct on this occasion as minutely as possible.

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[1] Meriwether Lewis of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The party left St. Louis May 14, 1804. They spent the following winter at the Mandan towns. From the upper Missouri this party of Indian chiefs returned to St. Louis on their way to Washington. Captain Lewis later became governor of Missouri. October 11, 1809, while on the Nashville Trace, 72 miles from Nashville, he either killed himself or was murdered, most likely the latter.

Coues, *Lewis and Clark, Ex. I;* Scharf, *St. Louis, I, 339*

The barge here referred to left Fort Mandan, where Lewis and Clark wintered, April 8. See Lewis to Jefferson April 7, 1805.

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs, I, 706

I will observe to you that I am ever in the same opinion that the warm season is very dangerous for these Indians of whom perhaps a great number will fall victims to so long and penible journey in a climate so different from their own and the nations should be certainly dissatisfied and would have a defavorable idea of the government if the Indians now here do not come back safely amongst them. I think that the autumn and Winter are the only proper seasons to undertake with security that trip. If you were of the same opinion it would be convenient, I believe, that these Indians stay here or not far from here, in going from time to time to hunt in the neighborhood. Whatever may be your opinion for the time of the departure I think that it will be necessary to call for some chiefs of the nations sakias and foxes who are called by the government which is already known to them, and also for some chiefs of the Sioux of the river Des Moens who are come here with Mr. Crawford[2] and have asked for the same journey, I promised to make them know the intentions of the government about it. As the expenses of the voyage will be in proportion to the number of the Indians which will amount to sixty at least perhaps you will find it convenient to send back to their nations some of them to bring the news of the Departure of the others. Finally I pray you to give me very particular instructions on every article, being desirous that my conduct may be approved. Fix, if you please the certain epoch of the Departure, the number of the Indians to be conducted, if some of them agree to go back, fix the road to be taken and authorize me to expend which sums you will judge necessary.

I shall ever be ready to start with the Indians in all time and if I propose you some objections on the season it is only to avoid any reproach from the government or from the Indians in the supposition that some unhappy event should arrive.

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[2] Crawford was an Indian trader from what is now western Iowa who returned with this delegation of Indian chiefs. These chiefs had been prevailed on by Lewis at a meeting Aug. 31, 1804 to visit the president with Crawford and Pierre Durion "an old Frenchman" whom Lewis had taken along as an interpreter.

Coues, *Lewis & Clark, I, 94*

The party of Sioux conducted here by Mr. Dixon have started this morning satisfied of the presents which I have given to them.

As the contractor is in the impossibility to furnish me with the provisions dayly wanted I will be obliged to buy them and I believe that it will be for his own account. Mr. Ewing, an interpreter and another man wanted by him will start in a few days for the Sakias.

I remain with the greatest consideration, Sir
Your very humble and obedient
PIERRE CHOUTEAU,[3] agt.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 24, 1805
Am. Sta. Pa.—Indian Affairs, I, 701

It is the opinion of the President of the United States, that you ought, with as little delay as possible to cause a meeting of the Delaware chiefs, and some of the principal chiefs of the Miamies and Pattawatamies, for the purpose of such an explanation of the doings, so much complained of, as will satisfy the chiefs, generally, that the transaction was not only open and fair, but such as they have no right to object to.[1]

Such as the Delaware chiefs as were present at the treaty, and who have made false or improper representations of your conduct in negotiating the treaty, ought to be severely reprimanded, and made to acknowledge, in the presence of the other chiefs, the impropriety of their conduct; and they ought to be told, that, in future, no chiefs, who so far degrade themselves as to deny their own doings, will be considered as deserving any of the confidence of their father, the President of the United States, or admitted to any conference with him, or any of his principal officers or agents.

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[3] Pierre Chouteau, son of Pierre Laclede Liguest and half brother of August Chouteau.
Scharf, *History of St. Louis I, 180*

[1] This refers to the purchase of the territory south of the Vincennes trace at the treaty of Vincennes Aug. 18, 1804.

PARKE TO HARRISON

Wednesday noon[1] May 25, 1805

Har. Pa. 185

The Indians [Sioux] have just arrived with their prisoners—between thirty and forty well made, handsome, able bodied men presented themselves in council. They conducted the whole in admirable order and with more decency and decorum than I have ever observed among the savages. Several of the chiefs delivered lengthy speeches and spoke apparently in eloquent and feeling manner. All in a word amounted to this: that they were fools; had lost their old fathers; had been lost, and had lately found their new father; had by the advice of the Mississippi traders and from inclination seized the murderer and brought him down, that they believed him guilty and no better than stinking flesh; still they hoped for pity and compassion and would cheerfully submit to the wisdom and clemency of the Whites. The Indian was then presented bound, in their estimation, in a most ignominious manner. He evidenced strong marks of contrition and a sense of his crime—confessed the murder, that one had struck him over the head with a pipe and then torn down his hut. The other man he slew for fear of being slain himself—and beged that compassion might be exercised in deciding his case; but declared that he was resigned to whatever might be his fate—that he had no doubt but it would be just.

I felt affected with the magnanimity of these people. They are really deserving of more attentive consideration of our Govt.

M. Choteau has dismissed the council to meet tomorrow when he gives his answer. He effected a reconciliation between the people and a nation, arrived a short time since, 170 leagues up the Missouri.

M. C. has just hinted to me that he will permit them to return with the prisoner subject to any further [future] requisition that may be made by our Government. I think it best. We ought to have a mode of proceeding peculiar to the Indian character and nature—the subtleties of our law are not calculated for them, and we have already played the fool with the fellow lately escaped.[2] These people will return the prisoner whenever required.

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[1] See Mar. 3, 1805, and April 6, 1805 supra.

Adieu

B. PARKE[3]

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 27th May 1805

Har. Pa. 134-137

SIR:

The enclosed letter [May 22, above] from M. Choteau I received this day by a special messenger and have returned him an answer of which the enclosed is a copy (No. 2) [May 27 below]. If the Indians should now go forward to the seat of Government I will dispatch them as quickly as possible. On their arrival at this place I will have them innoculated with the vaccine disease that they may avoid the small pox which is at this time in Kentucky. I have directed Mr. Choteau to go on with them because he is better acquainted with their manners and their wants than any other person that could be procured. A party of the Sioux of the Mississippi have lately visited St. Louis for the purpose of delivering up one of their warriors who had killed two Canadians, the Servants of a trader in their country, but upon examination it appeared that the Indian killed them in his own defence and that they were the aggressors. He was accordingly permitted to return with his friends upon condition of his being delivered up at any time hereafter when he should be demanded. Inclosed (No. 3) is a letter from a friend of mine on the spot which gives a particular account of the transaction. The respect which has been manifested towards the United States by this numerous and warlike tribe and the favourable reception which Captains Lewis and Clark have met with from the Tribes of the Missouri augers well to our affairs in that quarter and forms a striking contrast to the conduct of some of the more neighbouring Tribes which have been treated by our government with the utmost tenderness and indulgence. In my last letter I informed you that it was my intention to set out for Fort Wayne unless the instructions I expected to receive from you should otherwise direct. Upon more mature deliberation I have been induced to abandon my opinion of the propriety of that step. First from the probability that my services will shortly be required here to hold a session of the Legislature and secondly Because I think it would be a sacrifice of that dignity and authority which it is necessary to observe in all our transactions with the Indians. We are not conscious of having done them any wrong but as they pretend to think otherwise they have been invited to come forward and state their grievances and every assurance has been given that for any injury which may have unintentionally been done them ample remuneration shall be made. As they have declined this invitation I think it would be improper for us to discover too much solicitude to give them satisfaction lest they would attribute that to fear which is purely the effect of justice and benevolence, an error which the Indians above all the people in the world are prone to imbibe. As it is very possible however that they may have been imposed upon by false statements and misrepresentations I conceived it to be a matter of importance to remove from their minds every false impression to ascertain whether the uneasiness and alarm really exists amongst them to the extent that has been spoken of and to discover who the persons are (for that there are such I am perfectly convinced) who excite their jealousy and feed their discontent. For these purposes I have dispatched General [John] Gibson to the Delawares and Col. [Francis] Vigo[1] to the Miamis and Potawatomies. Upon their return I shall be enabled to give you satisfactory information on every subject connected with their mission.

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[2] The Sac who broke jail in St. Louis and was shot, supposedly by the guard, but more probably by some personal enemy. This event is explained in Harrison to Sec. of war May 27, 1805, and in Chouteau to Harrison May 22, 1805.

[3] Benjamin Parke, born in New Jersey, 1777, came to Vincennes in 1801, delegate to congress, 1806-8; judge of U. S. district court for Ind. 1808 till his death at Salem July 12, 1835. He was an officer under Harrison at Tippecanoe; sat in the constitutional convention 1816; helped found Vincennes university; State Law library; and State Historical Society.

Woollen, *Biographical Sketches, 384*

In the course of this spring I have seen all the cheifs of the Weas one excepted a large deputation from the Kickapoos of the Prairie another from those of the Vermilion River.

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[1] Francis Vigo was a Sardinian adventurer, born 1740, came to America with a Spanish regiment. He aided Clark and Harrison and was intimately associated with the early history of Vincennes & Terre Haute.

Reynolds, *Pioneer Hist. of Ill. 423;* Gookins, *History of Vigo County*

Almost the whole band of Eel River Indians and the only chief of the Delawares who was not present at the late treaty with that Tribe. In none of these have I discovered the smallest signs of discontent and I am persuaded that if it does exist it exists no where but in the immediate neighborhood of Fort Wayne and the Indians there are no more effected by the Treaties with the Delaware and Piankeshaws than the Mandans of the Missouri.

I received by the express from St. Louis a long letter from Capt. [William] Clark[2] the companion of Capt. [Meriwether] Lewis. The dispatches for the President and for your department were not sent on which will delay their arrival at Washington nearly a fortnight. They passed the Winter with the Mandans 1609 miles up the Missouri in latitude 47° 21′ 47″ N. Longitude 101° 25′ and had met with no material accident.

Your letter of the —— Febry. covering the President's Pardon of the Sac Indian confined at St. Louis did not reach me until near two months after its date. It was immediately forwarded to St. Louis but unfortunately it did not arrive until the Indian had effected his escape from the guard house. He was fired on by the sentinel and the body of an Indian has lately been found near St. Louis with the marks of the buck shot in his head which is supposed to be the prisoner.[3]

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect and consideration Sir

your humble servt.

WILL HENRY HARRISON

The Hon. HENRY DEARBORN, *Secy. of War*

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[2] William Clark was a younger brother of George Rogers Clark—the ninth child, born August 1, 1770 in Caroline county Va. Came with his parents to Louisville 1784; served under Wayne; on trip to Pacific 1803-1807; governor of Missouri Ter., 1813-1820. In Indian service till his death Sept. 1, 1838.

Coues, *Lewis & Clark I, p. lxiii*

[3] The Sac confined in jail was evidently very popular in his tribe. His fellows made every effort to save his life and it seems an important consideration in the treaty of June 27, 1804 by which they ceded all Northern Illinois was the liberation of this warrior.

Gue, *Hist. of Iowa I, 76*

In the hands of literary writers this story grew remarkably. See Cole, *Popular Hist. of Iowa, 59*

HARRISON TO PIERRE CHOUTEAU

VINCENNES 27th May 1805

Har. Pa. 138

SIR:

I have this moment received your favour of the 22nd instant. The arrival of the Indians from the upper parts of the Missouri at this particular time is certainly an unfortunate circumstance. After as full a consideration of the affair as the time will allow I have determined as follows: You will please to state to the Indians the inconveniences that will attend their going on at present and explain to them your arrangement for their spending the summer in the neighborhood of St. Louis. If they should readily agree to it that plan will be adopted. If on the contrary they should express a wish to go on you will proceed immediately to make the necessary arrangements and set out for this place with all the expedition in your power—expedition is the more necessary as the President and the Heads of Departments will be absent from the seat of Government after the month of June. It is impossible for me at this distance to prescribe to you in the detail the arrangements necessary for your outfit in this Trip. I must therefore leave it entirely to yourself relying upon your judgment and economy that no expenses will be gone into but such as the due execution of the object requires. I therefore hereby authorize you to draw upon the Secretary of War for such sums as may be required for the purchase of Horses and other necessaries for the Trip. On your arrival at this place you will receive more particular instructions. If any engagement for interpreters has been made and no particular objection can be made to their integrity or capacity you will please to employ them. An English interpreter will also be necessary. You will also please to apply to Major [John] Bruff[1] for an escort as far as this place where you will be furnished with one to take you to the Ohio. I wish very much to send on a few of the Sioux, of the Demoin, and some of Sacs and Foxes and if you can get them ready to go on with the others do so. Every exertion in your power must be made to diminish the number by sending back as many of those that have come down the Missouri as you can get to go back. Give them a few articles that will be acceptable to them and send them with a speech to their nation informing them of the departure of their friends for the seat of Government.

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[1] John Bruff was a soldier in the Revolution, serving from his native state in the 6th Maryland. Wounded and captured at Camden, served in U. S. army till June 1807. Heitman, *Historical Register, 256*. See his notice of sale, Sept. 7, 1808 announcing that he is going away from St. Louis.

Billon, *Annals of St. Louis, 110*

I am very Respectfully Your Humble Servant

[WM. HENRY HARRISON]

PIERRE CHOUTEAU, Esquire, *Agent of Indian Affairs,*
Saint Louis

PROCLAMATION: CONVENING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY

June 7, 1805

Executive Journal, 11

The Governor Issued a proclamation for Convening the Legislature on the 29th July next [1805]. (The text has not been found.)

MUNRO TO HARRISON

DETROIT, June 14, 1805

Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*

SIR:

I have the painful task to inform you of the entire conflagration of the town of Detroit. About ten o'clock on Tuesday last a stable, immediately opposite the factory was discovered on fire. The first intimation I had of it was the flames bursting through the doors and windows of the house; I immediately gave the alarm, and with great exertion saved my papers and about two thirds of the goods of the factory; my private property was entirely consumed.

In less than two hours the whole town was in flames, and before three o'clock not a vestage of a house (except the chimneys) visible within the limits of Detroit. The citadel and military stores were entirely consumed, and the furniture belonging to the estate of Colonel [John F.] Hamtramck, shared nearly the same fate; the china is the only thing I can mention to the contrary.

I have removed the factory goods to the ship yard, and am now fixing a place to arrange them for disposal, agreeable to the original intention of the establishment, and I will speedily forward a statement of the loss that has been sustained. The situation of the inhabitants is deplorable beyond description; dependence, want and misery is the situation of the former inhabitants of the town of Detroit. Provisions are furnished by contributions, but houses cannot be obtained.

Mr. Dodemead lives in a corner of the public storehouse at the shipyard. Mr. Donavan with his family have gone to Sandwich; and Mr. Audrain, with many others, occupy the small house below Mr. May's. A number of families are scattered over the commons without any protection or shelter.

I have been very much bruised and hurt by my exertion to save the property. My right arm particularly is so much swelled that I can hardly hold the pen to write these few lines, and my mind is equally affected with the distressing scenes I have witnessed for the last three days.

I am, Sir, your ob't Serv't

ROBERT MUNRO

INDIAN COUNCIL

FORT WAYNE, June 21, 1805

Har. Pa. 142-144

Minutes of a Council held at Fort Wayne on the 21st day of June 1805 by General [John] GIBSON and Colonel [Francis] VIGO present the Delawares, Eel River and Miami Indians.

Genl. Gibson

Governor Harrison your Father has sent Col. Vigo and myself to speak to you, what we say you may consider as coming from him, he is appointed by your great Father the President of the U. S. sole commissioner to transact business with his red children, within the Indiana Territory, he has heard that a number of bad people has circulated a number of bad stories among you, he has also heard that your hearts are uneasy about it, that you cannot rest. In order to wipe off the impressions made by those bad reports your Father the Governor wishes the Tribes here present to send some of the principal chiefs to Vincennes to see him, he wishes us to assure you that the intentions of your Father towards you is good and that your interest and happiness is near to his heart. When you come to see him he will be able to remove all the uneasiness from your minds. In the meantime he desires you not to listen to any bad stories or any lying birds that may be flying about. We now request you to fix upon the time when it will be convenient for you to come and see the Governor, in order that he may have everything ready for your accommodation, we will set off in two nights and would be happy to know what time you can set off—this is all we have at present to say to you.

Hockingpomskou [a Delaware]

I am very glad to hear what you have said to us. You may depend on my going to Vincennes where I expect to have an opportunity of delivering my sentiments.

The Little Turtle

I have listened to what you have said to us, the Miamis wishes for time to consider on the subject of your speech. We hope you will not think hard at our not making up our minds immediately. We want to consult the Eel River Indians who have just come in (at this time the Miamis and Eel River Indians retired from the Council in about an hour they returned when the Little Turtle proceeded). Your children has listened to your words and to the words of their great Father thro you, they have consulted together in what you have said and they are afraid you are tired of waiting. I have nothing to say to you. I am no Miami. I am only their interpreter. We can form no opinion at present on what you have said to us. We think it absolutely necessary to consult the Potawatomies before we can come to any conclusion about the time we are to go to Vincennes. You will tell our Father the Governor the weather is now very warm and that we cannot say at what time we can come to see him. The Indians that live on the Wabash are convenient and can go along at any time, we wish to consult the Indians in this quarter before we come to a conclusion.

General Gibson

We wish that after consulting the Potawatomies and when you fix upon the time to come forward that you send your

Father the Governor information in order that he may be prepared to receive you. It is true the weather is now very warm but we hope that will not prevent you from coming forward as soon as possible to set all to right.

Little Turtle

We wish not to be hurried, we think it a matter of importance. We think we have reason to complain and we wish for time to deliberate on the subject.

Richerville [Miami]

I should wish to attend the call of the Governor but my business calls me in another direction. The Indians are slow in their deliberations and wish for time.

Council adjourned

In coming from the Council House to the Fort the Pucon [Miami] halted General Gibson and Col. Vigo and addressed them as follows:

The Little Turtle has said that we wished for time to deliberate on what you have said to us, he (the Pucon) did not want to deliberate. He wanted to go on to Vincennes now and would go at any time. The Turtle had no right to say the Indians wanted time to think on it, that was not the case, he said he would speak again to Genl. Gibson and Col. Vigo. [Enclosed in Harrison's letter July 10] [See Wells to Harrison June 22]

J. G.

Wells to Gibson

Fort Wayne 22 June 1805

Har. Pa. 168

Dear Sir:

I have been this moment requested by the Miamis and Eel River Indians to make the following communication to you in writing.

They say that they have no doubt but the governor has sent you and Col. [Francis] Vigo to call them to Vincennes but it appears absolutely necessary to them that you should show them your written instructions from the governor for that purpose. Should you not be instructed in writing by the

Governor to give them this invitation that you would be pleased to inform the governor on your arrival at Vincennes that they wish him to confirm what you told them yesterday as they wished to embrace the first opportunity of making their sentiments known to the United States respecting the late treaty of Vincennes and in the meantime they would get themselves in readiness to meet the governor at Vincennes. I am requested to obtain your answer to this communication in writing. It appears that the Little Turtle was requested to wait on you this morning and to make this communication to you which he says he has done but has his doubts whether you understood him or not. [Enclosed with letter July 12, 1805]

I have the honor to be Sir
your most obdt.
WM. WELLS

Genl. JOHN GIBSON

RESOLUTIONS

July 2, 1805
Dawson, *Harrison, 64*

To his Excellency, WILLIAM H. HARRISON, Governor, and the honorable the Judges of the Indiana territory:

GENTLEMEN:

An arduous public service assigned you by the General Government of the United States, is about to cease. The eve of the anniversary of American Independence will close the scene: and on that celebrated festival will be organized, under the most auspicious circumstances a goverment for the territory of Louisiana. Local situations and circumstances forbid the possibility of a permanent political connexion. This change, however congenial to our wishes and conductive to our happiness, will not take effect without a respectful expression of our sentiments to you, gentlemen, for your assiduity, attention, and disinterested punctuality, in the temporary administration of the government of Louisiana.

Accept our thanks, gentlemen, the tribute of sincerity due to you for your just and impartial administration of the government of this country during the period assigned to you by our national legislature. We wish you a long and happy administration of the government of the territory of Indiana, and that the citizens of that territory may justly appreciate your worth, talents, and services with the same unanimity that exists in Louisiana.

Signed in behalf of the citizens of St. Louis, 2d July, 1805.

RESOLUTIONS

July 4, 1805

Dawson, *Harrison, 65*—

To his Excellency, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor of the Territory of Indiana, and lately Governor of the District of Louisiana

We the officers of the militia, in the District of St. Louis, with the knowledge we have of your patriotic sentiments and private virtues, and convinced of the high esteem you entertain for our welfare, are desirous that, at the moment you cease to preside over us, the most lively expressions of our regret should reach you, especially as our zeal to support the Constitution of the United States has inspired your confidence. Permit us to observe, that you have, in part fulfilled our wishes; but the limited period of your administration has prevented the full completion of them; and whatever may be left unfinished by you, we are confident will be attended to, and completed, by the high and enlightened character that succeeds you.

Accept, sir, these sentiments as the pledge of our affectionate attachment to you, and to the magnanimous policy by which you have been guided. May the Chief Magistrate of the American nation duly estimate your worth and talents, and long keep you in a station where you may have it in your power to gain hearts by virtuous actions, and promulgate laws among men who know how to respect you, and are acquainted with the extent of their own rights.

ST. LOUIS

GIBSON AND VIGO TO HARRISON

VINCENNES, July 6, 1805

Har. Pa. 153-157

SIR:

In pursuance of the instructions we received from your Excellency we proceeded to the Indian Towns on the Wabash

River, on our road we passed the Town of the Eel river Indians at the river of Le Rabellaire [La Riviere Petite?] they were all drunk, excepting one of their chiefs named Sam [or Metausauner]. We told him we wished to speak to him and the other chiefs, he replied that they were all drunk, but as they intended going to Fort Wayne in a few days to receive their annuity, they would at that place hear what we had to say to them. We then proceeded to the Town of Massasinewa on the Wabash river where we saw the Five Medals, a Chief of the Potawatamies, we informed him of the nature of our Mission in the words as delivered to the Council at Fort Wayne; he then informed us he intended going to Detroit in a few days, but that another Chief of his tribe would go to Vincennes, agreably to your request. At this place we saw the Pakaun and Hibou or the Owl, two of the Chiefs of the Miamies and heads of this Village. The latter of whom was very sick. We informed them we were sent by you and wished to speak to them, they informed us one of their Chiefs Pussewa or Richardville was gone to Fort Wayne, and as they intended going to that place in a few days they would at that place hear what we had to say to them.

At this place I parted from Col. Vigo and proceeded to the Delaware towns on White River. Previous to my arrival there I heard of the Death of the Great Chief and Warrior Bokongehalas.[1] I informed Telabuxika the other Chief of the Delawares that I was sent by you and that I had a message to deliver to them from you and requested them to send for the other chiefs. The next day the Chiefs assembled, except Keehlawhenund or William Anderson whose wife being dead prevented his coming. When I addressed them and informed them, that you were very sorry to hear that they the Delawares had denied that they had sold any Lands to the United States the last Summer and that you (with my assistance) had defrauded and cheated them. I then repeated every transaction that took place at the Treaty and told them that they had in the most fair and solemn manner sold the lands last summer to the United States and that the Treaty had been ratified by the President and Senate of the United States and that their denying it was of no effect, and would only make them appear in a ridiculous light in the eyes of all the nations, and would lessen them very much in the great esteem and respect the United States had for them. I also told them White Eyes[2] one of their Chiefs who had signed the Treaty, had told their young men that they the Chiefs had sold the Lands to the United States and the Chiefs were afraid to own it. I then asked them for the Copy of the Treaty which was given to them at Vincennes last summer. They informed me that they had left it in the hands of Mr. Wells at Fort Wayne and they said they would council together and speak to me. Soon after they sent for me, when Telabuxika delivered the answer. We did not sell any lands to the United States last summer at Vincennes; the Goods we received there were a condolance present and to pay for horses which your people stole from us. He trembled and appeared very much agitated and confused whilst speaking. He said they were going to Fort Wayne in a few days to receive their annuity and that on their return they would pay you a visit. I then spoke to them again and told them that I was sorry to find they had denied the Truth, that they had known me many years, and I never deceived them and that as several of their people understood English very well, it was impossible for me as Interpreter to deceive them. I told them the Bounds of the Lands was first pointed out to them by me on paper, viz. the road leading from Vincennes to Clarksville. the White River, the Ohio and the Wabash rivers, and repeatedly explained by me to them, and that the Governor had in the presence of the Witnesses who signed the Treaty explained it to them. I then told them I would go to Fort Wayne as they had left the Treaty there and would speak to them again at that place. After the council a number of their principal warriors and young men came to me. They said that they were sorry that their chiefs had behaved so foolishly as to deny the Truth and that they were convinced that they had sold the Land and were afraid to own it, that White Eyes had told them so and they also said that the Little Turtle and Wells had said the sum specified in the Treaty was a mere nothing and that they were cheated and imposed on. I then set off for Fort Wayne. On the road I was joined by Hockingpomskan one of the chiefs who signed the Treaty. In conversation he told me that they had sold the land that he intended going to Vincennes to settle everything with the Governor. I joined Col. Vigo at Fort Wayne; after the Indians arrived we held a council with them the Minutes of which are marked. (a). Previous to the council I called on Mr. Wells and asked him for the copy of the Treaty, I then spoke to the Delawares who were present, showed them the Treaty, pointed out the Bounds of the Land they had sold and I told them that when the Council met I intended to mention it to them. The Delawares requested me not to mention it in Council as everything would be settled when they came to Vincennes. Pakaun and Richardville two of the Miami Chiefs came to Col. Vigo and me and informed us that as soon as Richardville returned from Detroit, which would be in twenty-five days, that they would set out for Vincennes. The Little Turtle came to us and informed us that since he said as in council they had agreed to set off for Vincennes in 25 days he went over the river the same night to Mr. Wells. In the morning he returned and demanded our Instructions. I told him mine were verbal from you that I was an officer of the Government which he well knew and that Col. Vigo and myself would not dare to say anything unless we had been sent by you. Shortly after I received the Letter marked (73) from Mr. Wells. The Miamies mentioned in the letter had set off early in the morning and we believe knew nothing of the Letter, and we think the same was fabricated by the Little Turtle and Wells. At the Time I explained the Treaty to the Delawares at Fort Wayne Wm. Wells was present. He spoke to the Delawares and told them that they need not be afraid to own that they had sold the Land as they the delawares had only sold their right and that it could not affect the claim of the other Indians. I then asked Mr. Wells whether he recollected Bokongehalas in the presence of the Potawatamie chiefs 2 years ago having informed you that the Pakaun, the Owl, Chiefs of the Miamies and the Chiefs of the Eel river Indians had confirmed the claim of the delawares to the Lands which was given to them by the Piankshaws and that he showed the Wampum delivered on the occasion. Mr. Wells replied he did not recollect it. On Col. Vigo's arrival at Fort Wayne he went to see Lieut. [John] Bronson[3] the commanding officer. Mr. Wells came in and he Col. Vigo mentioned he was sorry for the death of Bokongehalas the Delaware Chief, as he was a great man and that he would be much missed by his nation. At the same time he said it was a pity he had tarnished his character by telling a Lye in denying his having sold the Lands to the United States. Mr. Wells replied and said, he dare say the Lands were fairly sold and that if he Bekongehalas had told a Lie it was a Lie of necessity. Shortly after Lieut. Bronson remarked in conversation that Mr. Wells had altered his tone very much, that he Lieut. Bronson had heard Wells repeatedly say the Indians were very much imposed on at the late treaty at Vincennes. Monsieur Richardville [Miami Chief] in conversation informed Col. Vigo that when they were receiving their annuity Mr. Wells addressed the Miamies and advised them to stick together and keep their right, that he Wells if he was a Miamie would do so; afterwards Richardville in conversation told Col. Vigo that he was much supprised to hear an officer who had taken an oath in the manner Wells had done to support the Government of the United States express himself in the manner Wells had done. Mr. [John] Johnson the Factor of the United States at Fort Wayne informed us that Mr. Wells had repeatedly said that the Indians would never approve of the Treaty of last summer and he Mr. Johnson as well as every other gentleman with whom we conversed in that place were of the opinion that there never would have been any noise about the Treaty had it not been occasioned by the Little Turtle and Wells. On our Meeting the Five Medals at Massasinawa, we asked him if he had come from his Village. He replied that he came from Fort Wayne with a keg of Whiskey, which keg he got from Mr. Wells. The Indians all got drunk at that Village. On our seeing Richardville at Fort Wayne we mentioned it to him, he said he was much supprised that Wells would give Liquor to other Indians to make his people drunk when he Wells would not even suffer him to take a single bottle for his own use, and had seized Liquor belonging to the Owl, which he was bringing from Detroit.

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[1] J. P. Dunn, *True Indian Stories*, 60, states the old chief died in 1804, evidently an error. The same statements are found in Dawson's *Harrison*. He was able to sign the treaties of 1809, 1814, 1818, and out in Kansas that of 1829; Peters, *Indian Treaties*

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[2] White, Eyes, George White Eyes, Alimee, or Alline as he variously signed his name was a Delaware, a member of one of their "best families".

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[3] John Brownson was an ensign in the army 1804; First Inf., served till June 1815 when he was discharged—a captain. He was a native of Vermont. A John Brownson was in the Dearborn militia just previously.

Heitman, *Historical Register*, 255

The Indian chiefs will certainly come at the Time they promised unless they are prevented by the Little Turtle and Wells, who we believe will do everything in their power to prevent their coming. We beg further to add as our own opinion that no noise or clamour respecting the Treaty last summer with Delawares at this place would have been made had it not been occasioned by the Little Turtle and Wells, the latter of whom seems more attached to the Indians than to the people of the United States. In the several towns which we passed thro, the Indians although drunk in almost every one of them behaved in the most friendly manner to us and never once mentioned the Treaty, or anything respecting it. Richardville also informed us that the Little Turtle in the presence of Wells produced a paper and requested Richardville to sign it. Being a remonstrance to the President of the United States in favour of Mr. Wells, he Richardville refused to sign it saying that if Mr. Wells had behaved well there was no occasion for to write to the president in his favour that he did not wish to interfere in matters which belonged entirely to the White people, and that he the Little Turtle had frequently wrote letters to the president, without their being consulted or asked to sign them.

We have the Honour to be very respectfully your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servants

Jno. Gibson
Vigo

Vincennes, July 6th 1805

In passing thro several of the Indian Towns we heard of a Speech or Talk which was said to be sent to the Indians by the British, the purport of which was in addressing them,

My Children,

I promised that whenever I heard anything relating to you I would inform you. I have been traveling through a great many nations. I see a great storm rising in the south which may affect you My Children

I desire you not to be alarmed, plant your corn and do not quit your towns. But keep your guns ready in your hands. Mr. Wells showed us a speech which he said was sent to the Indians by Capt. [Alexander] McKee at Malden but of this we heard nothing of amongst the Indians we are inclined to think it was fabricated by himself.

JNO. GIBSON
[FRANCIS] VIGO

His Excellency, GOVERNOR HARRISON

(Notation by Harrison)
July 12th, 1805.
and other communications of several dates from the Genl. and from Wells relating to conference at Fort Wayne between Col. Gibson Col. Vigo and the Indians respecting the sale of the lands by the Delawares and Piankeshaws to the U. S. to be laid before the Presidt. of the U. S.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 10th July, 1805
Har. Pa. 146-151

SIR:

General [John] Gibson and Col. Francis Vigo returned a few days since. Inclosed herewith is the report of their proceedings. [See June 21 above] If the Indians should come to this place as they have promised you need be under no apprehension of having the affair of the Delaware Treaty settled to the satisfaction of the President.

A person situated as Mr. Wells is might have thwarted the measures of the government for years without being detected but altho possessed of a good deal of cunning he has so entangled himself in the mazes of his own intrigues that he cannot move without making disclosures that are fatal to him. [See Wells to Vigo, June 22] I could freely forgive him for the past if there was any security for his future good conduct but I believe that he is still doing his utmost to prevent a favorable issue to the proposed conference with the Indians. The visit of the Five Medals to Mississiniway with a keg of whisky given him by Wells was for no other purpose than to counteract General Gibson and Col. Vigo or to procure the signatures of the Indians to the recommendation of Wells which the Miami chief refused to sign at Fort Wayne.

Being fully persuaded that firmness and decision are absolutely necessary in every transaction with Indians I shall state to them in the most explicit manner that the United States are determined to keep possession of the land ceded by the Delaware and Piankeshaw Treaties as they are fully satisfied as well of the fairness of the transaction as of the right of those tribes to sell. If we recede one inch these people will be never satisfied until they have gained the ell. A respectable citizen of the state of Ohio came to this place a few days ago and informed me that in his Journey he had stopped at a camp of Delawares, with one of whom who spoke good English he had a long conversation respecting the Treaty. The Indian informed him that some of the chiefs of the other Tribes were very angry with the Delawares for selling the land without including them and the Delaware chiefs had been informed that if they would deny having made the Treaty a new one would be made, and a much larger consideration given. He further observed that the chiefs were very much laughed at by some of the white people in their country for having sold so valuable a country for so contemptable a sum. I am convinced that a certain [John] Conner and one [Peter] Audrian[1] who trades with the Delawares have acted as Well's agents in this affair and this is also the opinion of Col. Vigo (Genl. Gibson however thinks otherwise with regard to Conner who he says behaved very well when he was at the Delaware towns). They have both very advantageous contracts from Wells for making rails for the Indians. Audrain altho established within a few miles of the Falls of the Ohio has found it to his advantage to undertake the making of rails at the Turtle's Town north of Fort Wayne. The Chiefs of the Mississineway Miamis, complained to Col. Vigo that they do not receive a proper proportion of the annuities of their Tribe; altho they compose two thirds of the Tribe they received this year but $400. In short, Sir, I am really of opinion that the Turtle, the Five Medals and two or three others receive much the greater part of the annuities and provisions which are intended for and said to be given to the Potawatomies and Miamis and I am by no means certain that Wells himself does not largely participate. The fact is admitted that he makes more money than any man in the Territory. Mr. [John] Johnston told Col. Vigo that he cleared last year upwards of $6000. How he can do this honestly I am at a loss to know. I think that measures ought to be taken to control this vicious inclination or to remove him from office and from the Indian country. I had determined to inform him of the suspicions which had arisen against him and to order him to come to this place for the purpose of explaining his conduct but I thought it best to delay it until I could receive your instructions. If an inquiry would be made into his conduct I must beg leave to recommend that General [James] Wilkinson may assist at it. It will be very little trouble for the General to come over to this place for a few days and I am satisfied the trip would not be disagreeable to him.

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[1] Peter Audrain was born in France, came to America about 1781. Trader out of Pittsburg; engaged in Whiskey Rebellion; came to Detroit with Wayne's army, was judge, prothonotary, land commissioner and merchant in Detroit till his death. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Col. XIII, 607.*

If the management of the Indian Department is replaced upon the footing of your general instructions of the 23rd of February 1802 i. e. that all the Agents and Sub Agents would be immediately accountable to and make their reports to the superintendent alone I will answer with my head to execute every wish of the President relative to the Indians in this quarter.

I have understood that it was intended to sell immediately the United States land around Fort Wayne. I am very certain however that the money which will be put into the Treasury by the sale of it will not counterbalance the inconveniences which will arise from having it settled with the description of people who will naturally buy it. It is too far removed from any other settlement to entice American farmers to go there but the few sections that are sold will be purchased by the Indian traders and we shall then have in the Heart of the Indian country a number of unprincipled people who will be entirely out of the reach of the laws of the United States regulating the Trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes. If the immediate settlement of it is an object I think it would be better to sell it by contract upon the condition that there would be within a given time a certain number of American farmers upon it.

[Billy] Patterson the Delaware who made the speech to Wells was present at every conference pending the Treaty and also at the signing of it and he understands English as well as his native tongue. George White Eyes one of the Chiefs who signed the Treaty also speaks English indeed there are few Delawares that do not understand something of it

Before this letter comes to hand you will have heard of the dreadful conflagration at Detroit. [Munro to Harrison June 14 above] One third of the factory goods were destroyed and they would all have been burned if Mr. [Robert] Munro had not been more attentive to them than to his own property of which he lost the whole.[2]

I received some time since a letter from the Factory at Fort Wayne enclosing a certificate of several officers who were called upon to examine the public goods. They report that a considerable number of those which have lately been sent on were entirely damaged and that many of them were altogether unfit for the Indian Trade. The Piankeshaw and Wea annuities which I received this Spring were also in a most wretched state, a considerable portion of these for the latter were actually rotten in consequence of their being sent on in boxes instead of tight casks. Under present circumstances I thought it proper to make the chiefs some retribution in saddles, etc and to the principal I gave an eligant rifle. these presents and the kind treatment they received had such an effect upon them that I am persuaded they would have done anything I requested. Parties were dispatched in all directions to bring in stolen horses and the persons who went in pursuit of them had orders from the chiefs to bring the horses or the scalps of those who took them. The presents to those people and those to the two large parties of the Kickapoos of the Prairie who visited me in the latter part of the Winter has advanced the half yearly contingent account a few hundred dollars higher than usual. The money has not however been misapplied. Mr. Wells very improperly retained the Kickapoos annuity and wrote to me that he will send for these Tribes to Fort Wayne and justifies himself by informing me that by your order the annuities for the Kickapoos would be sent to Chicago in *future*. I have however directed them to send them here from a conviction that he wanted them at Fort Wayne for no other purpose than to obtain their remonstrance also against the Delaware treaty.

The first representative legislature of the Indiana Territory will meet in a fortnight. I shall do everything in my power to get them to inhibit the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians.

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[2] This fire started June 11, 1805, about 9 A. M. and by 12 M. the old town was completely gone, every house burned. Robert Monro was the government agent there. Lanman, *Michigan*, 373; Burton, *Hist. Col.* 91

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect and esteem
Sir your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

P. S. I have opened my letter to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 20th ultimo (that of the 11th had been previously received and Mr. Wells instructed accordingly) the greater part of the paragraphs in the papers respecting combinations of the Indians are mere fabrications. The Sacs and the Southern Indians have attempted to form a grand confederation against the Osages and the Delawares and the Shawnese of Cape Girardeau have acceded to it. I believe however that none of the Tribes in this Territory have engaged in it. The subject has engaged my attention and will not be neglected. I shall consult with Genl. Wilkinson as you have directed.

(Rec'd. Aug. 10, 1805)

The Honble. HENRY DEARBORNE *Secy. of War*

HARRISON TO CHOUTEAU

VINCENNES 20th July 1805

Mss. St. Louis Mercantile Library, Chouteau No. 32

DEAR SIR

I received your very friendly letter by the last mail from St. Louis—Believe me sincere when I assure you that I reciprocate the sentiments of regard and attachment which you were so obliging as to express for me. Indeed the politeness and attention which I received from your self and all the members of your family have made a lasting impression on me and I would have been equally ungrateful as unjust not to have impressed my friend General [James] Wilkinson with the same sentiments toward you which I feel. A friendship with that gentleman which known no reserves and which had its commencement when I was yet a youth gave me an opportunity of expressing all I felt with regard to your country and the characters in it. It will give me great pleasure to hear from you occasionally. Please to present me in the most respectfuly manner to Mrs. Choteau and believe me Sincerely your friend

WM. H. HARRISON

AUGUSTUS CHOTEAU, Esq.

HARRISON'S ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

July 29, 1805

Dawson, *Harrison*, 71-76

The sincerity of the congratulations which I offer you, fellow citizens, upon entering on a grade of government which gives to the people the important right of legislating for themselves, is sufficiently manifested by the ready sanction I have given to their wishes and the promptitude with which the organization has been effected.[1] The long and protracted investigation which preceded the first adoption of this measure, on the part of your constituents, proclaims it to be the result of deliberation and reflection, and exhibits a temper and judgment which do them great honor and cannot fail to produce the most salutary effects. On you, however, it rests, gentlemen, to realize the wishes of those who were friendly to the second grade of government, to disappoint the fears of its enemies, and to show that every approximation towards a republican system is attended with a certain and solid advantage. Our means, however, are far from being equal to the support of an expensive establishment; and it would be equally impolitic and unjust to tax the incipient exertions of the settlers with more than they could conveniently pay; and it would have the certain effect of diverting from us the tide of emigration, upon which are founded all our hopes of political emancipation.

Upon a careful review of our situation, it will be found that we have great cause of felicitation, whether it respects our present enjoyments or our future prosperity. An enlightened and generous policy has for ever removed all cause of contention with our western neighbors. The mighty river which separates us from the Louisianians will never be stained with the blood of contending nations; but will prove the bond of our nation, and will convey upon its bosom, in a course of many thousand miles, the produce of our great and united empire.[2] The astonished traveller will behold, upon either bank, a people governed by the same laws, pursuing the same objects, and warmed with the same love of liberty and science. And if, in the immense distance, a small point should present itself where other laws and other manners prevail, the contrast it will afford will serve the useful purpose of demonstrating the great superiority of a republican government, and how far the uncontrolled and unbiassed industry of freemen excels the cautious and measured exertions of the subjects of despotic power.[3]

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[1] The council were: Benjamin Chambers, Samuel Gwathmey, John Rice Jones, Pierre Menard, John Hay. The representatives were: Jesse B. Thomas, Davis Floyd, Benjamin Parke, John Johnson, Shadrach Bond, William Beggs, George Fisher. This is the first message of the Governor to an Indiana legislature. In the preceding proclamation dates are given for the passage of the Territory from the first to the second grade. This Assembly sat from July 29 to August 26, 1805. It passed thirty-two laws, two resolutions, and one charter. Dunn, *Indiana* 325, 277; Dillon, *Indiana*, 416; Esarey, *Indiana*, 169.

The acquisition of Louisiana will indeed form an important epoch in the history of our country. It has secured the happiness of millions, who will bless the moment of their emancipation and the generous policy which has secured to them the rights of man. To us it has produced immediate and important advantages. We are no longer apprehensive of waging an eternal war with the numerous and warlike tribes of aborigines which surround us, and perhaps being reduced to the dreadful alternative of submitting to their depredations or of exterminating them from the earth.

By cutting off their communication with every foreign power, and forcing them to procure from ourselves the arms and ammunition, and such of the European manufactures as habit has to them rendered necessary, we have not only secured their entire dependence, but the means of ameliorating their own conditions and of devoting to some useful and beneficial purpose the ardor and energy of mind which are now devoted to war and destruction.

The policy of the United States with regard to the savages within their territories forms a striking contrast to the conduct of other civilized nations. The measures of the latter appear to have been well calculated for the effect which has produced the entire extirpation of the unhappy people whose country they have usurped. It is in the United States alone that laws have been passed, not only for their safety and protection from every species of injury, but considerable sums of money have been appropriated, and agents employed, to humanize their minds, and instruct them in such of the arts of civilized life as they are capable of receiving. To provide a substitute for the chase, from which they derive their support, and which from the extension of our settlements is becoming daily more precarious, has been considered a sacred duty.

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[2] Louisiana Territory had just been purchased, giving the flatboatmen an open way to New Orleans.

[3] French law and customs prevailed at New Orleans and were protected by the treaty of cession.

The humane and benevolent intentions of the government, however, will be forever defeated unless effectual measures be devised to prevent the sale of ardent spirits to those unhappy people. The law which has been passed by Congress for that purpose has been found entirely ineffectual, because its operation has been construed to extend to the Indian country exclusively.[4] In calling your attention to this subject, gentlemen, I am persuaded that it is unnecessary to remind you that the article of compact makes [it] your duty to attend to it. The interests of your constituents, the interests of the miserable Indians, and your own feelings will sufficiently urge you to take it into your most serious consideration, and provide the remedy which is to save thousands of our fellow creatures. You are witnesses to the abuses, you have seen our towns crowded with furious and drunken savages, our streets flowing with their blood, their arms and clothing bartered for the liquor that destroys them, and their miserable women and children enduring all the extremities of cold and hunger. So destructive has the progress of intemperance been among them, that whole villages have been swept away. A miserable remnant is all that remains to mark the names and situation of many numerous and warlike tribes. In the energetic language of one of their orators, it is a dreadful conflagration, which spreads misery and desolation through their country and threatens the annihilation of the whole race. Is it then to be admitted, as a political axiom, that the neighborhood of a civilized nation is incompatible with the existence of savages? Are the blessings of our republican government only to be felt by ourselves? And are the natives of North America to experience the same fate with their brethren of the southern continent? It is with you, gentlemen, to divert from those children of nature the ruin which hangs over them. Nor can I believe that the time will be considered as misspent, which is devoted to an object so consistent with the spirit of christianity, and with the principles of republicanism.[5]

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[4] The act referred to is in *United States Statutes At Large*, II, Ch xiii, approved March 30, 1802.

In the examination of our statute laws, which you will naturally make, it will no doubt be found that there is much room for alteration and improvement. I presume, however, that the circumstances of the Territory are not such as to authorize an entire change in the system which is in operation. The formation of a new code would be attended with an expense which our citizens are at present ill able to supply; and the advantages which would result from it would be probably, more than counterbalanced by the many embarrassments which it might occasion. Some alterations are, nevertheless, necessary, and none more than in the organization of the inferior courts of judicature. As the judges of those courts derive little or no emolument from their commissions, in order to secure the attendance of a sufficient number for the business I have been obliged to multiply them to an extent which precludes all hope of a uniformity of decision. It is, indeed, not unfrequent that the judges who determine the question are not those who have presided at its discussion. Limited as our means certainly are, and cautious as we must be of drawing from the people a single cent that can be dispensed with, it is indispensably necessary that an evil should be corrected which strikes at the root of one of the first objects of civil society.[6]

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[5] My stay at Fort Vincents gave me an opportunity of observing the savages; whom I found assembled to sell the produce of their red hunt. There were reckoned to be four or five hundred men, women, and children, of various nations or tribes, as the Weeaws, Payouries, Saukies, Pyankishaws, Miamis, &c., all living toward the head of the Wabash. It was the first time of my observing at leisure these people, already become rare on the east of the Alleghanies. Their appearance was to me a new and whimsical sight. Conceive bodies almost naked, embrowned by exposure to the Sun and air, shining with grease and soot; a head uncovered; hair coarse, black, sleek, straight, and smooth; a face disguised with black, blue, and red paint, in round, square, and rhomboidal patches; one nostril bored to admit a large ring of silver or copper; earrings with three rows of drops reaching down to the shoulders, and passing through holes that would admit a finger; a little square apron before, and another behind, both fastened by one string or riband; the legs and thighs sometimes naked, at others covered with long cloth spatterdashes; socks of leather dried in the smoke; on some occasions a shirt with short, wide sleeves, variegated or striped with blue and white, and flowing loose down the thighs; and over this a blanket, or a square piece of cloth, thrown over one shoulder, and tied under the opposite arm, or under the chin. On particular occasions, when they dress for war or for a feast, the hair is braided and interwoven with feathers, plants, flowers, and even bones; the warriors wear round their wrists broad rings of copper or silver, resembling our dogs collars, and round the head a diadem formed of silver buckles and trinkets of glass; in their hand they have their pipe, or their knife, or their tomahawk, and the little looking-glass, which every savage uses with more coquetry, to admire so many charms, than the most coquettish belle of Paris. The women, who are a little more covered about the hips, differ from the men likewise in carrying almost continually one or two children on their back in a kind of bag, the ends of which are tied on their forehead. Whoever has seen gypsies may form a very good idea of this luggage.

Such is the outline of the picture, and I exhibit it in the most favourable point of view. For if I were to display the whole, I must add, that from early in the morning both men and women roam about the streets, for no other purpose but to procure themselves rum; and for this they first dispose of the produce of their chase, then of their toys, next of their clothes, and last they go begging for it, never ceasing to drink, till they are absolutely senseless. Sometimes this gives occasion to ridiculous scenes; they will hold the cup to drink with both hands like apes, then raise up their heads with bursts of laughter, and gargle themselves with their beloved but fatal liquor, to enjoy the pleasure of tasting it the longer; hand the cup from one to another with noisy invitations; call to one only three steps off as loud as they can bawl; take hold of their wives by the head and pour the rum down their throats with coarse caresses, and all the ridiculous gestures of our vulgar alehouse sots. Sometimes distressing scenes ensue, as the loss of all sense and reason, becoming mad or stupid, or falling down dead drunk in the dust or mud, there to sleep till the next day. I could not go out in a morning without finding them by dozens in the streets or paths about the village, literally wallowing in the dirt with the pigs. It was a very fortunate circumstance if a day passed without a quarrel, or a battle with knives or tomahawks, by which ten men on an average lose their lives yearly. On the 9th of august, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a savage stabbed his wife in four places with a knife within twenty steps of me. A fortnight before a similar circumstance took place, and five such the year preceding. For this vengeance is immediately taken, or dissembled till a proper opportunity offers, by the relations, which produces fresh causes for waylaying and assassination. Volney, *View of the United States* 393 *seq.* (Aug. 2, 1796)

The militia law is much too complicated for the state of our society and population. A system which would unite simplicity with energy would be highly desirable, and would leave us nothing to apprehend from a rupture with our Indian neighbors. The importance of this subject is so manifest that it cannot be necessary for me to press it upon your attention.[7]

Excepting in a single instance—horse stealing, to which there is not an adequate punishment affixed—our penal laws are as perfect as our situation will admit. A considerable accession of population and riches must accrue to us before we can be enabled to change the present sanguinary system for one equally preventive of crime, and which, by a just and humane discrimination, apportions the punishment to the offence.[8]

From the construction which I have put upon the ordinance of Congress, the erection of new counties will rest with the legislature. It is a power, however, which ought to be cautiously used, as the advantages produced by it are often illusive or partial, whilst the expense is certain and general.

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[6] For a discussion of these early courts see Esarey's *Courts and Lawyers of Indiana*, Ch. ii.

[7] See Harrison's letter to Governor Shelby, below.

[8] For a discussion of our "barbarous" criminal laws see David D Banta in *Indiana Magazine of History* IX, 234 seq.; and George E. Howard, *Local Constitutional History of the United States.*

In the apportionment of representatives among the several counties, I have aimed at an impartial distribution; but as the documents from which my estimation is made are extremely defective, it is more than probable that some injustice may have taken place.

Before another election be held, it is expedient that some plan should be adopted for ascertaining the number of free made inhabitants of the respective counties. It is believed that the militia returns, under proper regulations, might be made sufficiently accurate for the purpose, and this mode is also recommended by its superior cheapness.

But the most difficult and delicate of your duties, gentlemen, will be to create a revenue which shall be adequate to the expenses of the government, without imposing too great a burthen upon your constituents; and to appropriate with the strictest frugality and economy the sums which must be chiefly drawn from industry and improvement. Few indeed are the objects of taxation in a newly settled country. In the commencement of our financial operations, some trifling embarrassments must be expected; however, I trust they will be of momentary continuance. The progress of our population, in spite of those difficulties which have impeded it, leaves no room to doubt that, when those impediments are removed, the settlement and improvement of our country will correspond with its fertility and its advantageous situation. A few months have already produced the most favorable change in the aspect of our affairs. Our possessions, circumscribed on all sides by the Indian territory, have been enlarged to the extent of an empire; and the most fertile and contiguous parts opened for sale and settlement upon terms which must give hopes of becoming a freeholder to the most indigent of our citizens. The wisdom and liberality of our government have been equally manifested in the disposition of their valuable salt springs on the Saline creek [in southern Illinois]; as in the lease which has been granted, every idea of pecuniary advantage has been abandoned, and the reduction of the price of salt alone considered. It is with great satisfaction that I inform you, gentlemen, that the object of the government has been fully obtained, and that this indispensable article of domestic economy will never again be subject to the disgraceful and destroying monopoly which has hitherto prevailed.

The treasurer will lay before you an account of all the receipts and expenditures, from the commencement of the government. If a considerable deficit is found, it will be also found that not a sixpence has been appropriated which had not for its object some public and important purpose. Although our situation precludes us from a vote in the councils of the Union, and from many other advantages which are enjoyed by our fellow citizens, we must, nevertheless, rejoice in the unexampled prosperity of our common country, and the elevated rank which she has attained among the nations of the earth. It is not, however, by that rank which we may hold in the scale of wealth and power that the American citizen is so pre-eminently distinguished. The enjoyment of civil and religious liberty is exclusively his own. In vain shall we search through the world for another government whose only object is the happiness of the governed, whose only support is the affections of the people.

By a compact which is coeval with the establishment of government northwest of the Ohio [Ordinance of 1787], the right of being admitted, as soon as our population will justify, into the great family which composes the American Union, is firmly secured to us. Let us unite our exertions, fellow citizens, to hasten a consummation which is to restore to us all our political rights, and to place us in the elevated station of a free, sovereign, and independent State, equal to our sister States in dignity and rights. If wisdom and unanimity should preside in our councils, a very few years will accomplish this important object. But if, on the contrary, dissension and discord should spring up among us—if local prejudices and local politics should prevail, and banish from among us those liberal and expanded sentiments which can forego a partial advantage for the benefit of a community—then are we unworthy of the dignified station that awaits us, and the present colonial government is the best calculated for our happiness. I am, however, well persuaded, gentlemen, that your deliberations will produce a different result, and that the candor and liberality which marked your conduct in private life, and which pointed you out to the notice of your fellow citizens, will be equally manifested within these walls. You may with confidence rely upon my co-operation in every measure which is calculated to promote the interests of the territory; and I fervently supplicate the Supreme Ruler of the world to crown your labors with honor to yourselves and advantage to your constituents.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE GOVERNOR

July 30, 1805

Dawson, *Harrison*, 77

To the GOVERNOR of the INDIANA TERRITORY:

Accept, sir, the thanks of the house of representatives for the speech you made to both houses of the legislature on the opening of the present session. In it we discern the solicitude for the future happiness and prosperity of the territory which has been uniformly evinced by your past administration.

We feel a pleasure, correspondent with that which you express, for the happy change that has taken place in our form of government. The system is still very imperfect; but we believe many solid and essential advantages will result to the territory from the respresentative grade.

We consider the acquisition of Louisiana highly important, not only to the interest of the western people, but to the United States in general. While it has greatly enlarged our boundary, it has secured to us the peace and friendship of the neighboring Indian tribes, and removed a danger justly to be apprehended, from its being possessed by a powerful and ambitious European nation.

We hope neither party animosity nor local prejudice will influence our proceedings. Although our settlements are widely dispersed, our respective interests are the same, and we know no cause that ought to excite disunion among us.

To prevent the sale of ardent spirits among the Indians; to form a more perfect system of courts of judicature; to improve the militia system; to revise and correct, in part the criminal laws; and to devise ways and means for raising a revenue, adequate to the exigencies of the territory, without oppressing our fellow citizens, are objects of the utmost importance. These, with the other subjects recommended to our consideration, will receive all the attention to which they are entitled respectively; and from your uniform zeal in whatever relates to the interests of the territory, we have no doubt of your cordial co-operation.

We look forward with peculiar satisfaction to the period when our population will enable us to assume the dignity of a state government for the extinguishment of Indian claims, and for the settlement of the territory, we have the fairest prospects of a speedy and immense increase in our population; and we will readily concur in any measure that will have a tendency to promote our political emancipation.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL TO THE GOVERNOR

July 30, 1805

Dawson, *Harrison*, 76

SIR—

The Legislative council have received the speech by you delivered to both houses of the legislature. They agree with you in opinion that the government of the territory has assumed a milder form, and that our grateful acknowledgments are due to the Almighty Ruler of the universe for the blessings which we now enjoy.

Although we are not as completely independent in our legislative capacity as we would wish to be, yet we are sensible that we must wait with patience for that period of time when our population will burst the trammels of a territorial government, and we shall assume a character more consonant to republicanism, and which alone will secure to the inhabitants of the territory a full participation of the rights now enjoyed by the citizens of the United States. That period we hope is not far distant; and we have every reason to believe, from past experience, that your exertions will not be wanting for the attainment of the so much desired object.

The confidence which our fellow citizens have uniformly had in your administration, has been such that they have hitherto had no reason to be jealous of the unlimited power which you possess over our legislative proceedings. We however, cannot help regretting that such powers have been lodged in the hands of any one; especially when it is recollected to what dangerous lengths the exercise of those powers may be extended.

The several subjects which you have particularly recommended, will engage our peculiar consideration; and we beg you to be assured that we shall concur with you in every measure that may tend to the welfare and happiness of the territory.

HARRISON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 10th August 1805

Har. Pa. 158

SIR:

I am now surrounded by the Chiefs of the Delaware, Miami and Eel River Tribes. A part of the Patawatimies have also arrived and others are every moment expected.

The Delawares have explicitly acknowledged the Treaty they made here the last year in the presence of a number of respectable characters whom I assembled for the purpose and will do so in the General Council that will take place upon the arrival of the Patawatimies.[1]

Capt. Wells and the Turtle are both here and I have received from each a positive assurance of a friendly disposition as well towards the Government as myself and incidentally— With Captn. Wells I have had an explanation and have agreed to a general amnesty and act of oblivion for the past. I hope that this treaty will be ratified by you. I am convinced that both him and the Turtle will exert themselves to bring the present conference to a happy issue.

I have the Honor to be with highest respect
Your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. The Secy of War

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES, 26th August, 1805

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs, I, 701

SIR:

The distance between us is so great, and the communication so irregular, as to render it impossible to recur to you for advice and instructions, in many cases of importance, where I feel myself much at a loss to know how to act without them. Thus it has been in the late conference with the Indians, which resulted in the treaty that I have now the honor to enclose.

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[1] This council was called by the governor largely to talk over with the chiefs the general situation and attitude of the Indians. By private conversation and a judicious use of "presents" it seems all were placated and the governor succeeded in purchasing all the lands of the Kaskaskias (Aug. 13) as well as getting quit claims from all interested tribes for all previous cessions.

The first object that engaged my attention, at the opening of the council, was, to satisfy the Indians of our right to make the treaty with the Delawares, that has been so much complained of; and I found little difficulty to getting them to recognize every part of that treaty, excepting the article which guaranties to the Delawares the country between the White river and the Ohio. As the information upon which that article was founded was derived from the Delawares themselves, a good opportunity was offered to ascertain the truth of the cession said to have been made by the Miamies at Fort Wayne, in the year 1803. The latter strenuously contended, that the declaration which they made, on that occasion, meant nothing more than an assurance to the Delawares, that they should occupy the country as long as they pleased, but that they had no intention to convey an exclusive right. During the whole contest between these tribes, which lasted several days, I observed the most exact neutrality. I made the Delawares perfectly comprehend, that the guarantee of the United States depended upon their being able to make the Miamies acknowledge the cession of Fort Wayne. This acknowledgment, however, the Miamies would not make, and the Delawares finally gave up the contest, although it was evident to me, that the declaration made the Owl, on behalf of the Miamies, at Fort Wayne, was fully as strong as the Delaware chiefs had reported it to be. At the commencement of the council, the Miami and Pattawatamy chiefs had hinted at the necessity of increasing their annuities, so as to put them on a footing with the Delawares. But I soon put an end to their hopes, by assuring them, in the most positive terms, that, as the United States had made a fair bargain with the Delawares and Piankeshaws, who were the owners of the land that had been ceded, not a six pence would be given to any other tribe, in consideration of that purchase;[1]

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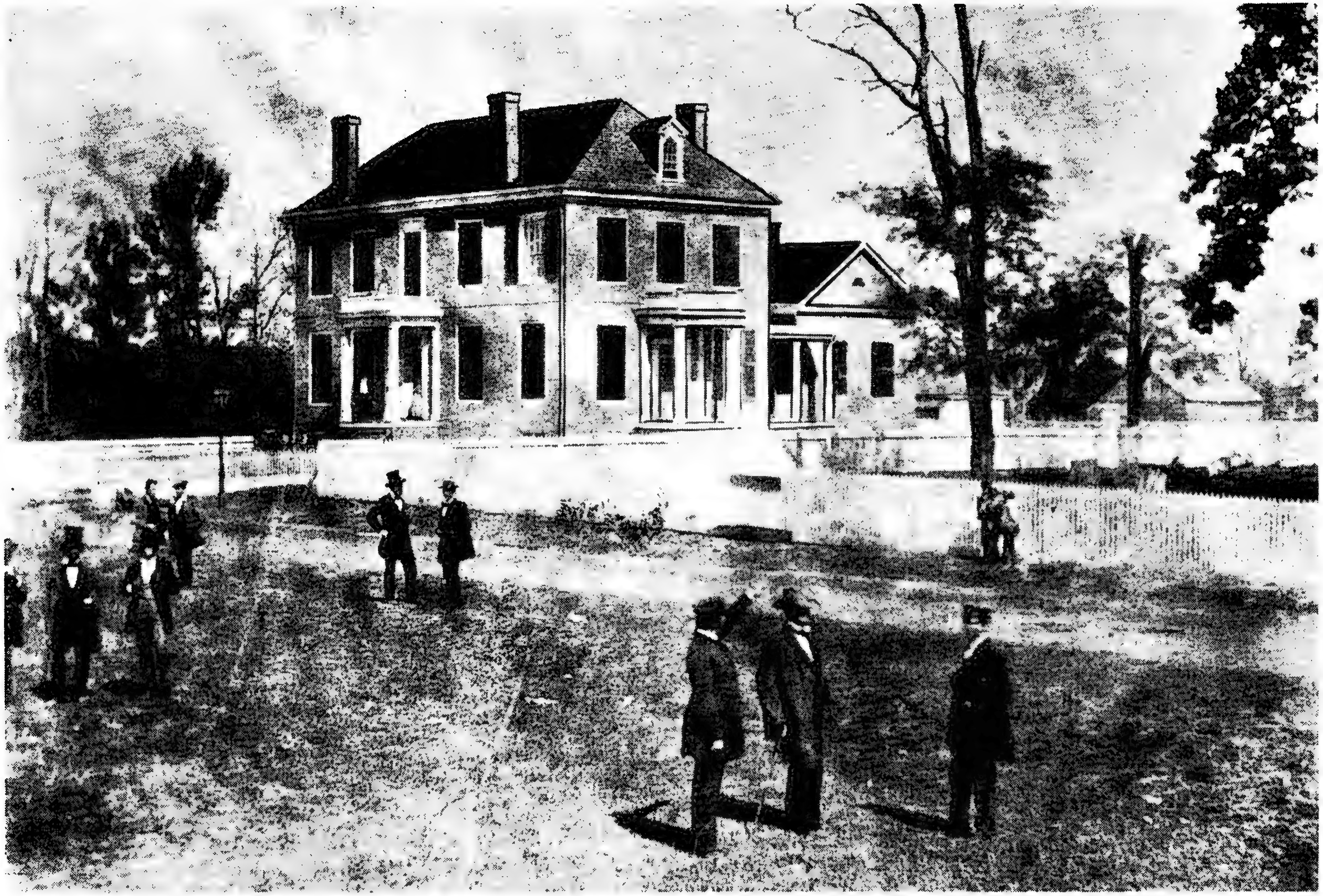
[1] This refers to the famous Grouseland purchase, Aug. 21, 1805. It comprised the lands south of White river, west of Clark's Grant and north of the Ohio, remaining an Indian possession. The Delawares, Pottawattomies, Miamis and Weas signed by their 20 chiefs. There were 15 white signers, besides Harrison, including the whole official family. Grouseland was the home of Harrison.



Harrison's Home, Vincennes, Indiana

but, that they might obtain a further annuity, by a further cession of land; and this brought on the negotiation for the tract ceded by the enclosed treaty. The consideration is greater than I could have wished, but it was not possible to reduce it one single cent; indeed, they insisted, for several days, on having their former annuity doubled for a much smaller tract than that which was finally given up. A knowledge of the value of land is fast gaining ground amongst the Indians, and, in the course of the negotiation, one of the chiefs observed, that he knew that a great part of the land was worth six dollars per acre. The admission of the Pattawatamies, as a party to the treaty, could not well be avoided, under the circumstances which gave rise to the conference, and I am confident that it will, eventually, be highly advantageous to us. They have given up all right to interfere in any future sales of lands by the Miamies, on the Wabash and its waters. The guarantee of those lands to the three tribes, who call themselves Miamies, could not be avoided, as they insisted upon it with the most persevering obstinacy. But, I conceive that it will be no difficult matter to get them, in the course of a few years, to make a division of the land that they now hold in common. At any rate, a point of much consequence has been gained, by getting the other tribes to acknowledge their exclusive title to the country of the Wabash, above the Vincennes tract. The Miami chiefs were extremely desirous to have the Piankeshaws included in the treaty, but this I would on no account suffer, reserving to the United States the right of purchasing the remaining Piankeshaws' lands, at any time that they could agree for them with that tribe. This affair is now in a prosperous train, and can be completed, on the most advantageous terms, whenever the President shall think proper to direct it. I think, upon the whole, that it would be as well to postpone the purchase a short time, perhaps until next spring; but, if it should be determined otherwise, I can venture to promise that all the lands which lie between the Wabash and the lands ceded by the Kaskaskias treaty, and below a continuation of the line running through Point Coupee, will be the property of the United States in ten days after I shall receive your instructions for that purpose, and for a consideration, too, which will compensate for any excess in that given by the present treaty. From the best calculation that I have been able to make, the tract which has now been ceded contains at least two millions of acres, and embraces some of the finest land in the Western country. I shall do myself the honor to write to you by the next mail, and give a particular account of the bills I have drawn for the purposes of the treaty.

In pursuance of the President's directions, I have promised the [Little] Turtle fifty dollars, per annum, in addition to his pension; and I have, also, directed Captain Wells to purchase a negro man for him, in Kentucky, and draw on you for the amount.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your humble servant

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

MESSAGE PROROGUING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

August 26, 1805

Executive Journal 12

This day the Governor prorogued the General Assembly of the Territory, to meet again on the last Monday in Octr. 1806. [Abstract]

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

(Enclosures: Liquor Law and Invoice of Indian Goods)

VINCENNES 16th Sept. 1805

Har. Pa. 159-166

SIR:

After the conditions of the late treaty had been agreed upon finding that the Delawares were not well pleased with the conduct of the Miamis I made an attempt to induce the latter to give up to the U. S. a tract of about 400,000 acres adjoining to and west of the line running from the mouth of the Kentucky River to Fort Recovery and above the line which is to run from the Vincennes trace to the last mentioned line upon condition that the United States should change the annuity which the Delawares are to receive for ten years into a permanent one. This proposition gave much pleasure to the Delawares and was agreed to by the other Tribes but when the Treaty was prepared for signing one of the principal chiefs refused to sign until that article was expunged and prevailed upon a majority of the others to accept his opinion. The Delawares indignant at the Treatment declared an intention of removing altogether from the neighbourhood of the Miamis and joining the part of their tribe that reside on the west bank of the Mississippi. They would not agree that any part of the money which by the Treaty of August 1804 was to be appropriated to the purpose of ameliorating their condition should be paid out in improvements where they now reside. I was therefore obliged to give them the two sums of $300 for their five and ten years annuity which was to have been laid out in horses cattle &c. in cash and have drawn on you three several drafts for those sums one of $300 in favour of Mr. Wallace and the other two in favor of Mr. Bullit. Inclosed herewith is the receipt of the Delawares for the aggregate amount of $1000.

The four thousand dollars given by the late Treaty was divided in the following manner. To the Delawares $1000, to the Miamis $1000 the Pattawatomies $1000 and to the Eel River and Wea Tribes $500 each. The Delawares Miamis and Eel River Tribes received the whole of their proportion and the Potawatimies $700 of theirs from the factory at Fort Wayne and I have drawn on you in favor of Mr. [John] Johnston for the aggregate amount of $3200. The $500 for the Weas and the ballance of the $300 for the Patawatomies were paid here and the drafts given for the former to Mr. [William] Bullit[1] and for the latter to Mr. [Touissant] Dubois.[2] I have also drawn two other bills in favor of Mr. Bullit one for $600 and one for $150 to cover the contingent expenses of the Treaty which have been greater than usual for two reasons, first, from the necessity there was (to prevent jealousy) for treating many of the other chiefs with the same indulgence that the Turtle and Richardville had long enjoyed, and second from my being obliged to trust entirely to Mr. Wells and [Joseph] Barron[3] on account of indisposition. As soon as the accounts are collected they shall be forwarded.

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[1] William Bullit was a land speculator from Louisville who operated in several sections of southern Indiana especially in Terre Haute. See his commission Sept. 24 below.

[2] Touissant Dubois was of an old French family. He was engaged extensively in mercantile business at Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia. He did a large Indian trade and was especially useful to Harrison.

For an excellent history of this famous pioneer see Wilson, *Dubois County History*.

[3] Joseph Barron was a French fur trader out of Vincennes and Harrison's most capable and trusted interpreter and scout. He was present at and attached his name to nearly all Harrison's Indian treaties.

I shall set out on the 25th Instant for St. Louis accompanied by the chiefs who compose the Deputation appointed to meet the Osages.

I have the honor to inclose herewith the copies of two laws that were passed by the Legislature of the territories at their late session. I exerted myself to procure the passage of a law confining the Indian trade entirely to their own country, but the Legislature were unwilling to go so far. I am persuaded that a letter from you to the Executives of the neighboring States and Territories would greatly expedite the passage of a law forbidding the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians. The reason assigned by the legislature for passing the law with the condition of its not taking effect until a similar one was passed by our neighbours, was that it would be of little beneift to the Indians to prohibit their getting liquor here if they could obtain it by going into a neighbouring state or Territory and by returning with it into this Territory. The citizens would suffer all the inconveniences of their drunkenness without the advantage of their trade.

I have the honor to be with great respect and consideration,
Sir your humble servt.

WM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. HENRY DEARBORN, Esq. *Secy. of War.*

August 15, 1805

AN ACT TO PROHIBIT THE GIVING OR SELLING INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO INDIANS.

Whereas many abuses dangerous to the lives peace and property of the good citizens of the Territory and derogatory to the Dignity of the United States have arisen, by reason of Traders, and other persons furnishing Spirituous and other Intoxicating Liquors to the Indians inhabiting this Territory for remedy whereof,

Be it enacted by the Legislative Council and house of Representatives and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same that if any Trader or other person whomsoever residing in coming into, or passing through the said Territory, or any part thereof shall presume to furnish, vend, sell or give, or shall direct or procure to be furnished vended, sold or given, upon any account whatever, to any Indian or Indians, or Nation or Tribe of Indians bring within the Territory or Waters adjoining to or Bounding the same any Rum, Brandy whiskey or other intoxicating liquors, or drink, he, she, or they so offending shall on Conviction by presentment, or Indictment, forfeit and pay for every such offence, any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, nor less than five dollars to the use of the Territory. Provided that nothing herein contained shall be taken or construed to impair or weaken the powers and authority that now are or at any time hereafter may be vested in the Governor or other person as Superintendent or agent of Indian affairs, or Commissioner plenipotentiary for Treating with Indians.

This Act shall commence and be in force when and as soon as the Governor of this Territory shall be officially notified that the States of Kentucky and Ohio and the Territories of Louisiana and Michigan have passed or shall pass Laws for prohibiting the sale or gift of intoxicating liquors to Indians within their respective states and Territories and it shall continue in force so long as the said acts made or to be made in the said States or Territories shall continue in force therein. The Governor of the Territory is requested to transmit copies of this law to the Governors of the several States and Territories above mentioned.

Willm. Henry Harrison.

Approved August 15th 1805.

Secretary's office Vincennes, Sept. 6th 1805.

I do certify the above is a true copy of the original act deposited in this office.

Jesse B. Thomas *Speaker of the House of Representatives,*
P. Menard *president pro Tempore of the Council.*

Jno. Gibson, *Secretary.*

BILL OF INDIAN GOODS

The United States

To Geo. Wallace[4] Junior and Co. Dr. for the following articles furnished George White Eyes a Delaware by order of Gov. Harrison. viz:

1805					
Sept. 9th	To Castor hat	@36p	1	16	0
	To ¾ yd. Superfine buff cloth	@36p	1	7	0
	To 1 Silk Shawl	@12p	A	12	0
	To Cash paid Daniel Black for making suit of clothes		2	2	0
	Virginia currency		£ 5	17	0

The United States

To Geo. Wallace Junior & Co. for the following articles furnished Lapoussier[5] a Weatmaw Chief by order of Governor Harrison, viz.

Chief by order of Governor Harrison, viz.

1805					
Sept. 20th	To 3½ yds. Superfine blue cloth	@42p	7	7	0
	To ¾ yd. Ditto buff ditto	@36p	1	7	0
	To 1 Tent furnished for three chiefs	@15$	4	10	0
	To cash paid Daniel Black for making suit of clothes		2	2	0
	To 1 Castor hat	@ 6$	1	16	0
	To 1 Cotton Shawl Cf. & 2 Scalping Knives	@2/3	0	10	6
	Virginia Currency		£17	12	6

The United States

To Geo. Wallace Junior & Co. Dr. for the following articles furnish Winnemac[6] a Patawatami Chief by order of Governor Harrison Viz

1805					
Sept. 27th	To 1 Man Saddle	$15	£ 4	10	0

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4. George Wallace was an early American settler at Vincennes. His name appears on the militia roll, as a justice, a trustee of Vincennes university and as an attorney, son-in-law of John Gibson.

5. Lapoussier, Laboussier, or Labossier, attached his name to a number of treaties with Harrison. He was the spokesman of the Weas whose home was not far below Lafayette. Burton, *Historical Collection, 103*

6. Winamac was the chief of the Pottawattomies who opposed Tecumseh, but later led in the massacre of Fort Dearborn. Soon after this, Nov. 22, 1812, he was killed by chief Logan of the Shawnees in a hand-to-hand encounter. Hodge, *Handbook of Indians, I, 956*

HARRISON TO BULLIT COMMISSION

September 24, 1805
Mss. Vincennes D. A. R.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON Esquire
Governor & Commander-in-chief of the Indiana Territory
To WILLIAM BULLIT, Esq. Gentleman, greeting:

Reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism courage and good conduct I have appointed you Lieutenant in the Battallion of the Regiment of the Militia of the county of Knox and you are hereby appointed accordingly. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Lieutenant in leading ordering and exercising said company in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline; and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Lieutenant, and you are yourself to observe and follow such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from me, your superior officers, or the Governor of the territory for the time being.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed the twenty-fourth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five and of the independence of the United States of America the thirtieth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Seal

By the Governor's command
JOHN GIBSON, *Secy.*

HARRISON TO PARKE COMMISSION

September 24, 1805
Mss. Vincennes D. A. R.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON Esquire
Governor & Commander-in-chief of the Indiana Territory
To BENJAMIN PARK, Esq., Gentleman, Greeting;

Reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism courage and good conduct I have appointed you Captain in the Battallion of the Regiment of the Militia of the county of Knox and you are hereby appointed accordingly. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Captain in leading ordering and exercising said company in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline; and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Captain, and you are yourself to observe and follow such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from me, your superior officers or the Governor of the territory for the time being.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed the twenty-fourth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five and of the independence of the United States of America the thirtieth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Seal

By the Governor's command
JOHN GIBSON, *Secy.*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 11, 1805
Dawson, *Harrison, 80*

SIR—Your letter, accompanying the treaty with the Miamis, etc. has been duly received. Its contents are highly satisfactory and pleasing. The amicable adjustment of all difficulties and uneasiness in relation, made by the Delawares and Piankishaws, is a desirable event, especially when connected with the subsequent cession, which gives us the whole margin of the Ohio above the mouth of the Wabash, and connects the state of Ohio with the Indiana territory for 50 miles in extent, free from Indian claims.

I am directed by the President of the United States, to request you to close a bargain, as soon as it can be effected, with the Piankishaws, for their claim to the lands between the Wabash and the eastern boundary of the Kaskaskia cession, as proposed in your letter of August 26th, on such reasonable terms as have been usual in that quarter; and for any sums which may be necessary for the prompt payment, you will please draw on this department. I hope we shall soon hear of a favorable result from St. Louis.

Your explanation with [Wells], resulting in a confident hope of future good conduct on his part, and mutual harmony hereafter, is not uninteresting. That he had been playing a foolish and what he thought a cunning game, I have no doubt.

With sentiments of the highest esteem, I am
Your excellency's obedient servant

H. DEARBORN

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

ST. LOUIS, 18th October 1805
Har. Pa. 164

SIR:

I beg bearer to repeat to you by Capn. [Amos] Stoddard[1] what I have before communicated that his whole conduct whilst acting as Civil Commandant of Upper Louisiana was as far as I can judge extremely proper and upright and such as in my opinion greatly contributed to destroy the prejudices which existed in this country prior to the cession against our country and countrymen.

I have the Honor to be with perfect respect Sir
your Humble servant

WILLM. H. HARRISON

Honble. HENRY DEARBORN Esq. *Secy. of War*

PETITION OF THE GOVERNOR, JUDGES AND SECRETARY OF INDIANA TERRITORY

November 10, 1805
House of Representatives Collection no. 9, 1805-07

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States of America in Congress Assembled—

The Petition of the Governor, Judges and Secretary of the Indiana Territory respectfully Sheweth—

That by the Act of Congress entitled an act Erecting Louisiana into two Territories and for providing for the Temporary government thereof; it was made the duty of your Petitioners to Organize a Government in the District of Louisiana, to establish courts of Justice therein, to make and Publish a code of laws for its government, and to hold two courts Annually in the said District.

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[1] Major Amos Stoddard was born in Mass. 1762; educated as a lawyer but for some reason came west in 1798 as a captain of artillery. He was the officer in charge when France turned the government of St. Louis over to U. S. in 1804. He became a close personal friend of Harrison and in the war served on his staff till in the siege of Fort Meigs he was killed by the fragment of a shell. Scharf, *St. Louis, 268;* Burton, *Hist. Col. 104.*

To meet those weighty duties, not less important in their nature than unexpected to your petitioners, they convened in the month of Sepr. 1804 in their Legislative capacity, and Entered upon the arduous task pointed out by the law—after a lengthy and laborious Session, under many difficulties, they were enabled to complete a code of laws for the District, which were in due time promulgated by the Executive of this Territory.

That in order to discharge the Several duties enjoined on your Petitioners, they have been obliged, at a considerable expence to Travel from hence to Louisiana a distance of more than Two hundred miles through a Wilderness exposed to all the difficulties and hardships attendant on such Journies. The courts of Justice have been regularly holden in the District, the Session of the General court in May last continued two weeks.

That all the duties assigned to your Petitioners by the aforesaid law have been fully and faithfully performed, for which no compensation has been provided. Your Petitioners therefore most earnestly pray that your Honorable body would take their case into your Serious consideration and grant such compensation to your Petitioners respectively, for the services by them rendered in conformity to the said Act, as in your wisdom and Justice shall seem right—and your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.[1]

WILLM HENRY HARRISON
THOMAS T. DAVIS
HENRY VANDER BURGH
JOHN GRIFFIN
JNO. GIBSON

Vincennes 10th Novr 1805

20th December, 1805. Referred to the Committee of Claims.
10th February 1806 Bill reported.

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[1] This was referred to the committee on claims, John C. Smith, chm. who reported by bill, but at the end of the session it was still before the committee of the whole. Early in the next session a bill passed, Mar. 3, 1807, allowing the judges a salary of $1200 to commence on Jan 1, 1806 in lieu of all back claims.

Annals 9th cong. index

MADISON'S REPORT ON PRECEDING PETITION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE 6 Feby. 1806

House of Representatives Collection no. 9, 1805-07

SIR

In answer to your letter of the 11 ult, enclosing to me the memorial of the Governor, Judges and Secretary of the Indiana Territory, claiming compensation for certain services rendered by them in relation to the territory of Louisiana, under the Act of Congress, which constituted it, I can only state, that the code of laws to which the memorialists refer has been received at this Department, and that although the other general facts are believed to be true, I have not any formal evidence of them.

I have the honor to be, Sir, very respectfully Your most obed. servt.

JAMES MADISON

JOHN C. SMITH Esqr. *Chairman of the Committee of Claims*

HARRISON TO CONGRESS

(Enclosing Resolutions of Territorial Legislature)

VINCENNES INDIANA TERRITORY 15th Novr. 1805

House of Representatives Collection no. 9, 1805-07

SIR

I Have the Honor to enclose herewith a Resolution of the House of Representatives of this Territory and must Request the favour of you to lay it before the House over which you preside.

I Have the Honor to be with the Most Respectful Consideration

Sir your Hume Servt

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble The Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States

[Indorsed]

19th December 1805. referred to the Committee appointed yesterday, on a letter from Govr. Harrison, and the report of a select Committee thereon, of 17th February 1804.

14th February 1806. [Adverse] Report made, and referred to a committee of the whole House, on Tuesday next.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDIANA TERRITORY

February 7th 1805

This House has learned with lively regret that certain discontented factious men are endeavouring to effect a division of this Territory and to attach the Western Counties, on the Mississippi, to upper Louisiana. It is understood they are, and have been petitioning the Congress of the United States to this purpose; that very improper means have been employed to obtain signatures to their memorials; and that to augment their numbers, small boys and the most worthless characters in the Country are permitted to subscribe to them. The reasons assigned for this measure are, the essential difference in the interests of the Western counties from the other parts of the Territory, and the distance of the Mississippi Country from, and the obstacles that exist in the communication with the seat of Government Vincennes, which, 'tis said, operate a serious injury to the inhabitants. It is true that the Settlements of the Territory are widely dispersed and five of them are unconnected with each other; but viewing them as they are situated from the Great Miami to the Mississippi, we cannot perceive that, with the exception of Detroit, there is any material difference in their respective interests, or most certainly not so much so as to render a separation, in the least, necessary. And it is not believed that any peculiar advantage is derived to any particular part of the Territory from its proximity to the seat of Government. If these reasons are Just, distinct Governments ought to be found for each distinct settlement; for they are all, except Detroit, nearly equidistant from each other. But the difficulties that now exist in the communication between the respective settlements will shortly be entirely removed. The Indian Titles to all the lands from Vincennes to the Ohio above the Great Falls, and down to the junction of the Wabash River with the Ohio and some distance West of the Wabash, and the Kaskaskia claim which comprehended a large portion of the tract of Country which lies between the Mississippi, Ohio, Wabash and Illinois Rivers have lately been purchased by the United States; and the Measures that have been taken for the disposal of these lands will open the whole Country for settlement. The situation of the Territory, its climate productions and fertility of soil, afford the most flattering prospects of an immence influx of Emigrants, and that at no distant period all the settlements from the Great Falls of Ohio to the Mississippi will be connected with each other. But further—The people of the Territory have lately assumed the second or representative grade of Government. This measure will involve considerable expence and from the smallness of population will probably be a very serious burden; but if a division of the Territory takes place the evil will be very greatly augmented.

Therefore *Resolved* That detaching the Counties on the Mississippi from the Government of Indiana is inexpedient and derogatory to the Interests of the Territory, and that the speaker of this House do sign and request the Governor of this Territory to forward the above to the Congress of the United States.

JESSE B. THOMAS, *Speaker*

Henry Hurst[1] *C. H. R.*

Accompanying a Letter from WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor of the Indiana territory, received the 19th December, 1805.

HARRISON TO JEFFERSON

VINCENNES 20th Novr. 1805

Jefferson Papers, 2d series, vol. 42, no. 83

DEAR SIR

Mr [John] Hay[1] having declined the appointment of a member of the Legislative Council for this Territory two other persons have been nominated agreeably to the Ordinance and I presume their names have been sent on to you.—viz Mr Bond[2] & Mr John Perry[3]—the former is certainly the most proper character;—altho' he has had little advantage from education he posses [ses] a very strong natural capacity & his character for honesty has never been impeached. He is withall a staunch republican & much more popular than any other man in his County—I believe it was the wish of the members of the House of Representatives as I know it is of his present Constituents that he should be in the Council—Mr Perry is a French man—I know nothing against his character excepting that he has been pretty deeply engaged in purchasing the land claims in the Illinois Country—Both these gentlemen were unfortunately opposed to our going into the second grade of Government—Mr Bonds opposition was very extraordinary & unexpected—the greatest efforts were however made by the land Jobbers to gain him over to their interest—& those gentry (some of whom own upwards of 100,000 acres of land) frightened at the Idea of having a land tax did not hesitate to spread any falsehood that was likely to defeat the Measure.

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[1] Henry Hurst born in Jefferson Co. Va. 1769 came to Ky. while young; lawyer and clerk at Vincennes enlisted and served on Harrison's staff in 1811; removed to Jeffersonville 1813; later clerk in U. S. court at Indianapolis; in Indiana legislature 1838-9; rode beside Harrison at Tippecanoe and 40 years later rode by his side in Washington at his inauguration. Died at Jeffersonville about 1854.

Esarey, *Courts and Lawyers, 1145*

[1] John Hay was born in Detroit May 7, 1769, son of a Pennsylvanian, governor of Upper Canada, a U. E. Loyalist; highly educated, spoke French as his native tongue; engaged in fur trade; settled in Cahokia 1797 and was its leading citizen for many years. He died in Belleville, 1843. He was highly respected and trusted by St. Clair and Harrison; Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, 225*

[2] Shadrach Bond Sr. was a native of Maryland; served under Clark; crossed the mountains with a small band of hunters in 1781 and settled with his family near Kaskaskia—block house fort. Sat in legislature at Cincinnati 1799; justice in his com-

I Have the Honor to be with the most perfect Respect & Esteem Dr Sir your Hume Servt.

WILLM H. HARRISON

HARRISON TO SEC. OF WAR

VINCENNES 29th November 1805

Har. Pa. 173, 174

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favours of the 2nd September and the 11th October. In the former you observe that the sum of seventy eight dollars paid to Abraham Brinker for a horse stolen by the Delawares was to be taken from the Delaware annuity for 1806. But the Treaty made with that Tribe in 1804 obliges the United States to pay for those horses. I have sent for the Piankeshaw chiefs to negociate for the tract of land between the Wabash and the Kaskaskias purchase—two or three of them are near me but

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munity for years and took an honorable part in politics. He was a friend of St. Clair and Harrison, though like all his class took orders from no one. Bond was selected by the president. Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, index*

3. Jean Francis Perry was an emigre noble from Lyons, France; came to America in 1792; brought goods west and went into business at Prairie du Pont, Ill.; purchasing the old St. Sulpice mill and estate. He was educated as a lawyer but made a fortune in business, principally in land speculation. He died in 1812.
Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, index*

one of them whose presence I think necessary is on the Mississippi and it will take some time to get him here. It appears to me to be incumbent upon the United States to pass a law to protect the Kaskaskias Tribe from the impositions which are constantly practiced upon them by white people. Designing persons are in the habit of getting them in debt and then threatening them with a suit unless they prevail upon me to assume payment. I have in several instances been obliged to become responsible for Ducoign to save him from a suit when I was by no means certain of the justice of the demand. I have this day drawn upon you in favor of Geo. Wallace Junior & Co. [merchants of Vincennes, son-in-law of General Gibson] for $298.31 a part of this account is for articles furnished the Deputies from the Wea, Patowatimi and Delaware Tribes who went with me to St. Louis. I have enclosed their several accounts that the amount of them may be deducted from the annuity of their Tribes should you think it proper.

I have the Honor to be with perfect Respect Sir your humble servant.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. HENRY DEARBORNE, *Secretary of War*

PERRY AND BOND TO HARRISON

CAHOKIA 10th Decr. 1805

Har. Pa. 177

SIR:

We went according to your request and delivered your message to the Kickapoo chiefs as named in the following speech; [Dec. 16, 1805] we found them on the frontiers very quiet and in appearance very amicably disposed and in fact, the American settlements that are near them speak much in their favour. The Chief Pawatamo, kept to himself during the Counsel, the relation of some insult, that he and his family had received from the Americans, not wishing to show (as he told us afterwards) any animosity or even any thought of hostility in their speech. This as he himself afterwards related to us, is the insults; that the Americans stole two Bells from off his horses' necks, whilst he was at the *Mamelles*[1];

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[1] Mamelles were hills on the east side of the Wabash about the mouth of the Embarrass river. Burton, *Historical Collections, 105*

that whilst his son was a hunting, an American threatened to kill him and that his son was obliged to escape by flight and that as customary, as they were gathering Pipyminnt [Persimmons] about *Goshen* [Madison County, Ill.] which they generally do by cutting down the Trees, the Americans drove them away by force.

We are Sir, with respect Your Very Obdt. and Hbl Servts.

PERREN [Perry]

N. B. Mr. Bond being anxious to get home, left me on the Hills and took the strait road and as I had written the speech in french it was necessary to have it translated for you.

PERRIN

Govr. HARRISON

BOND TO HARRISON

ST. CLAIR COUNTY December 16th 1805

Har. Pa. 175-176

DEAR SIR:

I don't doubt but you will think it strange that you have not heard from me before this time but when you have my reasons I hope you will not think hard. When I received your letter with your mesage to the indiens I was so ill that I was not able to travel ten miles. I sent the papers to Mr. Perry and made a request to Mr. [William] Biggs[1] to go to the Indians But he could not go therefore it was not done until I found myself better and on Tuesday the third of this instant I went to Cahokia and waited for Perry and the interpreter until Thursday wen myself Perry and a Frenchman by the name of mime [?] who is the best interpreter in this county started and went through the back settlements to ascertain the facts about the burning wich detained us the most of that day. We arrived on Friday about Nine o'clock at Mr. Ogles[2] about twelve miles from the Indians and Mr. Perry was taken so ill that he could travel no furder that day. But we sent our interpreter to find thare camps and know where the chiefs was and to let them know that we was coming with a message from their father and to request them to collect as many as posable. He returned on Saturday about ten o'clock and we started. But did not arive at thare camps until late in the after noon on Sunday morning the three hed chiefs and some other chiefs with about thirty men in the whole assembled. We delivered your message and received thare answare wich Perry took home with him and was to have sent it to me with his Remarks in A day or two But I have Not yet received it But in two or three days I shall go for it and send it on to you. [Dec 16, 1805]. We found the indians very frendly and seems to wish for peace to continue Betwen them and the whits and furder the settlers that live nerrest to thare camps say they have Never seen them so friendly in thare lives and that thay have done them No harm except that of Burning and the Indians Reasons for that you will see in thare answar to your measage We spoke to them considerable on the advantage of peace as we live so Neare to gether and that we ought to do eatch other all the good we could and as little harm as posible and they seemed to desire it as much as we we give them forty three pounds of tobaco and about half a bushel of sault and parted I got home on munday the Ninth we was out from Cahokia five days I think the interpreter ought to have three dollars per day as he got five dollars in Peltry to go out and traid with the Indiens and we could Not get him for les I have no news we are all well and I hope that you and yours is the same and dear Sir I remaine with respect and esteem your most obedient humble servant

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[1] William Biggs was a soldier under Clark; born in Maryland 1755, at the age of 23 he joined Clark. He lived at Bellefontaine. Sheriff of St. Clair Co. 1790; General Assembly of Ind. Ter. 1808; of Ill. 1812, died 1827. A highly respected pioneer of Illinois. Reynolds, *Pioneer History, 341*

[2] The Ogle farm was on the old road from Bellefontaine to Cahokia, in the Bottom. Here Benjamin Ogle was shot and severely wounded by an Indian in 1788. In 1791 he and Joseph Ogle, both famous Indian scouts, are mentioned as of a party making an attack on Indians. Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, index*

SHADRACH BOND [Sr.]

To his excelency, WILLIAM H. HARRISON

THE ANSWER OF PAWATAMO, CHASSO AND OULAQUA, THE SPEECH PRONOUNCED BY THE LATTER

[Dec 16, 1805]

Har. Pa. 179

He that made us, made us and made fire, it is the master of life we are accused of having set fire—we did it and we also saw white people do it. The Deer was put on the Earth by the Master of Life, and we endeavour to make our wives and children live, and if we are not permitted to set fire we cannot live. You then want us to die. You the whites would be very angry if we were to die with hunger, for the want of hunting, and that we should go and kill your cattle to eat. At the time we lived with the French, our first father we were happy, they never said anything to us, Since we have known our father the Long Knife, there are always some complaints though we do not think to do them any harm, at present that we are endeavouring to make our wives and children live, we do not dare set fire; when we do set fire, we think ourselves distant from the settlemts—and we are close. In all Counsels we have been we are desired to hunt and not go to war, now we are quiet and hunting, and we believe to do right; it is impossible to hunt without setting fire. The whites arrive every day, they settle, we know nothing of it, and if they suffer in the fall, it is rather their fault than ours, because we do not know where they are. The master of Life gave us this land it is to live on and our wives and children, whilst you were on the other side of the Great Lake, that land was given you to live on. In all the Counsels our father has nothing but hard things to tell us, whilst we are endeavouring to do everything to please him, we strive to hunt in such places, as will be of no injury to them, and whilst we are endeavoring to do good, we find ourselves near the Long Knives who complains immediately, now that we think to do well, we are exposed to reproaches, which renders our Life, a hard one, if we set fire to the weeds or grass, it is to live on the game, we have no other means to subsist. All that the maker of Life placed on the Earth is to live upon and we endeavour to live as in the times of our first fathers. Why do you reproach us of setting fire? You are glad to receive our skins, without which we would have none. In all our Counsels the Chiefs exhort us, to make our wives and Children live, it is our sole occupation and we strive to do no hurt to any person. We have had our first father the French, then the English and Spaniard, today we have our Father the Long Knife, who does not like our Conduct. We are not the only ones who set fire, the Kaskaskians, the Shawnese and the Miamis have set fire; as well as us. We know not of any horse belonging to the whites amongst us if there were any we should not hide it, we saw one light bay that the Miamis have that has the four feet and nose white.

PROCLAMATION CONCERNING SELLING LIQUOR TO INDIANS

December 17, 1805

Executive Journal, 12

A Council or Conference with certain tribes of Indians being about to be held, the Governor Issued his proclamation prohibiting any Citizen or other person from giving Bartering or selling ardent spirits or other intoxicating liquors to any Indian or Indians in the Town of Vincennes or within 30 miles of the same, until such Council or Conference shall be terminated, on pain of being dealt with agreeably to the provisions of the law in that case made and provided. (Abstract)

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 24th December 1805

Har. Pa. 180-182

SIR:

In consequence of the great alarm which existed in the Illinois country from the Hostile dispositions which some parties of Kickapoos were said to have manifested towards the settlers by setting fire to their fences and hay stacks and otherwise abusing and insulting them I thought it highly expedient and proper to send to them a respectable deputation to demand an explanation of their conduct and if it was found to be as criminal as it has been represented to insist upon the surrender of the culprits and an unequivocal declaration as to their future intentions. In order to give satisfaction to the citizens I selected two of the most respectable characters of that neighbourhood one an american [Shadrack Bond] and the other a Frenchman [Jean Perry] who have executed their commission much to my satisfaction and whose respective reports I have now the Honor to inclose. From these and from other information which I have procured I am convinced that the conflagrations complained of were entirely accidental and that the extensiveness of the mischief they have occasioned is to be attributed to the unusual drought of the season.

General Wilkinson will have communicated to you the unfortunate catastrophe which has befallen the Osages. As soon as I was informed of it I dispatched instructions to Messrs.

Wells and Jouett[1] by a special express directing to use their utmost endeavours to get possession of the prisoners that they may be restored to their friends. I have little doubt of their success as the most influencial of the Potawatimi chiefs are upright well meaning men. However disagreeable and afflicting this affair may be at the moment when we had flattered ourselves that a general pacification had been effected, the Patawatimies are certainly not so much to blame as they may appear to be upon a first view of the Transaction for the party which made the stroke were certainly uninformed of the Treaty at St. Louis nor could they know (from the time that they crossed the Mississippi) that anything of the kind was in aggitation.

The murders committed on the Missouri and Saint Francois rivers have excited I understand much alarm in that country. It is with great pleasure I inform you that the Tribes on this side of the Mississippi are as well disposed towards us as ever they have been.

The Delawares are indeed extremely restless and uneasy, they are much dissatisfied with the Miamies and all the young men are very desirous to join their countrymen on the west side of the Mississippi. The chiefs and old men wish to remain where they are and have applied to me to use my influence to prevent the intended emigration. I have as yet returned them no answer because I wished to be informed whether their stay or removal would best comport with the views of the President.

I have the honor to be with great respect and esteem Sir
your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Decr. 28th.

I have had more difficulty in assembling the Piankeshaw chiefs and bringing them to reasonable terms than I at first apprehended. The Treaty will however be signed this day or tomorrow and will be forwarded by the next mail.

The Honble HENRY DEARBORN Esq. *Secretary of War*

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[1] Charles Jouett, the first Indian agent at Chicago, was born in Va. 1772. He was appointed Indian agent at Chicago, 1805, coming from Detroit where he had been agent since 1802. He was a giant 6 ft 3 and stout in proportion. In 1811 he located in Mercer Co. Ky. where he became a judge of note. He was agent again at Chicago 1815-1818. Died in Trigg Co. Ky. May 28, 1834. Andreas, *Chicago, 87*

COMMISSION OF PIERRE MENARD

December 27, 1805

Fergus Hist. Series, 31; Early Illinois, 34

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor, and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, To PIERRE MENARD, Esquire, of the County of Randolph sends Greeting:

Know you, That reposing special trust and confidence in your integrity, judgment and abilities, I have appointed, and by these presents I do appoint and commission you the said Pierre Menard JUDGE of the Court of Common Pleas, in the said County of Randolph hereby giving and granting unto you, as judge of the common pleas, full right and title to have and execute all and singular the powers, jurisdictions and authorities, and to receive and enjoy all and singular the lawful emoluments of a judge of the said court of common pleas: to have and to hold this commission, and the office hereby granted to you, the said Pierre Menard, so long as you shall behave yourself well.

(SEAL) Given under my hand, and the seal of the said territory, at Vincennes, this Twenty Seventh day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Five, of the independence of the United States of America the thirtieth.

This Commission to be in force from and after the 1st day of January, 1806.

By the Governor's Command,

JNO. GIBSON, Secretary

HARRISON TO THE DELAWARES

Early in 1806

Dawson, *Harrison, 83*

Speech of GOVERNOR HARRISON, delivered to the DELAWARE Indians, on the delusion which prevailed among them with respect to sorcery.[1]

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[1] Harrison thought this was a carefully laid plan of Tecumseh and the Prophet to get rid of the Indian chiefs and reorganize the tribes. Joseph Renard's son had been deposed among the Kickapoos and Winnemac was marked. Little Turtle was ignored and the old chief Teteboxti of the Delawares murdered. He usurped the power of the Shawnee chiefs so much that they applied to Harrison for protection. They had followers in every tribe within a hundred miles and it seems they insisted on their converts acknowledging the chieftainship of the Prophet.

My Children—

My heart is filled with grief, and my eyes are dissolved in tears, at the news which has reached me. You have been celebrated for your wisdom above all the tribes of red people who inhabit this great island. Your fame as warriors has extended to the remotest nations, and the wisdom of your chiefs has gained for you the appellation of grand-fathers from all the neighboring tribes. From what cause, then, does it proceed, that you have departed from the wise councils of your fathers, and covered yourselves with guilt.

My children, tread back the steps you have taken, and endeavor to regain the straight road which you have abandoned. The dark, crooked and thorny one which you are now pursuing will certainly lead to endless woe and misery. But who is this pretended prophet who dares to speak in the name of the Great Creator? Examine him. Is he more wise or virtuous than you are yourselves, that he should be selected to convey to you the orders of your God? Demand of him some proofs at least of his being the messenger of the Deity. If God has really employed him he has doubtless authorized him to perform some miracles, that he may be known and received as a prophet. If he is really a prophet, ask of him to cause the sun to stand still—the moon to alter its course—the rivers to cease to flow—or the dead to rise from their graves. If he does these things, you may then believe that he has been sent from God. He tells you that the Great Spirit commands you to punish with death those who deal in magic, and that he is authorized to point them out. Wretched delusion! Is, then, the Master of life obliged to employ mortal man to punish those who offend Him? Has he not the thunder and all the powers of nature at his command?—and could he not sweep away from the earth a whole nation with one motion of his arm?

My children! do not believe that the great and good Creator of mankind has directed you to destroy your own flesh; and do not doubt but that, if you pursue this abominable wickedness, his vengeance will overtake and crush you.

The above is addressed to you in the name of the Seventeen Fires. I now speak to your from myself, as a friend who wishes nothing more sincerely than to see you prosperous and happy. Clear your eyes, I beseech you, from the mist which surrounds them. No longer be imposed upon by the arts of an impostor. Drive him from your town, and let peace and harmony once more prevail amongst you. Let your poor old men and women sleep in quietness, and banish from their minds the dreadful idea of being burnt alive by their own friends and countrymen. I charge you to stop your bloody career; and if you wish the friendship of your great father the President if you wish to preserve the good opinion of the Seventeen Fires, let me hear, by the return of the bearer, [Capt. William Prince] that you have determined to follow my advice.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES, 1st January, 1806

American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I, 705

SIR: I have the honor to forward the treaty concluded with the Piankeshaws, on the 30th ultimo. [Peters, *Indian Treaties*, 100] It will, I hope, be found such as I promised it should be, i. e. highly advantageous to the United States; nor is it by any means a bad bargain for the Indians themselves. The annuity which is now promised, together with that which they formerly received, will be a certain resource to them, when they shall be no longer able to procure subsistence from the chase. In the course of the negotiation, I had promised that the United States would, for five years, bear the expense of repairing their guns, but I forgot to insert it in the treaty. It would, perhaps be found more economical to send an armorer to this place, to work altogether for the Indians, than to employ the artizans on the spot, whose prices are most enormously extravagant, as you will observe by examining their accounts, heretofore forwarded. The neighboring tribes will be highly pleased with such an indulgence, for which they have made frequent application.

It is, in my opinion, essentially necessary that the law regulating the trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, should be so altered at the present session of Congress, as to prohibit any person from trading with the Indians, anywhere upon the lands of the United States, without a licence. The title to so large a portion of the Indian country has been extinguished, from which a great number of them still draw their support, that it is much to be feared they will fall a sacrifice to the merciless rapacity of the traders, unless they are restrained by the same penalties to which those are subjected who reside at the Indian towns.

Notwithstanding the recent murder of two white men on the Missouri, by three Indians (as it is supposed) from this territory, viz: a Miami, Pattawatamy, and a Kickapoo, I can with confidence repeat to you the assurances lately given, of the pacific disposition of the tribes under my superintendence. The three murders certainly belong to the banditti of the Illinois river, of which the noted Turkey-foot was the chief.[1] Governor Wilkinson, hearing that two of them were at no great distance from him, has very properly demanded them of the Kickapoo chief, who had them in his custody. I shall endeavor to secure the other as soon as possible.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect, sir, your humble servant,

William Henry Harrison

P. S. The tract now ceded is about eighty or ninety miles wide, from the northwest corner of the Vincennes tract to the Kaskaskia cession, and about the same distance from that line to the Ohio.

W. H. H.

The Hon. Henry Dearborn, *Esq. Secretary of war*

Jefferson to Harrison

Washington, Jan. 16.06

Jefferson Papers, 1st series, vol. 11, no. 102

Dear Sir

Your several unacknowledged letters of June 16, Aug. 29, Nov. 12 & 20 prove me an unpunctual correspondent. it is not because I do less than I might do, but that there is more than I can do. I will now summarily reply to their several articles. And first I pray you to deliver to the legislature the inclosed letter in answer to the Address they favored me with. of the two persons [Bond and Perry] chosen to supply the place of Mr. Hay in the legislative council, I nominated Mr. Bond, which nomination has been with others 3 weeks before the senate. so has that of Judge [John] Griffin[1] for the Michigan territory. I am told it is doubtful whether the Senate will confirm this last [Conf. Jan. 9, 1806]. I have earnestly inculcated the necessity of raising the salaries of the territorial governors & judges, and it will be attempted this session; but with what success is very doubtful. [Raised to $1,200, Mar. 3, 1807]

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[1] "A small impediment to the growth of the settlement was the killing of Dennis and Van Meter by the Indians in 1802. Turkey Foot, an evil-disposed and cruel chief of a band of the Pottawatomie Indians, and his party returning home from Cahokia to their town toward Chicago, met Dennis and Van Meter at the foot of the Mississippi Bluff, about five miles southwest of the present town of Edwardsville (Ill.). The country contained at that day very few inhabitants above Cahokia, and Turkey Foot, seeing the Americans extending their settlements toward his country, caught fire at the spectacle and killed these two men. These Indians may have been intoxicated, as they were frequently drunk when they were trading in Cahokia. This was not considered war, but a kind of Indian depredation."

Reynolds, *Pioneer Hist. of Ill. 280*

the British have clearly no right to trade with the Indians in Louisiana. it is therefore decided to keep that trade to ourselves as the only means of governing those Indians peaceably. this will render it important to be particularly friendly to the Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos, Sioux, & other Indians residing on the borders between the British & us; and by taking their pelts & furs at higher prices, & selling them goods at lower prices than the trade will bear without loss, to let them see their own interest in an exclusive adhesion to us. what we lose with them, we must make up from other quarters, our principle being neither to gain nor lose on the whole Indian trade taken together. the late stroke[2] of the Poutewatamis on the Osages must be strongly reprimanded, and no exertion spared to recover & restore the prisoners & make satisfaction for the killed. the Indians on this side the Missisipi must understand that that river is now ours, & is not to be a river of blood. if we permit those on this side to cross it to war against the other side, we must permit the other side to come over to this for revenge. the safety of our settlements will not admit of this. and in the present case of the Poutewatamies they should be made to understand that unless they make to the Osages every satisfaction in their power, & satisfy us they will cease crossing the Missipi to war on nations which never injured them, we may give a free passage & support to the Osages to come over and take such revenge as will glut them. but it is from the Secretary of War that you will receive what is to be considered as official, & as your guide in this business. among the Misipi Indians now here, is one Poutawatami chief. nothing has yet been said to him on this subject, but some explanations will take place before he leaves us, which probably will not be till late in February. Accept my friendly salutations & assurances of great esteem & respect

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[1] John Griffin, the third territorial judge appointed for Ind. Ter. He was from Va. When Mich. Ter. was organized he was transferred for personal reasons to that territory, Dec. 23, 1805. His place in Ind. Ter. was taken by Waller Taylor; Esarey, *Courts and Lawyers, 404*

[2] "Sometime in the latter part of 1805 a war party of the Potawatamie tribe had crossed the Mississippi on an excursion about the time the treaty was made at St. Louis between the Osages and Potawatamies and on falling in with a hunting camp of Osages had killed or carried off 73 women and children. This was done when all the men were away hunting. The Osages at once notified Governor Wilkinson." Dawson, *Harrison, 78*

TH:JEFFERSON

JEFFERSON TO HARRISON

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2, 1806

Jefferson Papers, 2d series, vol. 42, no. 94

TH:JEFFERSON presents his friendly salutations to Governor HARRISON and puts under cover to him a duplicate of his answer to the legislature of Indiana, the original of which was inclosed in his letter of Jan. 16. the Commission for the legislative council [for Shadrack Bond] goes by this post, having till now been lying before the Senate [letter not found]

[Indorsed:] Harrison Govr. Feb. 2, 06

HOUSE REPORT,—SLAVERY

February 14, 1806

Am. Sta. Pa. Misc. I, 450

Mr. Garnett[1], from the committee appointed Dec. 18, 1805, to whom were referred the report of a select committee, made on the 17th of February, 1804, [see same date above] on a letter of William Henry Harrison, [see Dec. 22, 1802] president of a convention held at Vincennes, in the Indiana Territory, [see Nov. 22, 1802, above] declaring the consent of the people of the said Territory to a suspension of the sixth article of compact between the United States and the said people; [Nov.

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[1] This committee was composed of James M. Garnett of Va., Jeremiah Morrow of O., Benjamin Parke of Ind., Philip van Cortlandt of N. Y., John Hamilton of Penn., Matthew Walton of Ky., and a Mr. Smith of S. Car.

22, 1802, above] also on a memorial and petition of the inhabitants of the said Territory; [see Oct. 10, 1807] also on the petition of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the said Territory; [see Feb. 12, 1807, and Sept. 19, 1807, above] together with the petition of certain purchasers of land, settled and intending to settle on that part of the Indiana Territory; west of the Ohio, and east of the boundary line running from the mouth of the Kentucky river; and on two memorials from the inhabitants of Randolph and St. Clair —made the following report:

That having attentively considered the facts stated in the said petitions and memorials, they are of opinion that a qualified suspension, for a limited time, of the sixth article of compact between the original States and the people and States west of the river Ohio, would be beneficial to the people of the Indiana Territory. The suspension of this article is different from that between slavery and freedom, inasmuch as it would merely occasion the removal of persons, already slaves, from one part of the country to another. The good effects of this suspension, in the present instance, would be to accelerate the population of that Territory, instead of seeking as they are now compelled to do, settlements in other States or countries permitting the introduction of slaves. The condition of the slaves themselves would be much ameliorated by it, as it is evident, from experience that the more they are separated and diffused, the more care and attention are bestowed on them by their masters, each proprietor having it in his power to increase their comforts and conveniences in proportion to the smallness of their numbers. The dangers, too, (if any are to be apprehended,) from too large a black population existing in any one section of country, would certainly be very much diminished, if not entirely removed. But whether dangers are to be feared from this source or not, it is certainly an obvious dictate of sound policy to guard against them as far as possible. If this danger does exist, or there is any cause to apprehend it, and our Western brethren are not only willing but desirous to aid us in taking precautions against it, would it not be wise to accept their assistance? We should benefit ourselves, without injuring them, as their population must always so far exceed any black population which can ever exist in that country, as to render the idea of danger from that source chimerical.

Your committee consider the regulation, contained in the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States, which requires a freehold of fifty acres of land as a qualification for an elector of the General Assembly, as limiting too much the elective franchise. Some restriction, however, being necessary, your committee conceive that a residence continued long enough to evince a determination to become a permanent inhabitant, should entitle a person to the rights of suffrage. This probationary period need not extend beyond twelve months.

The petition of certain settlers in the Indiana Territory, [Dearborn County] praying to be annexed to the State of Ohio, ought not, in the opinion of your committee be granted.

It appears to your committee that the division of the Indiana Territory, in the manner directed by the ordinance of 1787, and for which the people of Randolph and St. Clair have petitioned your honorable body, would be inexpedient at this time. The people of the two sections have lately entered into the second grade of government, the whole expense of which would fall on the people of one section, if a division were now to be made. This, in the opinion of your committee, would be neither politic nor just. But, although a division of the Territory appears improper at this time, we think it should be made as soon as the population of either section has increased so far as to entitle them to form a State Government. The petition which prays that such a Government may be formed, by uniting the two sections as soon as their inhabitants shall have augmented so far as to authorize it, your committee conceive ought not to be granted. A territory, when once erected into a State, cannot be divided or dismembered without its own consent; the formation therefore, of two States out of this Territory, originally intended by the ordinance of 1787, could not constitutionally be effected, if the two sections were once permitted to form one State, without the consent of that State, however necessary the extent and population of that Territory might render such division.

After attentively considering the various objects desired in the memorials and petitions, the committee respectfully submit to the House the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved,* That the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibits slavery within the Indiana Territory, be suspended for ten years, so as to permit the introduction

of slaves, born within the United States, from any of the individual States.

2. *Resolved,* That every white freeman of the age of twenty-one years, who has resided within the Territory twelve months, and within the county in which he claims a vote, six months, immediately preceding the election, shall enjoy the rights of an elector of the General Assembly.

3. *Resolved,* That the petition of certain settlers in the Indiana Territory, praying to be annexed to the State of Ohio, ought not to be granted.

4. *Resolved,* That it is inexpedient, at this time, to grant that part of the petition of the people of Randolph and St. Clair [counties in Ill.] which prays for a division of the Indiana Territory.

5. *Resolved,* That so much of the petition of the Legislative council and House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory as prays that the two sections may be united into one State Government, ought not to be granted.

PROCLAMATION: OFFERING A REWARD FOR THE ARREST OF THE TWO MEN WHO HAD BROKEN JAIL AT VINCENNES

June 21, 1806

Executive Journal, 13

A proclamation was Issued by the Governor and a Reward of three hundred dollars offered to any person or persons who should apprehend and deliver to the Sheriff of Knox County James Red a prisoner Confined in the Jail of Said County, charged with the murder of a Delaware Indian, and who on the night of the 18th ulto [May, 1806] Escaped from the same, and a further reward of one hundred Dollars for the discovery of any accomplice or accessory (Before the Fact) to the escape and a full and perfect pardon on Conviction of the accomplice or accessory. [See July—1806 below]

PIKE TO HARRISON

[Extracts of a letter from Lieut. [Zebulon M.] Pike to Governor Harrison]

28th June 1806

Bissell Mss. 7, St. Louis Mercantile Library

I have observed by a Letter and Deposition of Capt. Daniel Bissell, that Mr. B. [Lemuel] Harrison wrote you a letter, complaining of me, and asserting that I had basely treated him (in connection with Captain Bessell) by taking a House from him in his absence.

This circumstance is fully explained by Capt. Daniel Bissell's Deposition, and I should never have conceived his letter as worthy my further notice. But allow me to say that, the nature of your Notes on that letter were such as wounded my feelings and more deeply as they came from a character, whom I had always been induced (as well from duty as inclination) to respect and esteem. Your note says "He ought to have looked to Parkinson for redress and "to have made use of the Arms of the United States which was put under his direction for different purposes. To dispossess the person who has obtained a legal possession". It would be difficult to when where in any passage of L. Harrison's letter, (even admitting it directly true) would justify the foregoing conclusion, of my having taken possession by force of Arms. And, when we refer to Cap. Bissell's Deposition, we will perceive, that I obtained a peaceable and legal possession of property, which I had been some years illegally deprived of. It is unnecessary for me to attempt to be the panegyrist of Capt. Bissell's character; but I presume that no person can for one minute doubt his having acted with no unpropriety in this affair, and, that the insinuations of Mr. L. Harrison, was as unfounded and groundless as many others raised by the Scoundrels who resided in the vicinity of Massac.

As the before mentioned Documents were handed to my Colonel [Bissell] I should be happy if Governor Harrison felt himself at liberty, to honer me with a line, expressing his satisfaction of the foregoing explanation.

Harrison to Prince

July ? 1806

Dawson, *Harrison, 87-89*

As soon as you [William Prince[1]] arrive at the Vermillion town, you will deliver my speech to the chiefs, and cause it to be minutely interpreted to them; you will add to it such observations as may occur to you, to enforce upon them the belief that the United States are extremely desirous to preserve a friendly intercourse with them, and will not commence hostilities unless driven to it by the conduct of the Indians themselves. But if they should be forced into a war, after having done every thing in their power to avoid it, the Kickapoos must take the penalty of their own rashness. It will be of advantage to dwell upon the immense force of mounted militia which the United States can bring upon them from the neighboring states of Kentucky and Ohio, and the Louisiana and Indiana territories. It may also be suggested to them, that (a few stragglers excepted) there is not the smallest probability of their receiving any aid from the Potawatamies, Miamies, Weas, or Delawares, who have too just a sense of the danger of their situation, to engage in any such rash enterprise.

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[1] William Prince was a native of Ireland. Early settled in what is now Gibson county he became a prominent citizen. He was elected to congress in 1823 but died in Princeton Sept. 8, 1824, before his term expired.

History of Vigo county, 186
History of Gibson County 91

A Frenchman had told Wells of a plot being formed among Chippewas, Ottawas & Pottawattomies to capture Detroit. Wells wrote this to Harrison June 19, 1806. Prince was sent to investigate. Dawson, *Harrison, 85*

After having delivered the speech to the chiefs at the Vermillion if you should discover that there is no danger of proceeding to the villages on the Prairies, (and you are not on any account to expose yourself to any danger,) you will go there, and, if possible, prevail on Joseph Renard's son,[2] their head chief, to accompany you to both places. You will omit no means of obtaining information, as to the general disposition of the Indians, as it relates to peace or war; and the resources which they calculate on for carrying on a war, particularly their means of procuring arms and ammunition, and the deposites they may have of either. Should time and other circumstances unite, to make it proper in your opinion, to proceed to the Potawatamie villages on the Wabash, you will do so; but, at any rate, I wish you to go to the Delaware towns, on White river to deliver the speech which I have sent to them, for the purpose of explaining to them the circumstances relating to the escape of Red,[3] who murdered one of their men. Whilst you are there, you will collect such information as you may think necessary or interesting. You can also visit the establishments of the Eel river and Miami Indians, on White river, and Sugar creek. Your having been at St. Louis at the time the Kickapoo was killed by Mr. Hammond, which is given as the reason of their discontent, you will have it in your power to explain the circumstance, and convince them it was purely accidental. You may also assure them that the presents to the relations of the deceased will not be withheld.

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[2] "Shortly after the mission of Captain Prince the prophet found means to bring the whole Kickapoos tribe entirely under his influence. He prevailed on the warriors to reduce their old chief, Joseph Renard's Son, to a private man. He would have been put to death but for the insignificance of his character." Dawson, *Harrison, 85*

[3] James Red was a Tennesseean who lived in 1805 a few miles—20—above Vincennes. In November a Delaware Indian called at the house. Some trouble arose when Red picked up a rifle and shot the Indian dead. It was a cold-blood murder. Red was jailed and a militia guard placed around but he escaped. (See June 21, 1806, above) Dawson, *Harrison, 86*

William Henry Harrison

July ? 1806

William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to his Children, the Chiefs and Warriors of the Kickapoo tribe.

My Children:

I lately sent you a message by one of your warriors, but I have not yet received an answer. The head chief of the Weas [Lapousier] has however been with me, and has assured me that you still keep hold of the chain of friendship which has bound you to your father, since the treaty made with general Wayne.

My Children, this information has given me great pleasure, because I had heard that you had suffered bad thoughts to get possession of your minds.

My Children, what is it you wish for? have I not often told you that you should inform me of all your grievances, and that you should never apply to your father in vain?

My Children, be wise; do not follow the advice of those who would lead you to destruction; what is it they would persuade you to?—To make war upon your fathers, the Seventeen Fires?—What injury has your father done you?—If he has done any, why do you not complain to him and ask redress?—Will he turn a deaf ear to your complaints?—He has always listened to you, and will listen to you still; you will certainly not raise your arm against him.

My Children, you have a number of young warriors, but when compared to the warriors of the United States, you know they are but as a handful.

My Children, can you count the leaves on the trees, or the grains of sand in the river banks? So numerous are the warriors of the Seventeen Fires.

My Children, it would grieve your father to let loose his warriors upon his red children; nor will he do it unless you compel him; he had rather that they would stay at home and make corn for their women and children; but he is not afraid to make war; he knows that they are brave.

My Children, he has men armed with all kinds of weapons; those who live on the big waters and in the big towns, understand the use of muskets and bayonets, and those who live on this side the mountains use the same arms that you do.

My Children, the Great Spirit has taught your fathers to make all the arms and ammunition which they use; but you do not understand this art; if you should go to war with your fathers, who would supply you with those things? The British cannot; we have driven them beyond the lakes, and they cannot send a trader to you without our permission.

My Children, open your eyes to your true interests; your father wishes you to be happy. If you wish to have your minds set at ease, come and speak to him.

My Children, the young man who carries this is my friend, and he will speak to you in my name; listen to him as if I were to address you, and treat him with kindness and hospitality.

HARRISON TO JEFFERSON

VINCENNES 5th July 1806

Jefferson Papers, 2d series, vol. 42, no. 86

DEAR SIR

I received a few weeks ago from the Secretary of State the new Commission with which you have been pleased to honor me and I beg you to receive my warmest thanks for this additional proof of your confidence and friendship[1]—The emoluments of my office afford me a decent support and will I hope from henceforth enable me to lay up a small fund for the education of my children—I have hitherto found however that my nursery fills much faster than my strong box and if our future progress in this way is as great as it has been and our Government should adopt the Roman policy of bestowing rewards on those who contribute most to the population of the country I do not despair of obtaining the Highest premium.

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[1] Harrison's first nomination is dated May 12, 1800; second, Feb. 4, 1803; third, December 15, 1806; fourth, December 19, 1809. August 22, 1812, he was commissioned brigadier general; major general, February 27, 1813. At the latter date he ceased to be governor of Indiana. His commissions as governor date from May 13. His salary for 1802 was $2,000; that of Gibson $750, and those of the judges $800 each.

I have taken the liberty to enclose herewith a paragraph from the Farmers library the vehicle of the abuse which a certain Isaac Darneille[2] has poured upon me for many months past under the signature of *Decius* and which I believe was forwarded to you subscribed with his own name—This recantation was not extorted by the dread of powder and ball or steel—Arguments which I have long declined the use of in private quarrels but from the dread of the indignation of 12 of the Citizens of Kentucky who were about to decide upon the merits of his accusations.

I am sorry to inform you that the Indians on the Illinois river and the neighbourhood of the Lakes discover a good deal of that kind of restlessness & Jealousy which usually precede a rupture and if the information I have just received be correct there is a probability that we shall shortly receive some pretty strong manifestations of the enmity of the Sacs and Kickapoos.

An elderly Squaw who resides at the principal Wea village about 50 miles from the place has communicated to me through a trader of unquestionable veracity that about 10 days ago a Kickapoo arrived in their village with a war belt inviting the Weas to join his nation and the Sacs in a war against the United States. The belt and speech were delivered as the squaw says to the Wea chiefs—She further said that she had conversed with the bearer of the belt & demanded the reasons which induced the Kickapoos to go to war with the Americans who were strong enough to destroy all the Indians in a very short time. He answered that all this was well understood but that they had received so many injuries from the Americans that they were determined to perish to a man rather than not revenge them—I do not believe this tale altho I think it highly probable that some part of the Conversation passed between the Kickapoo & the squaw. I have the highest confidence in the Wea chief—I know he has a warm friendship for me & I am sure he would have communicated the proposition which the Kickapoos are said to have made to him if there was really any such made—The affair however deserves attention & I shall take care to have it properly investigated—the result of my enquiries shall be communicated to the Secretary of War by the next mail.

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[2] Isaac Darneille was the second lawyer in the Illinois country, arriving in 1794 at Cahokia. He seems to have been a preacher in Maryland but in the west he played the Chesterfield in a social way and engaged in land speculation and law for a livelihood. He was engaged in a number of discreditable episodes and finally became a school teacher in western Ky. where he died in 1830. He had a good classical education. His Letters of Decius was the most talked of book in the territory for a time and caused the governor much trouble. Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, 221*

In a letter which I did myself the honor to write to you some time in the last Summer I took the liberty to request the Appointment of Judge of this Territory if a vacancy should occur for my brother in law Mr Coupland whose embarrassed Circumstances would have been much relieved by such an appointment—If however Mr Coupland should not be deemed a proper person or should decline the office I beg leave to solicit it for my friend Mr [Benjamin] Parke our Delegate to Congress who is also the Attorney General of the Territory & who unites all the qualifications requisite for such an appointment I believe that he would be more acceptable to the people of the Territory as a Judge than any other who could be appointed.

I have the Honor to be Dear Sir your faithful & obliged Hume Servt.

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

The PRESIDENT of the United States

reed July 28

HARRISON TO MENARD, COMMISSION

July 12, 1806

Fergus Hist. Series 31, Early Illinois 35

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, to PIERRE MENARD, Esq'r, Greeting:

Reposing special trust and confidence in your fidelity, courage and good conduct, I have appointed you a Lietutenant Colonel Commandant of the first regiment of the Militia of the county of Randolph and you are hereby appointed accordingly. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Lieut. Colo. Commandt. in leading, ordering and exercising the said regiment in arms, both inferior officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline, and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their Lieutenant Colo. Commandt. and you are yourself to observe and follow such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from me or your superior officers.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto caused the seal (Seal) of the territory to be affixed, the twelfth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six and of the Independence of the United States of America the thirty first.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

By the Governor's Command,
JNO. GIBSON, Secretary

Indiana Territory }
Randolph County } ss. Before me the subscriber (authorized by *Dedimus Protestatem* from the Governor of said Territory, dated the third day of May, 1806, to administer the oaths of office to all officers civil and military of said county) personally appeared PETER MENARD, Esquire, and took the oaths of office as Colonel of the first Regiment of Militia of Randolph County as required by law. Given under my hand at Kaskaskia the 18th day of July, 1806.

MICH. JONES

PROCLAMATION: ON SELLING LIQUOR TO INDIANS

July 26, 1806

Executive Journal, 13

A proclamation was Issued by the Governor prohibiting the sale of ardent Spirits to any Indian or Indians at this place or within 30 miles of the same during the Conference or Council which is about to be held with the diferent tribes of Indians. [Abstract]

WILKINSON TO HARRISON

September 19, 1806

Parton, *Aaron Burr, vol. II, 50*

Shall I say in return I have a boon to ask of you, of no ordinary import? No, I will not! because the commutation would dishonor my application; but I will demand from your friendship a boon, in its influence coextensive with the Union; a boon, perhaps on which that Union may much depend; a boon, which from my knowledge of men, motives, and principles, will be acceptable to those whose politics we are bound to support. If you ask, what is this important boon which I so earnestly crave? I will say to you, return the bearer to the councils of our country, where his talents and abilities are all-important at the present moment. But you continue, how is this to be done? By your fiat! Let Mr. [Benjamin] Parks adhere to his profession; convene your Solomons and let them return him (Colonel Burr) to Congress. If you taste this proposition, speak to him, and he will authorize you to purchase, if necessary, an estate for him in your Territory.[1]

HARRISON TO BISSELL

GROUSELAND 8th Oct. 1806

Bissell Mss. No. 8, St. Louis Mercantile Library

DEAR SIR

You must by this time suppose me one of the worst correspondents in the World & I have no inclination to deny the charge for all my friends tell me so & what every one believes must be true. I wrote to you however about six weeks ago by Col. [Francis] Vigo but as that gentleman did not visit your post as he intended when he set out from this place the letter was returned to me & I intended to have written by Mr. [Charles] Gratiot but he left this place without my knowing it having called at my house when I was absent. Your letter of the 4th of April last was duly received & removed every difficulty with regard to the affair of T. Harrison—indeed I never had an idea that Lt. Pike for whom I have a great esteem & friendship had done anything more in that affair than what would have been considered when subjected to the most serious scrutiny as an act of imprudence Such as I myself have committed whilst in a military command & such as all men of ardent minds are likely to commit. I have appointed Mr. [Gratiot?] Quater a magistrate & I am very glad to find from are mutual friend

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[1] This is only a fragment of the letter. Compare Wilkinson's testimony at Burr's trial when he said he would go to jail rather than produce the entire letter from Harrison.

Whittlock that he will be agreeable to you. I intended to have given him a letter to your requesting your advice and assistance in the performing of his duty respecting which he may be at a loss from his limited acquaintance with our language manners & laws—I think that a good understanding between you may be production of mutual advantages & tend to preserve tranquility in the settlement adjacent to your post.

With much Respect & Esteem I am Dr. Sir, Your Humbl. Servt.

WILL. H. HARRISON

HARRISON: MESSAGE TO LEGISLATURE

November 3, 1806

Dillon, *History of Indiana, 423-424*

In a message which was delivered before the territorial legislature of Indiana, in 1806, Governor Harrison stated that he had received from all the Indian tribes, under his superintendence, "the most solemn assurances of a disposition, on their part, to preserve inviolate their relations of amity with the United States." The same message contains the following passages in relation to the condition of Indian affairs at that period:

They [the Indians] will never have recourse to arms, I speak of those in our immediate neighborhood, unless driven to it by a series of injustice and oppression. Of this they already begin to complain; and I am sorry to say that their complaints are far from being groundless. It is true that the general government has passed laws for fulfilling, not only the stipulation contained in our treaty, but also those sublimer duties which a just sense of our prosperity and their wretchedness seem to impose. The laws of the territory provide, also the same punishment for offenses committed against Indians as against white men. Experience, however, shows that there is a wide difference in the execution of those laws. The Indian always suffers, and the white man never. This partiality has not escaped their penetration, and has afforded them an opportunity of making the proudest comparisons between their own observance of treaties and that of their boasted superiors. If, in your review of our penal code, gentlemen, any regulation should suggest itself which would promise more impartiality in the execution of the laws in favor of this unhappy people, the adoption of it will be highly acceptable to the government of the United States and honorable to yourselves. But should you suppose it dangerous to make any discrimination in their favor, I pray you to lose no opportunity of inculcating, among your constituents, an abhorrence of that unchristian and detestable doctrine which would make a distinction of guilt between the murder of a white man and an Indian.[1]

HARRISON TO CHOUTEAU

GROUSELAND, 17th Nov. 1806

Choteau Mss. 33, St. Louis Mercantile Library

DEAR SIR

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance Captain [James] House[1] of the United States Artillery whose amiable character and manners have gained him the respect and esteem of all who have had the pleasure of an introduction to him. He is to command the troops that are stationed in your neighborhood and from what I know of him myself and what I have heard from others upon whom I can rely a more fortunate selection could not have been. I must ask the favour of you to make him acquainted with Messrs Gratiot and Fouland and the rest of my friends in your town.

I am Dr. Sir with great Respect and Regard Your Humble Servant

WILLIAM H. HARRISON

AUGUST CHOTEAU, Esq.

BURR TO HARRISON

November 27, 1806

Parton, *Life of Aaron Burr, Vol II, 72*

Considering the various and extravagant reports[1] which circulate concerning me, it may not be unsatisfactory to you to be informed (and to you there can be no better source of information than myself) that I have no wish or design to attempt a separation of the Union, that I have no connection with any foreign power or government, that I never meditated the introduction of any foreign power or influence into the United States, or any part of its territories, but on the contrary should repel with indignation any proposition or measure having that tendency; in fine, that I have no project or views hostile to the interest or tranquillity or union of the United States, or prejudicial to its government, and I pledge my honor to the truth of this declaration. It is true that I am engaged in an extensive speculation, and that with me are associated some of your intimate and dearest friends. The objects are such as every man of honor and every good citizen must approve. They have been communicated to several of the principal officers of our government, particularly to one in the confidence of the administration. He has assured me my views would be grateful to the administration. Indeed, from the nature of them, it can not be otherwise, and I have no doubt of having received your active support, if a personal communication with you could have been had.

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[1] This message was addressed to the Second Session of the First General Assembly, which met at Vincennes, November 3, 1806, and enacted twenty-eight laws. The full text of this message has not been found; but from a passage in No. 30 it is evident that one of the Governor's recommendations was a revision of the plan of taxation.

[1] James House was born in Conn. enlisted Feb. 22, 1799, from Penn. as a lieutenant in the artillery; became paymaster 1799; captain 1805; colonel 1822; Brig. Gen., 1832, died Nov. 17, 1834. Heitman, *Register*, 544

[1] This was one of a number of letters written soon after his affair with the Frankfort grand jury. This is evidently the letter which Harrison says almost misled him.

WALLER TAYLOR TO HARRISON

LOUISVILLE, January 12, 1807

Dillon, *History of Indiana 431*

I arrived at Jeffersonville on Saturday morning last, after an extremely disagreeable journey, occasioned by the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of making our stages of a night. The public mind at this place appears to be much agitated, on account of Colonel [Aaron] Burr's mysterious movements.[1] Conjectures are various about his intentions; but nothing certain has transpired to throw any light on his views. There is stationed at this place about two hundred militia, who examine all boats that descend the river. No discoveries have yet been made by them; and only two boats have yet been detained, which were built by Burr's direction at Jeffersonville, or this place, I am not certain which. A large drove of horses, said to be purchased for the expedition, will be seized to-day, by the civil authority of the State. It seems to me that the precautions now taken are perfectly useless; because Burr, I believe has got all the force he could raise from this State, and is, probably, before this time, at Natchez.

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[1] Burr's movements had been the chief object of interest in the Ohio Valley since the summer of 1805. Davis Floyd had been active in his support, building and loading boats. Burr had visited Harrison at Vincennes, with what result is not known. So far as is known Harrison offered no opposition. Taylor was perhaps sent on this trip by the governor to watch developments. Butler, *History of Kentucky, 320*, says Burr made advances to Harrison but the latter repelled him. It seems that Burr sent Captain Westcott to Harrison but without results.

SLAVERY PETITION

February 12, 1807

Annals of Ninth Congress, Sec. Sess. 482

Am. Sta. Pa. Misc. I, 477

Mr. Parke, from the committee[1] to whom was referred the letter of William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, enclosing certain resolutions of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the said Territory, made the following report:

That the resolutions of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory relate to a suspension for the term of ten years, of the sixth article of compact between the United States and the Territories and States northwest of the river Ohio, passed the 13th July, 1787. That article declares "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory."

The suspension of the said article would operate an immediate and essential benefit to the Territory, as emigration to it will be inconsiderable for many years except from those States where slavery is tolerated; and although it is not considered expedient to force the population of the Territory, yet it is desirable to connect its scattered settlements, and, in regard to political rights, to place it on an equal footing with the different states. From the interior situation of the Territory, it is not believed that slaves would ever become so numerous as to endanger the internal peace or future prosperity of the country. The current of emigration flowing to the western country, the Territories ought all to be opened to their introduction. The abstract question of liberty and slavery is not involved in the proposed measure, as slavery now exists to a considerable extent in different parts of the Union; it would not augment the number of slaves, but merely authorize the removal to Indiana of such as are held in bondage in the United States. If slavery is an evil, means ought to be devised to render it least dangerous to the community, and by which the hapless situation of the slaves would be most ameliorated; and to accomplish these objects, no measure would be so effectual as the one proposed. The committee, therefore, respectfully submit to the House the following resolution:

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[1] This committee consisted of Benjamin Parke of Ind., John Rhea of Tenn., Jeremiah Morrow of Ohio, Willis Alston of N. C., Josiah Masters of N. Y., Thomas Sanford of Ky., and Abram Trigg of Va. The petition from Indiana is given in *Annals of Congress*, Jan. 20, 1807.

Resolved, That it is expedient to suspend, from and after the 1st day of January 1808 the sixth article of compact between the United States and the Territories and States northwest of the river Ohio, passed the 13th day of July, 1787, for the term of ten years.

GIBSON TO MADISON

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, VINCENNES March 7th 1807

Har. Pa. 419

SIR:

I have the honour of enclosing to you the Laws of the assembly of this Territory at their 2nd session [of the First Assembly, Nov. 3, 1806], also a list of stationary for the use of this office, as that wrote for last year has not as yet arrived. Mr. George Wallace [Gibson's brother-in-law] the contractor at this place, who is now on his way to the City of Washington, will take charge of it and have it brought on to this place.

I have the honour to be with the highest consideration and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

JNO. GIBSON

The Honble. JAMES MADISON Esqr.

Petition: Justice of the Peace

Indiana Territory, Randolph County [Ill.]
23d March 1807

Mss. Indiana State Library

Sir:

We whose names are hereunto subscribed take the liberty of Informing your Excellency that our Settlement at this time is destitute of a Justice of the peace owing to Capt. Fords Resignation; and we are frequently much imposed upon by Boatmen and other persons strageling through our part of the country and we fear we will be much more imposed on if we don't have a Justice appointed amongst us in a short time, we further take the liberty of recommending Samuel Omelveny as the most proper person on our settlement to fill that office; he has resided here for better than a year and has still behaved himself as a just uprite Honest man. We therefore pray your Excellency would Commistion the said Omelveny or any other person that you in your wisdom may think proper, wilest we remain with Due Submition your Excellency Most Obedient and Humble Servants.

His Excellency Governor Harrison

Ja. Smith, Sen
Daniel Havel
Thomas Wallis
Thomas Jons
Isaac Ralston
Samson Dunn
Robert Hays
Benjamin Smyth
John Fisher
Nathan Fisher
James Panky
Moses Carlock
Wm. Simpson
Mell Self
Samuel Blanton Simpson
William Daniel
Simon Womble
Elisha Browning
Richard Bankson
Jacob Wallis
William Hall
Chambertson Hutson
John Hutson
John Wratlif
James Ford
William Rogers
Wiley Hutson
David Self
James Steel
Alexander Blair
Elijah Estes
John Browning
James Wilson
James Bales
Warren Cox
Thomas Jordan
Jorge Sellig
William Batley
Leopold Crownvalley
Nathaniel Shields
William Christy
Ezekiah Stelly
Jacob Robortson
Robart Shays
Silas Byers
John Vaun
Francis Jourdan
Edward Rose
Thomas Rose
John Smyth
Spencer Mercer
John Wilson
Richard Lee
James Bain
John Russel
Julius Wicker
James Wilson, Sr.
John Richards
Elisha Colbert
Ress Jones
Jacob Self
Solomon Redfern
Linsey Moglen
James Hicks
Gershom Clemen
Benjamin Page
Shangeman Moglin
Hugh Logan, Jr.

HARRISON TO WILLIAMS

Vincennes 3rd April 1807

Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, Vol. 86, No. 50

Dr Sir

Mr Davis Floyd[1] who was so unfortunate as to have become the dupe of the artful & mischievous Aaron Burr[2] has requested me to write to you in his favor, and to State his Standing and Character in this Territory before his late expedition. I have been intimately acquainted with this Gentleman for Six Years and I can truly affirm that there was not a man in the Territory, who possessed more intirely my Confidence & esteem, As sheriff of the County [Clark] in which he resided, Representative in the Legislature and an Officer in the Militia, (in which he held the rank of Major) his Conduct was equally honorable to himself and useful to his fellow Citizens nor do I believe that there is any man who possessed a higher sense of Patriotism or more devotion to the Constitution of his Country, You will ask then how he came to engage in the late treasonable enterprise? The copy of Colo. Burrs[3] letter to me which is inclosed will furnish the Solution from which You will See that the grosest falshoods were Used to entrap those whose honesty he knew to be proof against any proposal to violate the Laws of their Country,—This letter of Colo Burrs, was addressed to me in Consequence of Major Floyd and another Gentleman having waited on him at Louisville & declared their intention of abandoning him unless he would give to me the most explicit assurances in writing that his object was known to, and approved of by the Government, This You see he did not hesitate to do, and

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[1] Davis Floyd opened a tavern at Clarkville in 1801, where he was a falls pilot for many years. He was actively associated with Burr for which he was tried and convicted, fined $10 and sentenced to jail for 3 hours. He moved to Corydon and represented that county in the legislature; was circuit judge from 1816 to 1823 and was then appointed by ~~Jefferson~~, Dec. 5, 1823, as a commissioner to adjust land claims in Florida. It is thought he died there. ~~Esarey~~, *Courts and Lawyers, 62*

[2] Aaron Burr—"On the 1st of Sept. (1805) I leave this (Frankfort) for St. Louis. My route is to Louisville, 55 miles, Vincennes on the Wabash 150 miles."
Memoirs of Aaron Burr, II, 374

There is a literature on Aaron Burr, perhaps the best is Parton's Burr though it is rather hostile. Safford, *The Blennerhassett Papers*, and his *Memoirs* by M. L. Davis are good. The evidence is given in *Am. Sta. Pa., Mis. I, 468-646.* See also Dillon, *Indiana, 431*

[3] Two letters one from Burr to Harrison, Nov. 27, 1806, and one from Wilkinson to Harrison, Sept. 19, 1806, are herewith printed from *Parton.* The allusion may be to the latter. The letter of Taylor to Harrison, January 12, 1807, is also copied from *Dillon.*

I must Confess that the Solemnity of his Declarations imposed for Some time on me as well as Major Floyd.[4]

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[4] On the third of Nov., 1806, U. S. attorney Joseph Davies asked for an indictment against Burr. Judge Innes denied the application but at Burr's request granted it. Daviess said his witness could be there on the following Wednesday, but on that day announced that his witness, Davis Floyd, could not attend as he was attending the Indiana legislature, Parton, *Burr*, II, 68. When Burr was arrested he sent his colored servant with a dispatch sewed in his coat to C. T. (comfort Tyler) and D. F. (Davis Floyd) as follows: "If you are together, keep so, and I will join you tomorrow night. In the meantime put all your arms in perfect order."

Floyd went down the Ohio and Mississippi with Burr. He had charge of a boat. This entry is in Blennerhassett's journal for January 9, 1807: "Major Floyd's boat put ashore in consequence of being deterred by a sudden squall of wind." On Jan. 12: "This day Major Floyd joined us from Nachez."

Safford, *Blennerhassett Papers, 187, 189*

On page 190 is a letter from Floyd to a U. S. Officer at Petit Gulf showing that Floyd was not conscious of opposing the U. S. Government. June 25, 1807, the Federal grand jury under Chief Justice Marshall, Henrico Co., Va. indicted Davis Floyd along with Burr for high treason.

Parton, *Life of Burr, II, 126*

Samuel Moxley testified at the trial of Burr, Sept. 21, that he joined Burr at the Falls in Captain Thomas Berry's boat. That Major Floyd's boat as well as Berry's was built at the Falls and loaded with provisions. Moxley was hired by Berry twelve miles back of Jeffersonville.

Annals of Cong. 10th, first sess. I, 466

David Fisk testified that "some time in the month of September, 1806, a certain Davis Floyd, of the Indiana Territory, came to this affiant, and asked him if he did not wish to take a voyage down the river with him during the course of the fall or winter; that he was going to settle a new country, the Washita, on the Red river. This happened either the next day, or a few days after Colonel Burr had left Jeffersonville, the residence of the said Floyd. At that time this affiant did not tell him whether he would go or not; but about two or three weeks afterwards he did agree to go, the said Floyd having several times mentioned what a fine chance there would be for him; that they would not agree to give to any one man more than twelve dollars a month, and one hundred and fifty acres of land at the end of six months, besides clothes and provisions; but as he and this affiant were well acquainted, if he would have confidence in him, he would do something very clever for him; and if they succeeded in their object, there would be fortunes made for all that went. This affiant asked what other object they had besides settling the Washita land. The said Floyd answered that there was a new road to be cut a great distance and several houses to be built, which would be a very profitable undertaking. No positive bargain was made between the said Floyd and this affiant. On the 16th of December, 1806, this affiant moved down the river from the falls of the Ohio, in the Indiana Territory, with the said Davis Floyd, with two boats and one batteau, which the said Floyd had built there. After the boats had left the falls of the Ohio three or four days, he discovered for the first time, on board one of Floyd's boats, a chest and a box, the former of which, it afterwards appeared, contained muskets and bayonets, a few fuses, and blunderbusses and pistol; the latter rifles. A day or two afterwards, the said Floyd inquired of the men if they did not want, each of them, a gun to take care of; that he had some there which he was afraid would get rusty. The chest box was then opened, and all the arms taken out and cleaned and some of them occasionally used by the men in hunting as they went down the river. There were as near as he can judge, between twenty-five and thirty muskets with bayonets, two or three fuses, three or four blunderbusses, ten pairs of pistols and about eight or ten rifles.

Some short time after the boats had joined Colonel Burr, and before they had got into the Mississippi river, while this affiant was lying sick on his trunk, he heard the said Floyd tell several of the men that they were going to take Baton Rouge and Mexico; this affiant asked how they were going to do it with so few men; the said Floyd answered, that a large party of men were to join us at Natchez, and General Wilkinson and his army were to join us at the mouth of Red river. Nothing of im-

Should You be able Consistently with Your duty to render Major Floyd any Service in the prosecution now pending against him it would Confer an Obligation on me and restore to his family and numerous friends a man whom I am Convinced never had an *intention* of Violating the Laws of his Country

I have the Honor to be with great Respect and Esteem—Dr Sir Your Humble Servt.

(Signed) WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

His Excy.
Governor WILLIAMS

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 12th April 1807
Har. Pa. 196

SIR:

I wrote to you about eighteen months ago that some roumours unfavourable to the reputation of Mr. [Charles] Jouett[1] had reached me. I have however never found a person who would make any specific charge against him, Mr. Munro,[2] excepted who asserted that he had applied a part of the Public provisions to his own use.

Mr. Jouett having heard that some unfavourable impressions had been made on my mind against him has now volun-

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portance occurred till the boats got down to Bayou Pierre. A day or two before their arrival there, Colonel Burr took a boat and four or five men, and went on ahead, as this affiant understood, to do some business, which he expected to do before the boats got down. Floyd's boat, in which he went himself, and in which this affiant was, arrived there on a Sunday morning, and the other boats not till the evening. On our arrival, Col. Burr was standing on the bank of the river, about a mile above the town; some short time after the men from our boat went ashore, this affiant saw Colonel Burr and a certain Robert A. New (who had the charge of Floyd's boat in his absence, he having then gone to Natchez) talking together for some time. The said New then came on board our boat, and called all the men into it, and said he understood they were all going to be stopped, and inquired of them whether they would stand by Colonel Burr and go on, or quit. Most of the men were for going on, but two or three were for quitting. In the course of that day, this affiant mentioned to the said New that he mistrusted they were going on some unlawful scheme. He assured him that they were not, that nothing was going to take place but what was lawful and countenanced by the government."

Annals of 10th Congress, 1st Sess. I, 477

[1] See Dec. 24, 1805, Supra. It is significant that Jouett was transferred to Chicago at this time.

[2] Dr. John Munro was a wealthy merchant of Detroit. Other members of the name were Capt. John Munroe, a loyalist of Vermont, then in upper Canada, Robert Munro, who wrote to Harrison on account of the Detroit fire. There is no indication here of which is meant.

tarily come forward and declared his willingness to submit to any investigation that I might think proper to institute.

His explanation of the circumstances which gave rise to Mr. Munro's accusation is entirely satisfactory and I have no hesitation in saying as far as I am acquainted with his conduct as a public officer he has acted with zeal and integrity. It is true that a great clamor has been raised against him at Detroit by persons in the British interest but this is easily accounted for as the establishments of an Indian agency at that place had a powerful effect in checking their illicit practices in the Indian country.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect and esteem Sir your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. Henry Dearbourn Esq. *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, April 16, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 203, 204*

Captain WILLIAM HARGROVE:[1]

This will be handed to you by Ell Ernest, one of our scouts. Since you were here on last Friday the 10th inst. two of our scouts are in and report that last Sunday night, the 12th inst., a band of roving Indians captured a white family on the old Indian road from this place to Clarkesville this side of the mudhole [near where Otwell, Indiana, now stands] killed the man and took into captivity the woman and her five children.[2] Governor Harrison and Adjutant General John Small[3] are both away. The Governor before starting instructed me to write you that if it was possible without taking too many men out of your settlement, that you enlist at least twenty men for Ranger service giving a preference at all times to men who have been on Indian campaigns, but not to leave any family without some able-bodied man to protect them, unless they are in block houses. This should be done at once so that the men can be on duty in five days.[4] Send in two days from the time you receive this by the same hand an answer. I will then send you instructions as to your duties.

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[1] William Hargrove was a native of South Car., born 1775. He settled in Indiana in 1803, having spent some time in Ky. He served many years in the militia and is said to have been the first to raise a company for the Tippecanoe campaign. He died at his old home in Gibson County in 1843. Cockrum, *Pioneer History,* 203; *Gibson County,* 51, 154, 219; Stormont, *Gibson county, 40, 44, seq.*

[2] This refers to the murder of the Larkins family by a band of Delawares. The father was killed at the time and the mother and five children taken captives. Mrs. Larkin was a daughter of Judge Greenup of Ky. A servant escaped and carried the news to Gibson at Vincennes. Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 201*

[3] John Small was living near Vincennes as early as 1784. In 1790 he became sheriff of Knox county; in 1798 he represented Knox in the territorial legislature at Cincinnati. He was a gunsmith by trade and no doubt a farmer and trader. He died in 1821.

By the order of the Governor.

JOHN GIBSON *Sec'y Indiana Territory*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY April 21, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 204, 205*

Captain WILLIAM HARGROVE:

Your report by the hand of scout [Ell] Ernest has been received. The Governor is very much pleased at your promptness. The supplies for the families of those who will serve as Rangers will be sent as often as needed.

I have ordered sent you today, one sack of salt, ten bags of meal, for you to distribute before you leave home. Also twenty-five pounds of powder, twenty-five pounds of lead, two hundred gunflints, one bundle of tow [to clean rifles]. You will divide your force and form a squad of six men under a reliable man who will act as Sergeant to patrol the main travelled way from your settlement south to the Ohio river, at Red Banks [Henderson, Ky.]. Instruct the Sergeant to make two trips each way every ten days. I will send a scout who will come with the men and carts that bring the supplies. He will go on duty with the squad patrolling to the south. The other thirteen men will be with you; also one scout and two friendly Indians. You are to patrol the old Indian trace [Vincennes—New Albany] that leads from this place to Clarksville on the Ohio river, from a point where this old road crosses White river [Wrights Ferry] and going as far as thirty-five miles east of the mudhole. The two Indians to be directly under the orders of the scout who will keep you informed of the orders he gives them. Once every week send a report of your work to this office. It has been ordered that movers coming over the old trace shall be held on the other end until a number of them are together. Then they will travel with the rangers as they are coming west on the trace. Any coming into your territory will be sent to a point out of danger by you, if coming to the older settlements. If they intend to form a new settlement, they must build a fort and stay in it until the season for raids has past. They can prepare houses where they intend to locate but they must remain in the blockhouses at night. If there should be extra men with the movers who have had experience as hunters or in Indian fighting enlist them if you can. I hope that your experience in Indian warfare will help you protect your men. The roving bands of Indians prowling over this unprotected country in the warm season aim to murder helpless people for their scalps and the capturing of prisoners for what they can realize from the sale of them for servants to the British posts on the lakes. They are not hunting for armed soldiers. A careful and vigilant scouting service will in a great measure do away with these prowling bands of Indians.

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[4] On account of the large numbers of travelers over the traces in southern Indiana, Harrison organized three divisions of rangers to patrol the main roads, especially the one from the Falls. Hargrove commanded the First company, John Tipton the Second, but the captain of the Third is not known. This correspondence between Harrison and Hargrove is taken from Col. William M. Cockrum's valuable *Pioneer History of Indiana*, to whom full credit is hereby given. The original letters are in his possession.

By order of the Governor,

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y. Indiana Territory*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, April 29, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 205, 206*

Captain WILLIAM HARGROVE, *in the Ranger Service of Indiana Territory:*

Your report by the half-breed Twenney came to hand this evening. The Governor wishes to say that he is well pleased with your work and fully agrees with you that the route from the forks of White river, south to the Yellow Banks on the Ohio river [Rockport, Indiana] should be patrolled at least once each week. The three men you have recruited can take the place of some of your best men that you are acquainted with. You will send them over the route in company with one of the scouts. The Governor suggests that you send scout

[John] FuQuay[1] with them, as he is familiar with the country south of you on the Ohio river. In your next report fully describe what was found on the Yellow Bank route and if any Indian sign has been seen near the Ohio river.

It is utterly impossible at this time to furnish anything like a company of men to assist the father of Mrs. Larkins in releasing her from captivity. The Governor directs that you say to Colonel Greenup that if he can bring the aid from Kentucky that he thinks he can, that scouts and guides will be furnished them from this post and that he is truly sorry that he has not the men to furnish all the help needed.

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y. of Indiana Territory*

By order WM. H. HARRISON, *Governor, Indiana Territory*

JONES TO HARRISON

KASKASKIA May 4th 1807

Har. Pa. 197-199

SIR:

On the 29th ultimo Gabriel, one of the Kaska. Indians (Brother-in-law to Ducoigne) was found dead on the Massac road about seven miles from this place. He was scalpt his scull cut in pieces with three strokes of the tomahawk two bullet holes thro' his body one entered the breast the other the left side, his left arm broke by the stroke of a ball—his Riffle, accoutrements, blanket cloath saddle and bridle were carried off. The sadle was found by a party of the Kasa. Indians who, the day after the murder was committed pursued the trail of a party of eight Indians in a direction towards the Kickapoo Towns. Two old blankets an old blue Cappeau and a Jole of bacon were left by the perpetrators with the dead body. Also an Indian war sign was found on the body. Ducoigne believes it to have been done by the Kickapoos or Potawatomies, A few days before this event happened, the Horse of Mr. Doza[1] on which he was riding was shot thro' the neck a little after dark, on the road leading to Prairie Durocher[2] about two miles from this Village; by the aid of a flash of lightning Doza discovered two men whom he took to be Indians—a Horse belonging to a Mr. Patten was also shot thro the neck (and killed) by an Indian in the woods near the farm of Mr. Patten, at no great distance from the place where the murder was perpetrated. The bell on the horse which Mr. Patten's negro found the preceding morning was carried off; the negro saw an Indian in pursuit of the Horse a short time before the horse was shot.

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[1] John Fuquay had been a scout for Harrison since 1801. He covered the southwestern corner of Indiana. The family settled in Pike county, before the land was purchased from the Indians.

[1] Reynolds speaks of a block house on Doza creek, a branch of the Kaskaskia. *Pioneer Illinois, 405*

[2] One of the old French settlements about 20 miles up the Mississippi from Kaskaskia, near old Fort Chartres.

Ducoigne as well as all his people are in a great dread at present. His situation is certainly a very unpleasant & unsafe one. Some strange Indians are said to be skulking about this place. The Kaskaskians have all come to the village and dare not venture out unless they are permitted to fire on the Indians whom they may meet in the woods. I have advised them to act only on the defensive for the present; to which he replied in a sarcastic way "Yes When I meet an Indian I must stand until he shoots me down, and then make a defence, and thus lose my life and the lives of my people. I have had ample protection promised to me by the United States and yet the officers do not interest themselves in my behalf. No escort can be obtained to bring in my dead people and they even doubt their authority to rescue me from an attack, under these circumstances I ought at least to be placed on a footing with my enemies".

I stated to you in my former letter that some of our officers entertain eronious opinions as to the protection they are authorized to give to the Kasa. Indians in certain cases and suggested the propriety of giving instructions to the officers on this subject. I am Dear Sir

your friend and humble servt.

MICH. JONES[3]

His Excellency WM H. HARRISON.

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[3] Michael Jones was a native of Pennsylvania, came to Kaskaskia in 1804 as register of the land office. He died apparently at Kaskaskia Nov. 26, 1822. He is frequently confused with the Michael Jones, half brother of Jesse B. Thomas, who went from Lawrenceburg with Thomas to Illinois and was a lawyer and politician at Shawneetown. Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, 351;* Buck, *Illinois in 1818, 201*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, May 10, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 206, 207*

Captain WM. HARGROVE, *In the Indian Ranger Service*:

Your report with enclosures have been received. The Governor feels very sorry that Colonel Greenup feels as he expresses himself. He ought to know and if reasonable would understand that to govern this wild territory and furnish half protection to the scattered settlers in this wilderness, that we have all we can do with the limited number of men that is at our command. It would be a very pleasing thing to aid your old soldier mate and recapture Mrs. Larkins and her children. It is but natural that her father should feel very anxious about her release but he could do nothing with the few men we could send him on such an expedition. After leaving the old Indian road that you are on there is no settlement north and it would take an army to invade the country north of White river. You will please convey to him the Governor's compliments and inform him of the contents of the letter. As soon as it is possible, we will give him all the aid we can, but it would do him no good to make the attempt with a few men as they would all be destroyed.

The report of the three men on the trace south to the Yellow Banks is noted. There is most likely but little travel on that route. The one family which your men excorted to safty is a sufficient answer as to the usefulness of the patrol. They will be continued at least until the warm weather is over.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON, *Governor of Indiana Territory*

HARRISON TO MENARD

VINCENNES 18th May 1807

Har. Pa. 200, 201

SIR:

The United States having guaranteed to the Kaskaskias Tribe of Indians a protection against every Indian Tribe or Foreign power equal to what is enjoyed by their own Citizens and as it appears that there is a design formed by some of the neighbouring tribes to cut them off it becomes necessary that measures should be immediately taken to prevent a catastrophe so horrible in itself—and which would justly subject our government to the reproach of having violated its most solemn engagements.

You are therefore hereby directed to take immediate measures to have the militia of the Town of Kaskaskias and its vicinity in readiness to repel any attack that may be made upon them and in order that your protection should be as effectual as possible I have directed the Chief [Ducoigne] to put himself and his tribe under your orders and not to suffer them to leave the town without your permission—this permission should not be given unless you should think proper to employ them as scouts until it is ascertained that they can go out in safety. I have requested Michael Jones Esq. to supply them with provisions and ammunition and with this gentleman to whom I have hitherto entrusted the management of the Indian business in the Illinois country you will please to consult on the measures to be adopted to carry the Orders contained in this letter into effect. It will be necessary that every party of Indians who may come into your vicinity should be watched and that they should be informed of the directions you have received to protect the Kaskaskians and this I hope will be sufficient to prevent their attempting to do them any farther mischief. I have sent a message [See next number] to the Chiefs of the Illinois Kickapoos through the Chief of that Nation who resides on the Vermilion and a duplicate of the same to Mr. Jones who will convey it to them by some intelligent person who understands their language. You will please to communicate to me as soon as possible any information you may possess relative to the late murder of the Kaskaskian Indian which will lead to a discovery of the perpretrators and whether it proceeded from an accidental rencounter or a determination upon the part of the Tribe to which they belonged to make War upon the Kaskaskians.

I am most respectfully your humble servt.

Signed W. H. H.

Col. [Pierre] Menard[1] *as the Commanding Officer of The Militia of Randolph County*

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[1] Pierre Menard was one of three brothers (Pierre, Hypolite and Francis) who came to Kaskaskia from Canada. Pierre was born in 1767 and fairly well educated. He reached Vincennes in 1786 and worked for Vigo. He went with Vigo in 1789 to meet Washington. For a time he was a partner of Dubois at Vincennes. He spent his life in the Indian trade—a large part of the time in official capacity. He was often elected to civil office, being the first lieutenant governor of Ill. He died in Kaskaskia in 1844. Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, 291*

HARRISON TO KICKAPOOS AND KASKASKIAS

May 19th 1807
Har. Pa. 202, 203

William Henry Harrison Governor of the Indiana Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs to his children the Chiefs and head men of the Kickapoos Tribe [of Illinois]

My Children:

Why does it happen that I am so often obliged to address you in the language of complaint?

Will your young men never listen to the advice of their father? *My Children* You cannot be ignorant that the 17 fires of America have taken the Kaskaskians Tribe under their Wings.

You know this and yet you suffered your young men to shed their blood and scatter it in your father's face.

My Children—the great Chief and the Council of the 17 fires have said to the Kaskaskian Tribe: "My Children, your voice has been heard by your father. He will take you in his bosom and let no man hurt you".

My children—your father does not lie—He will not suffer you to kill the Kaskaskians when they do you no injury.

My Children. Let me know by the return of the bearer who it was that covered your father's road with blood.

My Children. I want to see some of you here to speak to you on the subject of the Kaskaskians.

My Children. The blood that was shed on your father's road must be covered up. [This was enclosed with the letter to Menard May 18.]

From your Father

(Signed) WM. H. HARRISON

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, May 22, 1807
Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 207*

Captain WILLIAM HARGROVE, *Commanding a detachment of Rangers:*

Ell Ernest is in with your report. Will send you a Cree Indian for the one you say is too lazy to hunt. This Indian has been here for a long time and has the reputation of being a great hunter. He can keep your rangers in meat. I have had an interview with him and he is delighted with the prospect of going as a scout. Ernest is acquainted with him and can make him understand what is to be done. Ernest said that he saw a number of Indians in bathing on the south bank of the White river and a number of them were fishing. They did not see him. As they were near here, a platoon of cavalry has been sent with several scouts to look after them. These troops before they return may report to you and will inform you what these Indians were up to. There are always some contrary people in all walks of life who are hard to manage. The ones you report are not all who have been troublesome. There is no deviating from the rule. Anyone who refuses to stay in the fort when ordered, arrest them and send them to this post, under guard. When the Government does all that it can to protect its people they must and shall obey the rules. This territory is under no law that can force obedience but the Military and all of its subjects must obey the governing rule or be sent out of it.

By the order of the Governor.

By JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary of Indiana Territory*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 23d May 1807

Har. Pa. 204-206

SIR:

I have the Honour to enclose herewith a letter [May 4] from Michael Jones, Esquire, the Register of the Land office at Kaskaskias, upon the subject of a murder lately committed upon one of the Kaskaskias Indians in the vicinity of Kaskaskias by a party of Indians supposed to belong to the Kickapoo or Potawatimi Tribes. From the circumstances attending the murder and others which have come to my knowledge I am induced to believe that a design has been formed by one or both of the last mentioned Tribes to destroy the remnant of the Kaskaskias Tribe. As the United States have guaranteed to the Kaskaskians a protection as effectual as "that which is enjoyed by their own Citizens" I had no hesitation in giving the orders of which the enclosed is a copy to the

Commanding Officer of the Militia at Kaskaskias [Pierre Menard]. I hope however that there will be no necessity of having recourse to arms to protect them. The message which I have sent to the Kickapoos (of which I enclose a copy) will I believe produce a suspension of Hostilities and satisfaction for the injury that has been already done. The killing of the Horse mentioned in that of Mr. Jones' letter and the firing at the frenchman do not in my opinion indicate any hostile design against the Whites. The Indians frequently steal horses that they are unable to catch by shooting them through the upper part of the neck, which only stuns them a little—but if the shot is a little too low the horse is killed. Doza the Frenchman who was shot at he might easily have been mistaken in the night for a Kaskaskias Indian.

I am utterly at a loss to know what to do with the Banditti of Creeks which have so long infested this country. They are the most daring mischevious fellows in existence. The settlers on the Ohio have suffered so much from them, that they say They can no longer bear with them. At the earnest solicitation of the People in that quarter I have authorized the Capt. of the Militia [Pierre Menard] with the concurrance of a Justice of the Peace to disarm them, if they do not attend to the solemn admonition which I have lately sent them. They are in the daily habit of committing every species of aggression excepting murder, &c. and should they begin with this I know no other way of managing them than hunting them like wild beasts. For I am persuaded from their characters that if any individual amongst them was to be brought to punishment the families of many of our scattered settlers would fall a sacrifice to the revenge of the others.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect Sir Your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble The SECRETARY of WAR

WELLS TO HARRISON

FORT WAYNE June 1807

Dawson, *Harrison, 92*

Mr. [William][1] Kirke is now about to retire from this place, and form a settlement at the Ottawa towns, among the Shawanese, and there wait the orders of the government.

I have done every thing in my power to carry the views of the President into execution among the Indians, under Mr. Kirke, but to no purpose. The Indians too plainly see, that he cannot fulfil the views of the President, and say they will not acknowledge the receipts of a thing they never received.

Now sir, as I firmly believe that the Indians are very anxious to receive what the President has offered them—as I am convinced that it would add much to the welfare of the Indians, and believing that I could come nearer executing the views of the President among the Indians of this agency, than any other person he could appoint for that purpose, I now offer him my services through you, and beg that you will assure him that any money that may be appropriated for this purpose, will not be misapplied, but will be at all times faithfully and honestly accounted for to his satisfaction.

I declare to you that I am not actuated by any personal views. I do not wish the President to add one cent to my salary, unless it is his opinion I deserve it. I am afraid that a wrong construction will be put upon the conduct of the Indians in rejecting Mr. Kirke, and discourage the President in his benevolent intentions; and I will exert myself to the utmost to forward the views of the President among the Indians of this agency, should he think proper to trust them to my care. And I trust you will advocate the cause of the Indians on this occasion.

etc. etc. etc. [WILLIAM WELLS]

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[1] William Kirke was sent by Baltimore Quakers as a missionary to the Wabash Indians. Upon a favorable report by him the Quakers petitioned the president for aid and received $6,000. He recruited a small band of assistants and came on to Fort Wayne. At a meeting of the chiefs they refused to sanction his work, because they said he was a stranger. Harrison implies that agent Wells was the one opposed to the missionary. Dawson, *Harrison, 91*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY June 7, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 208*

Captain WM. HARGROVE, *In the Ranger Service*

The requisition for provision has been filled and forwarded under escort. One of our scouts reports that Indians were seen passing to the west on the south side of White river a little way west of the place where the Indian trace to Louisville crosses that river. Whether they are a roving band of friendly Indians or hostile ones has not been found out at these headquarters. There was a runner sent to David Robb's[1] notifying him about the Indians. When you receive this you had better return to this end of your route and leave one-half of your men under your ranking non-commissioned officer. With the rest you had better examine the country to the west on the south side of the river as far as two or three miles west of David Robb's place and see if you can find the cause of these Indians prowling over that section. If the fort at White Oak Springs[2] is too small to hold the new comers, have them build another block house near it and have them both enclosed inside the same stockade with only two gates for the two forts. If you can enlist of the new arrivals as many as twenty-five men for service at this post, your effort will be duly appreciated. The time of enlistment of quite a number of our troops expires next month and at least twenty-five Kentuckians will not re-enlist.

By the direction of WM. H. HARRISON

Governor of Indiana Territory

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y of Indiana Territory*

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[1] David Robb was born in Ireland, July 12, 1771; came with his father's family to Kentucky, near Louisville. Here he became a good hunter. In 1800 he crossed to Indiana and located on lower White river near Hazleton, one of the best beaver localities in the state. After the wars he became land agent at Laporte. He died Apr. 15, 1844. He was a member of the con. convention of 1816 and a close personal friend of Harrison. For a full account see Stormont, *Gibson County, 41*

[2] Near Petersburg. It was established by Wolsey Pride and others about 1800.

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

HEADQUARTERS, POST VINCENNES,
INDIANA TERRITORY, June 20, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 208, 209*

Captain WILLIAM HARGROVE, *Commanding a Detachment of Rangers, Indiana Territory*

Your report by the hand of Ranger Hogue shows that it is best to be determined and firm in dealing with our friends as well as foes. You will not have to arrest any more for refusing to obey the orders for their own protection. Ernest can remain two months longer. The service that he was wanted for was in a section where he had done scouting service some years ago. Mr. David Robb visited the Governor last Saturday the 13th inst. and remained over until Sunday. He says that everything is quiet in your home neighborhood. If you can make the exchange without weakening your force it would be well. Men of families are more liable to yearn for home than single ones. Do not make the exchange until the young men are at the post of duty. Under no circumstances weaken your force, as you have a very important district to guard. Computation for rations are paid for as the regular wages of the soldier, but not when they are in active service and living from supplies furnished by the hunters or by the commissaries. Computation for rations is intended for those who are on detached duty and paying for their provisions. The laws of the United States govern land warrants or land script and each man who serves the required time is entitled to it and can claim any land that is surveyed and not allotted on his warrant. You are correct when you say that in these troublesome times that soldiers who are serving to protect their homes and country are much better troops than those who are serving with the hope of securing large pay. This country must depend on its soldiers and must pay them but the loyalty and patriotism of those enlisted should be well looked after. In giving these certificates whose time of enlistment is up, be sure to note on their discharge, the amount they have been paid and whether they prefer all in land or part in land and part in Treasury notes.

By order of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y of Indiana Territory*

Petition to Harrison

[July 1, 1807]

Mss. in Indiana State Library

To his Excellency William H. Harrison, *Governor of the Indiana Territory:*

The Petition of a number of the Inhabitance Knox County on the Ohio River [Now Posey] in the 12th Range [about midway between Evansville and Mt. Vernon] Humbly Shewith that by means of rong or Pertial Information Given to Your Excellency a Certain Jacob Windmiller [Winemiller] was appointed a justice of the peace for Sd. County, your Petitioners Humbly Represents that the Said Windmiller[1] Cannot or at least dos not speak or Write any language so as to be understood—Your Petitioners therefore Recommend Paul Castelbery as a Gentleman of Good Charrector Education and Information and has made himself a pirmenent Setler in our Sd. County—Your Petitioners therefore pray that Your Excelancy Will take this matter into Consideration and make Such appointments as you shall think Wright and your Petitioners as in duty Bound will Ever Pray

James Lenny
Robert Lenny
John Simpson
Amos Kuykendell
James McGuire
Joseph Griffin
John Landers
James McGuire, Senour
John McGuire
Thomas McGuire

Henry McGuire
Thomas Choat
John Crumps
Adam Kuykendall
Jonathan Hampton
Jabob Lanoers
Abner Kuykendall
Robert Kuykendall
James Shain
Moses Beason

Nickles Long
William Smith
John Slover, Jr.
his
John X Slover, Sr.
mark
Daniel Miller
Isaac Slover
Jaremia Rust
Chas. Carson

Harrison to Hargrove

Headquarters Indiana Territory Vincennes, July 6, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 209, 210*

Captain William Hargrove, *Commanding a Detachment of Rangers*

Last Saturday, the 4th inst. a number of friendly Indians were in to see the celebration of Independence Day. A half-breed Delaware Indian named "Swimming Otter" reported that there was likely to be a raid made by young Indian

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[1] Winemiller was appointed July 1, 1807.

Executive Journal

hunters on boats loaded with people and their plunder coming to this section by the Wabash or going down the Ohio river. He said that the band would be led by an Indian who lost his father in a battle with a boat crew near the Red Banks [Henderson, Ky.]. The scouts thoroughly interrogated the Indian and he has promised to let them know the time they are to start and the route they will follow. The raiders will not get started, so the half-breed says, in less than ten days before they go. You will then be informed by a runner so that you can thwart their designs if they attempt to cross your territory. It is reported here by friendly Indians that a band of Miami Indians captured a boat on the Ohio river some forty miles below Clarksville and captured the crew, killing two men and carrying two women and four children into captivity. You can do no better than you have. You could not do any good by roaming over the wilderness unless it was to make a short cut to reach a point on one of the other routes. The white people coming to this section are on the three traces [Vincennes, Yellowbanks, Redbanks] or down the Ohio and up the Wabash river.

For the Governor

By JOHN GIBSON *Secretary of the Indiana Territory*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 11th July 1807

Har. Pa. 207-210

SIR:

About five weeks ago I was informed that a Kaskaskias Indian had been killed and scalped a few miles from the Town of Kaskaskias and that the murder was supposed to have been perpetrated by the Kickapoos. I received also at the same time from the chief Ducoigne a demand that the perpetrator should be sought after and brought to punishment. A few days after a party of Kickapoos who were in the neighbourhood of St. Louis waited on Genl. Wm. Clark [Governor of Missouri] acknowledged that the murder had been committed by some of their tribe and requested Genl. Clark's interference to make up the matter with the Kaskaskias declaring at the same time that the Tribe disavowed any participation in the murder or any wish to do injury to the Kaskaskias. Not having then heard of this conciliatory disposition on the part of the Kickapoos and believing from circumstances which attended the murder that they intended further mischief I immediately dispatched a strong speech to the chiefs demanding retribution for the past and satisfactory assurance of a disposition to maintain peace in future. Their answer was sufficiently conciliatory excepting they made no mention of any intention to give up the murderer. They employed however the Shawanos and Delawares who resided on the west side of the Mississippi to go to the Kaskaskias with the property which had been taken from the murdered Indian and endeavour to settle the affair with Ducoign in the Indian way by presents and wampum. Ducoign would not agree to their proposals but referred them to me. He has however in the speeches he has sent me insisted in the strongest terms that the murderer should be delivered up and punished and declares that nothing less than his being hanged will satisfy him. The Kickapoos will however certainly not deliver up murderers be the consequences what they may. It is with the utmost reluctance that these surrenders are made when white people are killed but I am persuaded that no consideration on earth could induce them to do it in the case of a murdered Indian it is so contrary to their ideas of propriety and to the universal practice of all the tribes on the Continent. As Ducoign however insists upon it and the right to a protection as effectual as that which is enjoyed by our own citizens as guaranteed to him by their treaty the attempt to get the murderer must be made. But as his persisting in having him punished by our Laws will draw down upon him the jealousy and hatred of all the other Indians I shall endeavour to persuade him to submit to the mediation of the neighbouring Tribes and abide their award which being made under my superintendence and influence will be as favourable to him and his Tribe as any that has been made in similar circumstances.

Mr. Wells informs me that he has made you several commendations on the subject of the Shawnee Prophet who attracts so much of the attention of several of the Tribes. I really fear that this said Prophet is an engine set to work by the British for some bad purpose. A respectable Trader lately from Detroit informs me that he was told that [Alexander] McKee the British Indian Agent was lately seen to pass up the Miami of the Lake to Greenville where the Prophet[1] resides and where there has been a considerable collection of Indians for many weeks. The Prophet contrives to have every Indian put to death who attempts to open the eyes of their unfortunate countrymen and I am told that his vengeance has been particularly directed against those whom he suspects of an attachment to the United States. Five Delaware Chiefs of this Description were lately sent for from them under guard. I have serious apprehensions for their safety. I have received information which cannot be doubted that war belts have been passing through all the Tribes from the Gulf of Florida to the Lakes. The Shawnees are the bearers of these belts and they have never been our friends. The Traders who are attached to our Government are unanimously alarmed and agree on the opinion that a general combination of the Indians for a war against the United States is the object of all these messages and councils. My own opinion is that this is certainly the object but I hope and believe that it will not be accomplished. The several branches of the Miami Tribe are immovable in our interest. The Influencial chiefs of the Delawares are equally so but if the machinations of the Prophet should be successful in getting these removed I cannot answer for the fidelity of the rest of the Tribe. They have certainly great cause of irritation against us in consequence of our being unable to bring to justice any one of those miscreants who have murdered their people. This is made a handle of by the malcontents amongst the other Tribes and has given a very unfavorable opinion of our impartiality and justice. The apprehension and punishment of [William] Red would at this time be attended with the most beneficial consequences. He if taken can be convicted and in my opinion the energy of the Government ought to be excited to apprehend him. Both justice and policy strongly demand it. I have offered $300 for him several months ago. The sum ought in my opinion to be doubled or even trebled. It is true that the offence committed was against the Territorial Laws but as the United States have by Treaty Guaranteed the safety of the Indians and the Territory is unable to bring him to justice they could not in my opinion employ $600 or $1000 to a better object.

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[1] The Prophet (Tenskwatawa) was a twin brother of Tecumseh, a shawnee. He was born about 1770 and died among his people in Wyandotte, Kans., Nov. 1837. His well-known portrait was drawn by George Catlin in 1832. By various ways he had established an intertribal reputation as a religious leader. He began his priesthood around his home at Greenville about 1805. He had followers among the lake Indians beyond Superior and among the Creeks, Osages, and other southern tribes. E. H. Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi, II, 273;* Mooney, *Handbook of American Indians,* 729

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. HENRY DEARBORN Esq. *Secy. of War*

P. S. There is a Mr. Lorimier[2] who resides on the Mississippi who has great influence over the Delawares and Shawnees. I have thought of sending a confidential person to him to endeavour to ascertain from him the object of the frequent councils held by these tribes and if he does not know to engage him to visit their settlements on the Heads of White River and at Greenville for that purpose. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 16th of May. The $1000 mentioned shall be employed agreeably to your directions.

W. H. H.

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

HEADQUARTERS POST VINCENNES July 12th, Sunday, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 210, 211*

Captain WM. HARGROVE, *Indiana Territory Ranger Service:*

This will be handed you by a Piankashaw Indian who is thoroughly reliable. He will remain with you until you send your next report. The half-breed, Swimming Otter, came in this noon and reported there were twelve in the band of Indians hunters and they will start Tuesday night, aiming to cross White river above White Oak Springs [Petersburg] and go in a direction that will place them on the Ohio at the mouth of Green river. It is hard to determine where they will cross the old Indian road that you are on, but some place between the mudhole and the White Oak Springs fort. The people at that Fort must be advised. You have the authority to secure as many men for temporary service from the White Oak Spring fort as they can spare. You must have the section all along for fifteen miles to the east thoroughly patrolled. There will be thirty mounted men from this Post sent to the south of you who will patrol along and near to the Patoka river with scouts at the different fords on that river. With all this vigilance I feel sure that the Indian band will be destroyed or turned back.

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[2] Louis Lorimier, a Canadian, settled at Cape Girardeau, Mo., 1793. He had traded among the Shawnees and Delawares. Burton, *Historical Col. 136;* Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri, vol. 2, 59-100.*

By the direct order of WM. H. HARRISON Governor of Indiana Territory

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y. of Indiana Territory*

Post Script: Have the scouts with the Indians on duty near White river, send the Piankashaw Indian to a point near the forks of White river to report to you every morning. He is thoroughly acquainted with that section.

By the Governor

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

HEADQUARTERS POST VINCENNES, July 17, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 211*

Captain WM. H. HARGROVE, *Commanding a Detachment of Rangers:*

Your report by the Piankashaw Indian is to hand. The service rendered by your scouts is of such value to the country that the nation should substantially reward you and your commands. The Piankashaw Indian is well acquainted with the White river for many miles east of the fork. The chastisement given this band of robbers and cutthroats will have a good effect on them and others who would have followed them if they had been successful. The Indian only learns as it is shot into him. There will be no more raids from that direction this season but it is only safe when we are prepared to meet them, if they should attempt to come again. Say to young Hogue that the Governor will write him a personal letter complimenting him for the good shot he proved to be.

By order of WM. H. HARRISON, *Governor of Indiana Territory.*

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y. of Indiana Territory*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRIRORY, July 23, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 212*

Captain WM. HARGROVE, *in the Ranger Service:*

Your report is to hand. The salt, meal and other supplies were sent by cart two days ago. The receipt paper I enclose to you. Also fifty pounds of lead, fifty pounds of powder, two hundred gun-flints, one bail of tow sent to White Oak Springs Fort in care of Woolsey Pride. The ten men you enlisted for extra service should have a certificate something like the following:

'James Blank served ten days on extra military duty with the Rangers under Captain William Hargrove, commanding, dated and signed.'

The rangers on the traveled way to the south need not make more than one trip each way every ten days. The danger does not exist on that route that did some months ago but they will patrol to the east, south of the Patoka river a distance of forty miles as the river runs, to a trace that crosses that river coming north from the Yellow Banks. There is no regular traveled way. John Severn[1] will guide them over a blind trace which runs on a line on which formerly there was a chain of small Indian towns running many miles to the east. They can go over this route as often as once each ten days until further orders. Mr. Severns has been seen and will go as soon as you can make the necessary arrangements. You will want good axemen to mark the traces plain by making blazes on the sides of the trees near the road so that it can be easily followed without a guide.

By order of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y. of Indiana Territory*

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[1] John Severn was the first permanent settler of Gibson Co. it is thought. He was a Welshman who had come with his parents to Va. He served as a soldier in the Rev. War. While home on furlough in the Mts. of western Va. the family was surprised by Indians; parents and two young children killed. He was a prisoner among the Indians and hunted over the place where he later settled; in 1790 he squatted at Severn's bridge 2½ miles north of Princeton. Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 165.* For a more detailed account of the experience of John Severn see Stormont, *Gibson County, 37*

Harrison to Hargrove

Headquarters Indiana Territory, August 13, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 212, 213*

Captain Wm. Hargrove, *Commanding Rangers:*

Scout FuQuay with your report is here. This office is well pleased to learn that everything is so quiet in your district. It often happens that the lull in Indian warfare is only temporary and that they are preparing to make a much larger raid at a point where you don't expect them. Indian warfare as I have learned, after thirty years of experience is like no other campaigning. Their approach is so sly and stealthy that you can never tell where or when they will come. They are the slyest and most treacherous enemy that any civilized troops ever had to contend with and the only security on the border is continual vigilance. The camp of white people that Scout FuQuay found east of the trace to the Yellow Bank are no doubt a part of the misguided people who have scattered over the country as fugitives from justice that had assembled at an island up the Ohio river as followers of that arch traitor and murderer, Aaron Burr.[1] The Governor has closely interogated FuQuay and this is his opinion. The people are guilty of no more wrong than that of being duped by one of the smartest villian in the country. They only acted as was dictated to them by those who held and had held high positions in the Government. It is broadly hinted that a man [Wilkinson] high in military command in the American army was strongly tinctured with Burr's chimerical conspiracy that saved himself from disgrace by turning a traitor to Burr. The thing to do is for you to have these four misguided men with their wives and helpless children, prepare a fort some place where you think best in your military territory so you can give them your protection. Your good judgment is depended upon to keep this matter close and so instruct the refugees. FuQuay has been obligated to secrecy. These people are no doubt worthy and will grow up among the other pioneers and be useful to our country. You will find out from them if they know of any other bands in hiding. This territory needs more people and these misguided, duped men and women will make as good citizens as any. Your requisition for provision and ammunition has been sent to you at White Oak Springs in care of Woolsey Pride who was at this Post yesterday.

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[1] For an account of one of these small bands see Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 472.* See also Harrison to Hargrove Aug. 20, *infra.*

By the authority of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y of Indiana Territory*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 13th August 1807

Har. Pa. 211

SIR:

It is with great pleasure I inform you that the Result of several councils held by the Indians in this quarter has been an unequivocal and unanimous determination to preserve the relations of peace and amity with the U. S. from which they derive so much advantage. I pledge myself for the peaceable disposition of the Delawares, Miamis, Weas, Eel River Tribe, Piankeshaws, Kickapoos and the greater part of the Shawanos. Overtures have been made to them both by the British and Spaniards which they have rejected with indignation. The speech from one of the agents of the latter said to be in writing I expect to get possession of. The determination of the council held at the Kickapoo town at which the above mentioned tribes were represented have been forwarded by them to the Indians of the Lakes.

I have the Honor to be with great respect and consideration Sir

your humble servant,

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Hon. The Secretary of War

MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATURE[1]

August 17, 1807

Western Sun, August 22, 1807
Dawson, *Life of Harrison, 94-99*

Fellow citizens of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives[2]

The existence of difficulties in the execution of our revenue law, which could not be overcome but by the interposition of the legislature, has occasioned your convention at an earlier period than that which was assigned by the prorogation which terminated your last meeting. I regret the inconvenience which this measure has probably occasioned to some of you, gentlemen, but the public exigencies could not, in my opinion, admit of delay, and I was moreover persuaded that you would think with me that the calls of official duty were paramount to every private or personal consideration.

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[1] There is a discrepancy concerning the date of this message. Harrison himself, in Dawson, *Life of Harrison*, gives the date as August 18, while the *Western Sun* gives

I have directed the auditor to lay before you, gentlemen, a statement of the causes which have produced the embarrassments in the collection of the taxes for the present year, which will enable you to determine more correctly on the remedy that is to be applied. An amendatory act to the one which is now in force may answer for the present; but nothing less, in my opinion, than a total change in the whole system will save us in future from the disagreeable consequences of a deficient revenue and an empty treasury. The defects in the present system were early foreseen, and at the opening of the session I strongly recommended to the two houses the adoption of a different plan. The combination of so many circumstances, such as this law requires, must always render the execution of it uncertain and precarious, It appears to me, also that it is bottomed upon an improper principle; the quantum and ratio of the tax should be fixed by the legislator alone, and not by an executive officer. This important subject, gentlemen, claims your earliest attention; it will require the exercise of much industry and patience, to remedy the evils which have arisen from the present unfortunate system, and to provide one which shall give certainty and stability to your revenue. In affairs of this kind, experience is the best guide which the legislator can follow—he will seek out cases that are parallel to the one on which he is called to act, and will thus possess himself of sure landmarks to guide him to his object. In the present instance there is no necessity of a recurrence to foreign or distant examples, the neighboring states affording pre-

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it as August 17. Apparently it was dated on the 17th, but not delivered till twelve o'clock on the 18th when the governor met both houses of the legislature in the representative chamber. The laws of 1807 bear the date August 16, Sunday.

2. The Second General Assembly was composed of Jesse B. Thomas of Dearborn, Shadrach Bond and William Biggs of St. Clair (Ill.), George Fisher of Randolph (Ill.), James Beggs of Clark and Luke Decker and General W. Johnston of Knox. These were elected on the first Monday of Feb. 1807. The councillors were as before, except that Shadrach Bond took the place of John Hay, resigned. When Bond was elected a representative, Shadrach Bond, Jr., took his place. (See page 1.)

cisely what we seek—a people similar in manners, in habits, and in the state of information, raising their revenue from the same objects. Notwithstanding the embarrassments which have hitherto attended our financial operations, gentlemen, there is one consolatory circumstance, which has been fully established, that a revenue equal to all our necessities can be raised, and that too without oppression or inconvenience to the people.

The organization of the inferior courts, which was adopted at the first session, continues as far as I am informed to produce all the good effects which was expected to flow from it.

No session of the court of chancery has yet been holden; whether the blame is attributable to the chancellor, or to the legislature in not providing him a compensation, I shall not attempt to determine; it is, however, a state of things which cannot but produce great inconvenience and distress to the suitors in that court, and a speedy remedy ought certainly to be applied. If in the review, gentlemen, which you shall take of the other parts of the judiciary system, it should appear susceptible of improvement in the important points of facilitating the operations of justice and lessing the burdens to its attainment, the adoption of it would, no doubt, be grateful to your constituents.

The law which was passed at the last session of the legislature for regulating marriages does not authorize the clerks who issue the licenses to demand security of the applicants that there exists no lawful impediment to the proposed union. This omission, which I suppose was accidental, occasions a very glaring inconsistency in our code. Conforming to the practice in most of the United states, our laws consider and punish bigamy as a capital offense. The facility with which licenses may be procured, and the want of authority in the person who issues them to ask a single question of the applicants, seems to invite to the commission of an offense which is deemed sufficiently heinous to merit the punishment of death. It is certainly better, when it is practicable, to prevent crimes by regulations which the unprincipled and wicked cannot evade, than by the infliction of punishment. An amendment to the law in question, which should direct the applicants for licenses to give bond and security in a small amount of their legal ability to marry, would probably save many unsuspecting females from being made the victims of their credulity.

Connected in some measure with this subject is the law authorizing the general and circuit courts to grant divorces. The propriety and policy of a law of this kind has been strongly contested in many parts of the United States; and it is believed that the principle has been everywhere condemned save in one or two States only. It cannot be denied, that the success of one applicant for a divorce has always the effect of producing others, and that the advantages which a few individuals may derive from the dissolution of this solemn contract are too dearly purchased by its injurious effects upon the morals of the community. The scenes which are frequently exhibited in trials of this kind are shocking to humanity: the ties of consanguinity and nature are loosened; the child is brought to give testimony against the parents; confidence and affection are destroyed; family secrets disclosed; and human nature is exhibited in its worst colors. In the time of the Roman republic divorces might be obtained by a summary and easy process, but so great was the abhorrence of them amongst these enlightened people that, in a period of five hundred years, but one person had been found to take advantage of the privilege which the law allowed. But when their manners became corrupted by luxury, divorces were so common that applications were frequently made to the College of Augurs to ascertain the father of a child born in legal wedlock. A few years ago there were but two instances on record in the State of Virginia of applications for divorces. One only of these had been successful; and although that was acknowledged to be a case which had as strong claims to indulgence as any that could happen, it was nevertheless opposed by some of the most enlightened patriots of the State, upon the principle that it was better for an individual to suffer some inconvenience than that an example should be established so injurious (as they supposed) to the morals of the community. There ought certainly, however, to be some tribunal for granting divorces; but I am decidedly of opinion that this power can nowhere be so properly lodged as with the legislature.

The perfection of the militia system, gentlemen, is an object of the first importance. To render it an efficient and competent protection to our country in time of war, it is requisite that its organization and discipline should be attended to in time of peace. I fear, however, that our progress in these essential points will fall far short of the public expectations and my wishes, unless the state of our treasury will authorize the disbursement of a small sum as a compensation for a staff officer in each county to attend to the disciplining the men and regulating the returns. It gives me pleasure to state that some degree of military spirit begins to manifest itself in several parts of the territory, and that there is a probability that we shall at least furnish our quota of volunteers, to serve upon the terms of a late act of Congress. The deficiency of arms and accoutrements throughout every corps of the militia, is however truly alarming and disgraceful. Men in easy circumstances are not ashamed to appear upon the parade without a firelock, or bearing one which would be more harmless to an enemy than the sticks carried by others. Whilst we should pity and endeavor from the public purse to furnish those who are unable to supply themselves, those who are able, and neglect to equip themselves, should be denied the honorable appellation of defenders of their country. One of the principal characteristics which distinguishes the citizens of a free government from the subjects of a despotic one is the right of keeping arms; and that any American should neglect to avail himself of this valuable privilege manifests a supineness which is highly censurable. It is possible, gentlemen, that the moment is not far distant when every capable man will be called upon to assume the character of a soldier. The situation of our affairs on the Atlantic coast, as well as on this frontier, makes it necessary that there should be no delay in preparing ourselves for the worst that may happen. A restless and dissatisfied disposition has manifested itself among some of the neighboring tribes, and a few individuals are believed to be decidedly hostile. It gives me pleasure, however, to state that I have within a few days received from two of the tribes the most positive assurances of friendship and their unalterable determination to submit themselves entirely to my direction. These assurances, although in my opinion sincere, ought not entirely to be relied upon; and the preparations ought still for defense to go on until the real disposition of all the tribes is perfectly ascertained. Although [that] the agency of a foreign power is producing the discontents among the Indians cannot be questioned, I am persuaded that their utmost efforts to induce them to take up arms would be unavailing, if one only of the many persons who have committed murder on their people could be brought to punishment.

Whilst we rigorously exact of them the delivery of every murderer of a white man, the neglect on our part to punish similar offences committed on them forms a strong and just ground of complaint, for which I can offer no excuse or paliation. A powerful nation rendering justice to a petty tribe of savages is a sublime spectacle, worthy of a great republic, and of a people who have shewn themselves as valiant in war as in peace moderate and forbearing. I do not know, gentlemen, whether it will be in your power to remedy the evil complained of, as the defects seems to be not so much in the laws as in the execution. But if any means can be adopted which would insure the execution of justice in any cases in which the Indians are concerned, the measure would reflect honor on yourselves, and be of undoubted advantage to your country.

The sale of the public lands in the district of Vincennes since the last session of the legislature, and the preparations for opening other land offices, gives us a nearer prospect of the accomplishment of our hopes and wishes, by the formation of a State government. An event of so much importance to the prosperity and character of the country ought to be accelerated by every means within our reach.

I should not do justice to my own feelings, and perhaps disappoint your expectations, gentlemen, should I neglect on this occasion to mention a subject which has greatly agitated our country, and called forth the warmest expressions of patriotic ardour from every class of its citizens. The United States, true to those principles which ought to prevail in every republic, preferring happiness to splendor, and safety to glory, have endeavored to abstract themselves from the entangling politics of Europe, and by practicing the most perfect neutrality to keep clear of those bloody wars which have so long desolated the finest quarter of the globe! The justice and impartiality of her conduct towards the belligerents has not, however, been reciprocated, and from one of those powers insult and injury have followed each other in quick succession, and promised satisfaction been anticipated by further outrage! The ships of our merchants pursuing a legal commerce upon that ocean to which all have an equal right, have been captured, plundered, and their men impressed to serve a foreign tyrant, and shed their blood in battles in which they have no interest. For these aggressions our government, without mingling with its politics those passions which agitate the breasts of monarchs, and which produce the greater part of those wars which overwhelm their unhappy subjects with misery and ruin, have demanded redress but have demanded it in vain, still calculating, however, upon the existence of a better disposition on the part of the power which had injured us. That last resort, which is literally "a trial of who can do the other the most harm", was deprecated by the people as well as by the government and as long as there remained the most distant hope of an amicable adjustment argument and negotiation were thought preferable to war. This delusion has, however, passed away, and has given place to the opinion that moderation and forbearance have been mistaken for timidity and fear. Some nations, like some individuals will not profit by the lessons of experience. Great Britain might have remembered that the arms of America were not palsied by the previous use of remonstrance. A blind fatality hurries her on to that destruction which America had no wish to accelerate; and an act of tyranny and injustice, surpassing anything that can be found even in the history of her depredations upon neutrals, has converted an useful friend to a foe, able to punish her for her multiplied agressions.[3]

The blood rises to my cheek when I reflect on the humiliating, the disgraceful scene, of the crew of an American ship of war mustered on its own deck by a British lieutenant for the purpose of selecting the innocent victims of their own tyranny! But an act of this kind was perhaps necessary to convince all our fellow-citizens that they had nothing to expect from British generosity or justice, when these were opposed by British interest. The unheard of outrage has made a deep impression upon the American mind; citizens of every political denomination are rallying round the standard of their country, and pledging their lives and fortunes in support of her rights.[4] I should do injustice to the well-known patriotism of our territory to suppose that either yourselves or your constituents, gentlemen, felt less on this interesting occasion than the rest of your countrymen. We are, indeed, from our situation, peculiarly interested in the contest which is likely to ensue; for who does not know that the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage are always employed as the instruments of British vengeance. At this moment, fellow citizens, as I sincerely believe, their agents are organizing a combination amongst the Indians within our limits, for the purposes of assassination and murder; and if these their worthy allies are not let loose to slaughter our women and children, it will not proceed from the humanity and mercy of a nation which boasts of her attainments in every art and science.

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[3] This perhaps refers to the killing of John Pierce, helmsman of the sloop "Richard" off Sandy Hook light by a solid shot from the British warship "Leander" April 26, 1806.

[4] The "Chesapeake" was boarded by the crew of the "Leopard" off Fortress Monroe, June 22, 1807, and some of the seamen impressed into the British Service.

At this important crisis but one sentiment should animate the breasts of every American. Disregarding every personal consideration, he should think only of the tie that binds him to his country; and confiding in the wisdom and firmness of his government, he should patiently wait the signal which calls him to the field. How deep the humiliation! How lasting the disgrace! How injurious to the cause of republicanism, should the blood of our murdered fellow citizens remain unsatisfied, or unrevenged! But it cannot be; Americans must prize too highly their dear-bought rights, tamely to surrender them to the proud nation from whom they were wrested. A beneficent and discriminating Providence will make us the objects of his peculiar care; another Washington will arise to lead our armies to victory and glory, and the tyrants of the world will be taught the useful lesson that a nation of Free men are not to be insulted with impunity.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

REPLY OF THE LEGISLATURE TO THE MESSAGE

ST. VINCENT, August 19, 1807

Dawson, *Harrison*, 99

His Excellency, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, *Governor of the Indiana Territory:*

Accept, sir, the merited thanks of the house of representatives, for the speech which you delivered to the two branches of the legislature, on the 18th instant, in which we discover nothing more than those true and independent principles which compose the patriotic heart.

The subjects which you have taken notice of in your speech, the injurious consequences resulting from them, and the impropriety of their continuance, are, we are assured from experience, far from being chimerical.

We have seen, sir, and, with you, regret, the insufficiency of our militia system; and, by every constitutional exertion in our power, will endeavor to avert the great calamity of immediately falling a sure prey to any and every savage or dastardly foe; which would surely and inevitably be the case under our present military or defensive arrangements.

The recent lawless and piratical conduct of some of the officers of the British navy, upon one of the United States' vessels, riding at anchor in the waters of peace, and near the shores of honest content, and she, too in an unprepared state of defence, harrows up our very souls, and fires our just indignation. We are assured that nothing but unpunished example dared them to the commission of a deed so unwarrantable, base, and truly despicable; highly honorary and imitative of the nation and government under which they serve. Suffer us, sir, to assure you, that but one sentiment animates the representatives of the sons of Indiana, who esteem themselves heirs to freedom; and until the last drop of blood shall be drained from our hearts, we will defend ourselves, our rising posterity, and the freedom of America.

With equal pleasure with yourself, we view our progressive population, which is, as it were the key stone of that desirable arch, (we mean a free and independent state,) in the completion of which alone, we will ever be useful or ornamental to our general government. And we most ardently pray that our superstructure may have the three necessary and inestimable qualities of beauty, strength, and wisdom, which will secure us our true standing amongst the states of the Union.

It is with heartfelt pleasure and real satisfaction, that we unanimously acknowledge, sir, our firm belief that we shall receive your co-operation in any measures that may be deemed for the general good.

JESSE B. THOMAS
Speaker of the House of Representatives

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, August 20, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 313, 314, 315*

CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE, COMMANDING SCOUTS AND RANGERS:

Your report by the Crea Indian. He was detailed here to carry you this letter of instruction. The four young men[1] you sent with him have enlisted and look like good material to make soldiers. The Governor is well pleased with your success in having the four families located in your district. The young men you sent were interrogated separately. They all agree in their statements that there are several other bands scattered over the territory some distance north of the Ohio river from ten to fifteen miles east of the yellow bank trace to something like the same distance west of the same trace. They claim that there is one band of these refugees west of the Yellow Bank trace about ten miles. They were camped near a large creek. It is thought best for you to send FuQuay with two other men to find these people and have them locate in a place that they can be given protection and that they can aid in giving protection to others. Young Bailey, one of the men you sent in some time ago has orders to report to you to go with FuQuay. He is acquainted with the people and has been at their camp. He says that there are six men, three women and five children in the band. Instruct FuQuay to inform the refugees that they must move near some of the settled sections and build a block house for their protection and there will be no question asked. That as soon as the dangerous season for Indian raids has passed, they can go to work preparing homes. If you can enlist the men without families, do so. If you don't need them send them to this Post. If these people should refuse to settle as has been suggested, after you have plainly informed them it must be done, then you send such a number of men as will be required to arrest and bring them and their belongings to this Post. The wounded old soldier and his family you can put in charge of one of your stockade camps. The man to look well for Indians that may be prowling around, the woman to oversee the culinary affairs of the camp.

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[1] These were Burr refugees, one being William Bailey. For Bailey's remarkable story see Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 477*

John Severns was here today and had an interview with the Governor about opening a trace from the one that runs south from your neighborhood to the Red Banks, to commence fifteen miles north of the Ohio river on that trace, running thence east parallel with the river from forty to fifty miles. If it should become necessary to reinforce the Rangers on either of the traces running to the south or the main one running to the east, it would be almost impossible to do it as the country between the traces is one vast unbroken wilderness. Severns says that many large creeks will have to be crossed that empty their waters into the Ohio. The trace just south of the Patoka river opened some time ago, will be extended from the Yellow Banks trace, thirty or forty miles east. You had better have the same men go over this route as soon as Severns is through with the new survey farther south. Mr. Severns says that in going near the Patoka river many abrupt banks and deep gorges are met with. Inform him that it is not necessary to make a straight line but to so blaze and mark it that it can be easily traced. It is not intended for wheeled vehicles or sleds to pass over but for foot soldiers mostly. The logs need not be moved but the brush had better be cut seven or eight feet wide.

By order of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y. of Indiana Territory*

WELLS TO HARRISON

FORT WAYNE, the 20th August 1807

Har. Pa. 189-191

DEAR SIR:

Since I wrote you on the 14 instant the Indians have continued to flock to Greenville which increases the fears of our frontiers. These Indians are from the Lakes near Mackinac they appear to be deff to everything I say to them tho I can see nothing among them that carrys the appearance of Danger.

Two confidential Indians that I sent to that quarter have returned today and say that all the Indians in that quarter believe in what the Prophet tells them which is that the great spirit will in a few years distroy every white man in america that every Indian has made himself a *war club* that the militia and military at Mackanak are constantly under arms and that they could here no friendship expressed among the Indians for the United States. I am also this moment informed by a letter from Detroit that the inhabitants of that place are fortifing themselves.

It appears by information I this moment received that upwards of 200 Delawares have gone to meet the other Indians at the Kickapoo town in the prairie where it is expected 13 different nations will be represented.

The Delawares have received this invitation from the Miamis at Massacinwa to attend this council. Since Rusherville [Richardville] returned from Detroit all the Miamis have refused to attend this counsel 3 excepted. Rusherville,[1] Pecan and the Owl it is believed will be at this place to morrow to receive their goods and to cover their designs in assembling the Indians at the Kickapoo towns—none of the Pawtawatamys from this quarter have gone to this council. This business as I before told you was kept a secret from the Little Turtle[2] the mesenger sent from Massacenwa to the Delawares

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[1] Richardville was a Miami chief born near Fort Wayne about 1761. His father was the Indian trader Druet de Richardville and his mother an Indian named Taucumwa. This Indian family had a monopoly of the transportation business between the Maumee and Wabash and was wealthy. John Baptist Richardville or Peshewa was her only son. He succeeded to the leadership of the tribe after the death of Pecan in 1814. He died in 1841. He is thought to have been a nephew of Little Turtle. Brice, *Fort Wayne, 22, 280, 285, 314;* Burton, *Hist. Col. 66*

[2] Little Turtle. "Misch-e-can-o-quoh," or the Little Turtle, agreeably to the best received authorities, was of a mixed origin—his mother being a Mohegan woman and his father a Miami chief—born about the year 1747, at the latter's village on the upper waters of Eel river, some twenty miles west of Ft. Wayne. He planned and won decisive victories in the two engagements against detachments of Gen. Harmar's army, near Ft. Wayne, in October, 1790; was conspicuous as the leader in the attack, on the morning of November 4, 1791, upon the forces of Gov. St. Clair, that resulted in the terrible disaster known in history as "St. Clair's Defeat", and which was without a parallel in Indian warfare until the disastrous engagment of Gen. Custer, on the Little Big-Horn River of the Upper Missouri. He was also in the action of June 30, 1794, in the severe attack upon Major McMahon's escort of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, under the walls of "Fort Recovery", a military post erected in December, 1793, upon the ground where St. Clair had been defeated. Satisfied that the Indian confederation could not successfully contend with Gen. Wayne, he advised them to listen to the latter's overtures for peace. Overruled in this, he led his own warriors in the battle of August 20, 1794, known as the "Battle of the Fallen Timbers", in which Gen. Wayne achieved a decisive victory. From this time forward, the Little Turtle was the open and abiding friend of the United States. He would before this have broken away from the malign influence operating from Canada through its agents and traders, but he was powerless to carry his people with him until after they had suffered serious reverses.

At the Treaty of Greenville, he shone as the brightest light in the assembled orators, gathered at this great council-fire from the entire Northwest, to plead the cause of their tribes and of their starving women and children. After the conclusion of peace, Little Turtle resided at his village, where the Government had built him a comfortable house. "He took," says Gov. Harrison, "great interest in everything that appertained in delivering his message said he was directed to tell them (the Delawares) that this Business must be kept a secret from the Turtle, the White Loon,[3] 5 Medals[4] and Charley[5] as they weare Big Knives—and ought not to know anything about the affairs of the Indians. I believe the Pawtawatamys,

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to civilized life, and possessed a mind capable of understanding their advantages in a degree far superior to any other Indian." In his character he combined, in an eminent degree, the qualities of the military strategist, the wily diplomat, the orator, and the philospher, winning distinction in all.

He died of gout, July 14, 1812, on the side of the St. Marys river, opposite Ft. Wayne, in the orchard of his son-in-law Capt. Wm. Wells, from whose house, at his own request, he had been removed to the open air. He was buried upon the spot with military honors, by the troops of the garrison, and with his remains were deposited the sword and large silver medal presented by President Washington, and his other war implements and ornaments." Brice's *Fort Wayne;* Harrison, *The Aborigines of the Ohio valley,* 70

[3] White Loon or Wapa Mangua a Miami chief. His village was on the Mississinewa near Marion. His town was burned by Campbell Dec. 14, 1812. Harrison had met him at Greenville and was personally acquainted with him and considered him friendly to the Americans.

Harrison, *Discourse on Aborigines, 7*
Burton, *Hist. Col. 142*
Fergus, *Hist. Ser. 26, p. 73*

[4] "Five Medals or Waugshe was a celebrated war-chief of the river St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, whose village was upon the Elkhart tributary of that stream, in northern Indiana. He is recognized under various names, viz.; at the treaty of Greenville as "Wau-gshe"—from "Wau-gese", the Odjibwa name for a favorite silver ornament in the shape of and called a Half-Moon; at the second treaty of peace executed at Greenville, July 22, 1814, he is written down as "O-nox-a, or Five Medals"; while, at the treaty of Spring Wells, near Detroit, in 1815, his name is affixed to the parchment as "Noun-geesia, or Five Medals." The two are synonymous, the first being compounded from "Noun", Five, and "Gee-sia", medals or ornaments, in the Pottawatomie dialect, allowing for a somewhat defective spelling that fails to fully preserve the sound of the word as the Indian would pronounce it. He wore upon his person medals presented to him by both British and American authorities, with other ornaments, from which he came to be designated as "The Five Medals."

Harrison, *Discourse of Aborigines, 73*

[5] Charley or Katunga. A chief of that subdivision of the Miamis who were called Eel-Rivers (and Eel-Creeks), for reason that their ancient and principal village—known by the Indians as Ke-na-pa-com-a-qua, to the early French writers as L'Anguille (the Eel), and to the Americans as the "Eel River Town" was situated on this stream, some six miles above its confluence with the Wabash at Logansport, Ind. However, it is evident, from Gov. Harrison's instructions to Col. Campbell, already referred to, that Charley lived in one of the villages on the Mississinnewa which Col. Compbell was ordered to destroy; for among those whose lives were to be saved is named that of "Charley, the principal of the Eel River Tribe." The chief figures at several of the treaties, on behalf of his tribe, both before and after the war of 1812, as "Ka-Tun-ga" "Ke-tan-ga" (with the addition of "Charley"); and, in some instances, as simply Charley. His original name—the signification of which is nowhere given—is neither Indian, French, or English, but savors of the corruption of all.

His people were swept over to the British by the current of events immediately following Gen. Hull's surrender of Detroit, and which carried with it nearly all the other Northwestern tribes. The failure of the attack upon Fort Harrison, near Terre Haute, Ind., September 4, 1812, and upon Fort Wayne early in this month, together with the energy Gov. Harrison displayed in organizing the militia of Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky, all ablaze with enthusiasm, to recover the prestige and territory lost by the unexplainable conduct of Gen. Hull at Detroit thoroughly alarmed those of the Miamis who had taken sides with Te-cum-the and the British. Accordingly we learn, from an official letter of Gov. Harrison, dated Franklinton, O., October 13, 1812, miamis and Delawares are our friends. Lapasin[6] is to be suspected—the prophet keeps up a communication with the British at Malden. We are all allarmed at this place, my self excepted as I can see no danger as yet at our doors.

Something must be done it cannot be done too soon for the Indians are certainly forming an improper combination one that it is not friendly towards us otherwise the Leaders in it would not keep it so much in the Dark from every person that is friendly disposed towards the united States. I have sent Mr. [John] Connor with this letter to you in order that you may receive all the information he possesses respecting the Delawares.

I have promised him that you would reward him liberally for his trouble—treat him well He may be usefull to us.

I shall do everything for the best and hope to secure such instructions from you as may be calculated to meet the present times as soon as possible.

It is my opinion that the British are at the bottom of all this Business and depend on it that if we have war with them that many of the Indian tribes will take an active part against us—and nothing would have a better effect on the minds of the Indians than an immediate show of resentment on our

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that: "Before I left St. Mary's for Defiance, some Miamis had arrived, via Fort Wayne, with a flag and a message from their chiefs, begging for peace. I had no time then to listen to their speech, and on my return here I found the Owl, (a distinguished chief, who had long been a confidential friend of the Governor) Charley, the Eel-River Chief, the Turtle's son, and several others who had joined them. They came prepared to palliate or deny the hostility of their tribe, as one or the other might best suit their purpose."

Charley survived the war, and was living as late as October 6, 1818, when he, with other "chiefs and warriors of the Miami nation of Indians", executed the Treaty of St. Mary's; and he was dead before October 23, 1826, when, at the treaty held at the mouth of Mississinewa, a reservation of "five sections of land, above the old village on the north side of Eel River," was made in favor of his son "Little Charley".

Harrison, *Discourse on Aborigines, 69*

[6] LePousser (French), A-she-non-qua in the Miami dialect, signifying the Speech Maker, the Persuader, or Talker. At the treaty held October 26, 1809, at Vincennes, this chief's name is signed Lapousier (the article La and the word Pousser run together as in the Ft. Wayne manuscript), while at the "Treaty of Peace and Friendship," between the U. S. and the Miamis and other hostile tribes in the War of 1812, executed at Greenville, Ohio, July 22, 1814, his name appears thus, "Lapassiere or A-she-non-qua." Vide *History of the War of (1812)*, by Sam'l R. Brown, vol. ii; Appendix, where the text of the Treaty is supplemented with the signers' names interpreted and carefully spaced so as to preserve the correct sound in their pronunciation.

The Weas, for whom A-she-non-qua was a leading orator, were a band of the Miami tribe having their principal village on the east bank of the Wabash, below Lafayette, and above Attica, and known in early history as Ouiatanon, or the Wea-town. The name is yet preserved, and the identity of the neighborhood retained, in its bestowal upon "Wea-Prairie" and "Wea-creek."

Harrison, *Discourse on the Aborigines, 65* part at their endeavoring to form unfriendly combinations towards us.

The prophet and his insolent band should be the first object of our resentment. He should be punished for his insolence.

I am dear Sir with respect Your most obt. servant

W. WELLS

Governor HARRISON

N. B. I despair of getting the Indians to move the prophet from Greenville and I doubt whether matters can be kept in there present state until I have time to hear from you. The Miamis Eel river Indians and Pautawatomis will be at this place tomorrow I shall treat them well and endeavour to git everything I can out of them and from time to time write you everything that comes to my knowledge worth your attention.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES, 29th August 1807

Har. Pa. 192-195

SIR:

Since my last I have made every exertion to ascertain the real disposition of the neighbouring Tribes and the cause of the stir and commotion which have existed amongst them for some time past. The avowed object of the latter is to cement a more perfect union and friendship amongst themselves as they have often been advised to the United States but to which I am persuaded they were stimulated in the present instance by British influence. I am confident however that the ultimate object of the British (which no doubt is that of forming a general confederacy against us) has not yet been communicated either to the Miamis, Weas, Delawares or even to the Kickapoos. The Shawnees are certainly entirely devoted to the British as are a part of the Potawatomies, the Chippeways and Ottawas. From the enclosed deposition of [Dominique] Ducharme[1] sent to me by Mr. Jouitt it would appear that the latter tribes have actually determined on commencing hostilities. I have adopted measures which I think cannot fail to put me in possession of the intentions of the British in this quarter, at least as far as they are known to the Indians. As soon as my emissary returns you shall be informed of everything he may be able to discover. I am in the meantime doing all in my power to organize and discipline the Militia of the Territory. As it is almost impossible to find persons who are acquainted even with the rudiments of tactics, I am obliged to perform alternately the duties of Commander-in-chief Adjutant and even drill corporal. The habits of my early life are not however so far obliterated as to make this duty irksome or unpleasant, were it not for the great deficiency of arms and accoutrements. We have cavalry without swords, light infantry without bayonets or cartridge boxes and battalions armed with a mixture of rifles, fowling pieces, broken muskets and sticks. To a man accustomed to the uniformity of a regular and disciplined army, these things are really shocking. I must beg of you sir to submit to the President the propriety of having our deficiency made up from the publick arsenals. A small deposit of arms might be made with good effect at this place, at Kaskaskia or Cahokia, and Jeffersonville. The Militia of Dearborn county, the seat of Justice of which is not more than 18 miles from the Arsenal at New-Port, might, in case of emergency be supplied from there.

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[1] Dominique and Jean Marie Ducharme were Canadian traders (1770-1810) who lived in the woods. At times they had headquarters at such towns as Cahokia. They were intimately acquainted with all the Northwestern tribes from the Ohio to Lake Superior. Reynolds, *Pioneer Ill. 123; Mich. Pioneer Hist Col, Index*

I have not been able to collect the returns from the distant counties of the volunteers who have offered on the terms of the late act of Congress. I am in hopes to be able to forward them to you in the course of a fortnight. Two troops of cavalry one of light infantry, one or two of expert riflemen, and two or three others to be armed with rifles or muskets as the President may chose, may I think be calculated on.

I am extremely anxious to know the President's determination on the subject of a supply of arms etc. If he should direct them to be supplied, on order to Major [Thomas] Martin[2] to send them on immediately to the places above designated would enable us to get them much sooner than if the order were in the first instance sent to me.

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[2] Thomas Martin, Georgia, served through revolution and at its close became a first lieutenant in the First infantry. Relieved of active service in 1802, and made military store keeper. Died Jan. 18, 1819. Heitman *Register, 693*

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect Sir Your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. HENRY DEARBOURN, *Secretary of War*

This Day, Francois Ducharme personally appeared before me John Kinzie a Justice of the Peace, in the presence of Charles Jouett Esquire Indian Agent at the Post of Chicago and Maketh oath that he verily believes that the Indians of St. Josephs are hostile to the United States and meditates an attack on some part of the American settlements or garrisons, but at what time they will strike he cannot tell.

his
Signed FRANCOIS X DUCHARME
mark

Sworn before me this
Six day of July 1807
At Chicago Indiana Territory
Signed J. KINZIE, Jus. P. St. Sinclair County

I do hereby certify that I have been eleven years acquainted with Francois Ducharme and have every reason to believe his affidavit is intitled to credit as a man of truth he speaks the Potawatomi Tongue remarkably well and from a residence of many years with the Indians and having among them an Indian wife and several children I do not hesitate to state he is as likely to ascertain their views as any man within my knowledge.

Signed J. KINZIE

NOMINATION OF A COUNCILLOR

IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INDIANA TERRITORY
ST. VINCENNES August 31, 1807
Har. Pa. 421

His Excellency the Governor of the Territory having notified the House of Representatives of the resignation of Shadrach Bond as a Member of the Legislative Council from the county of St. Clair.

The House then proceeded to Ballot for a person to be nominated to the President of the United States from St.

Clair County, to supply the said vacancy, and on counting the Ballots, it appeared there were for

Shadrach Bond Junior[1]	Five
John Messenger[2]	One

Shadrach Bond Jr. was therefore declared duly nominated.

The House then proceeded in like manner to nominate another person from the County of St. Clair and on counting the Ballots it appeared that Thomas Todd[3] was nominated. [See letter of Sept. 2, below]

By Order JESSE B. THOMAS,
Speaker of the House of Representatives

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, September 1, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 215, 216*

WILLIAM HARGROVE, *Commanding first division of Rangers, east of the Wabash river:*

There has been a trace cut from the Clarksville and Vincennes road that leaves that route at a point about forty miles east of the Mudhole and running to the south, coming to the Ohio river at the west end of a large bend about three miles west of the mouth of Blue river [Fredonia]. There is a traveled way that comes to the south bank of the Ohio opposite this point that runs to the south and far into Kentucky and people coming to this and other sections of Indiana Territory are crossing the river at that point and following Blue river to the old Indian road before mentioned. The two traces to the east which are now being opened should go into this Blue river trace. You are instructed to have a patrol of three men go over the new route nearest the Ohio river to the east as often as once, both ways, each week. Also a patrol of two men, one scout, to go over the trace to the east just south of the Patoka river as often as both ways once each week. If you do not have men enough and cannot enlist them, they will be furnished from this Post. It will be the best to send men who have seen service over these new routes and keep the newly enlisted men with you.

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[1] Shadrach Bond, Jr. was the first governor of the state of Ill. He was born in Frederick Co. Md. in 1773 on a plantation. He was reared a farmer and that was his occupation in Ill. He came west in 1794 with his uncle Shadrach Bond, Sr. and opened a fine farm on the American Bottom and lived the life of a southern gentleman.
Reynolds, *Pioneer Ill. 323*

[2] John Messenger was born in West Stockbridge, Mass. in 1771 and grew up on a farm. In 1783 he went to Vermont. Mathematics was his hobby. In 1804 he purchased a mill at New Design, Ill., later going to near Belleville. He taught school and surveyed, usually under William Rector. He was the author of a manual on surveying. He was in the Indiana Territorial legislature and speaker of the first House in Ill. Died on his farm near Belleville 1846.
Reynolds, *Pioneer Ill. 330*

[3] Thomas Todd was one of the settlers of New Design, Ill. but soon moved to the Bottom.

By order WM. H. HARRISON, *Gov. Indiana Territory*

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y*

NOMINATIONS FOR COUNCILLORS

VINCENNES, 2d Sept. 1807

Har. Pa. 420

SIR:

I have the honor herewith [See Aug. 31, above] to forward you the nomination [Shadrach Bond and John Todd] made by the House of Representatives of this Territory of persons fit to fill the office of a member of the Legislative Council.

I am Sir your most obt. and very humble servt.

JESSE B. THOMAS

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esqr. *President of the United States*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES Sept. 5th 1807

Har. Pa. 186-188

SIR:

The letter herewith enclosed [August 20, above] from Mr. Wells I received four days ago, and I at first thought it of sufficient Importance to authorise my sending it by a special Express but upon conversing with Mr. [John] Connor the Bearer of it It appeared to me that there was no danger of hostilities being immediately commenced altho I do Believe that the Chippeways, Ottowas and part of the Pottawatamies only wait for the signal from the British Indian Agents, to commence the attack.

I have sent Connor with a Talk [immediately following] to the Shawnese requiring the Immediate removal of the Impostor from our Territory and the dispersion of the Warriors he has collected around him. The British could not have adopted a better plan to effect their purpose of alienating from our government the affections of the Indians than employing this vile Instrument. It manifests at once their inveterate rancour against us and their perfect acquaintance with the Indian character. I think however that the Miamies, Weas, Delawares and Kickapoos have not as yet been seduced and that we may rely on their fidelity. I believe their inclinations are on our side but if that were not even the case I am persuaded that they are too well acquainted with their Interest to dare to lift the Tomahawk.

Wells has been endeavouring for some time past to get the Impostor removed from Greenville by means of the Delawares and Shawnese but without effect; he has also I Believe threatened him with the vengeance of the United States, if he continues to Excite disturbances amongst the Indians. To protect himself from this is I imagine the reason of his retaining about him the armed pilgrims that have come from the Lakes to visit him. Connor says that 12 or 15 days ago they amounted to upwards of Three hundred Men, and that a larger body were hourly Expected. It would require a considerable force to remove those Fellows, and it is my opinion, it should not be attempted, but with one that would leave nothing to the hazard. Filled with the enthusiasm as those wretches certainly are, they would no doubt defend the object of their veneration with all their force and an unsuccessful attempt to drive them off would confirm his influence and perhaps draw over to his party those tribes who now regard him with contempt. Believing that it was all important in the present crisis to obtain Correct information from the Indian country and to secure the friendship of those who are best calculated to give it I have appointed Mr. Connor Interpreter for the Delawares with the same pay as that Mr. [Joseph] Barron receives and have directed him to employ himself altogether in developing the designs of the British and such of the Indians as they have gained over to their interest. I have entire reliance on his fidelity, and am confident that he can do us much service. I have placed myself under no obligation to Continue him longer than his services will be wanted. I trust that this step will meet the President's approbation.

Since I had the honour to write to you on Saturday last two other companies of Volunteers Consisting of young active Woodsmen have offered their services. This County alone will furnish a good Battalion from the other Counties there will be at least a sufficiency to form a Regiment or rather a Legionary Corps composed of Dragoons, Riflemen, and infantry.

I have the honor to be with perfect respect your most obedient and humble servant.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Honble. HENRY DEARBORN, Esq.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to the chiefs and head men of the SHAWANESE tribe of Inians

August, 1807

Dawson, *Harrison, 101*

MY CHILDREN:

Listen to me, I speak in the name of your father, the great chief of the Seventeen Fires.

My Children, it is now twelve years since the tomahawk, which you had raised by the advice of your father the king of Great Britain, was buried at Greenville in the presence of that great warrior, General Wayne.

My Children, you there promised, and the Great Spirit heard it, that you would in future live in peace and friendship with your brothers, the Americans. You made a treaty with your father, and that contained a number of good things, equally beneficial to all the tribes of red people, who were parties to it.

My Children, you promised in that treaty to acknowledge no other father than the chief of the Seventeen Fires, and never to listen to the proposition of any foreign nation. You promised never to lift up the tomahawk against any of your father's children, and to give him notice of any other tribe that intended it: your father also promised to do something for you, particularly to deliver to you every year a certain quantity of goods, to prevent any white man from settling upon your lands without your consent, or to do you any personal injury. He promised to run a line between your land and his, so that you might know your own; and you were to be permitted to live and hunt upon your father's lands, as long as you behaved yourselves well.

My Children, which of those articles has your father broken? You know that he has observed them all with the utmost good faith. But, my Children, have you done so? Have you not always had your ears open to receive bad advice from the white people beyond the lakes?

My Children, let us look back to times that are past. It has been a long time since you called the king of Great Britain father. You know that it is the duty of a father to watch over his children, to give them good advice, and to do every thing in his power to make them happy. What has this father of yours done for you during the long time that you have looked up to him for protection, and advice? Are you wiser and happier than you were before you knew him; or is your nation stronger or more respectable? No, my Children, he took you by the hand when you were a powerful tribe; you held him fast, supposing that he was your friend, and he conducted you through paths filled with thorns and briars, which tore your flesh and shed your blood. Your strength was exhausted, and you could no longer follow him. Did he stay by you in your distress, and assist and comfort you? No, he led you into danger, and then abandoned you. He saw your blood flowing, and he would give you no bandage to tie up your wounds. This was the conduct of the man who called himself your father. The Great Spirit opened your eyes, you heard the voice of the chief of the Seventeen Fires, speaking the words of peace. He called to you to follow him—you came to him, and he once more put you on the right way, on the broad smooth road that would have led you to happiness. But the voice of your deceiver is again heard; and, forgetful of your former sufferings, you are listening to him.

My Children, shut your ears, and mind him not, or he will lead you to ruin and misery.

My Children, I have heard bad news. The sacred spot where the great council fire was kindled, around which the Seventeen Fires and ten tribes of their Children smoked the pipe of peace—that very spot where the Great Spirit heard his white and red children encircle themselves with the chain of friendship—that place has been selected for dark and bloody councils.

My Children, this business must be stopped. I will no longer suffer it. You have called in a number of men from the most distant tribes, to listen to a fool, [the Prophet] who speaks not the words of the Great Spirit but those of the devil, and of the British agents.

My Children, your conduct has much alarmed the white settlers near you. They desire that you will send away those people, and if they wish to have the imposter with them, they can carry him. Let him go to the lakes; he can hear the British more distinctly.

THE PROPHET TO HARRISON

[August] 1807

Dawson, *Harrison, pp. 102 & 103*

Father,

I am very sorry that you listen to the advice of bad birds.—You have impeached me with having correspondence with the British; and with calling and sending for the Indians from the most distant parts of the country, "to listen to a fool that speaks not the words of the Great Spirit; but the words of the devil." Father, those impeachments I deny, and say they are not true. I never had a word with the British, and I never sent for any Indians. They came here themselves to listen and hear the words of the Great Spirit.

Father, I wish you would not listen any more to the voice of bad birds; and you may rest assured it is the least of our idea to make disturbance, and we will rather try to stop any such proceedings than encourage them.

[THE PROPHET]

Reply sent by JOHN CONNOR.

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

HEADQUARTERS INDIANA TERRITORY
VINCENNES, Sept. 12, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 216, 217*

Captain WM HARGROVE, *Commanding Rangers east of the Wabash river*

There has long been an old traveled way from this Post that crosses the White river near David Robb's place and the

Patoka river at John Severns', thence in a southwest direction to the Wabash river near the point where the Little Wabash empties into the main river, thence across the main Wabash at that place which can only be crossed by canoes or check boats. This route is known by some as the Salt Route. Salt has become so scarce and high priced that a number of settlers south of White river have petitioned the Governor for an escort of soldiers to protect them whilst on the trail and at the salt works west of the Wabash river. This petition has been under consideration for several days. The Governor sent for Mr. Robb about this matter and it has been arranged that a meeting with the petitioners and other citizens would be held at Mr. Kimbles [Jesse Kimball][1] who lives on the site of the southwest of Mr. Severns', on Thursday the seventeenth day of September, 1807. You will temporarily place your command in the hands of your Ranking Sergeant and attend that meeting, taking two men and one scout with you. After due deliberation and consultation with the people present, if you think it best you can place two men on duty on the trail west of the river but their main camp must be on the east side of the Wabash when there are no parties to guard at the salt works. The scouts will remain with the two soldiers doing regular scouting duties. Instruct him to go for miles on every side of the salt works and learn the lay of the country and at night to be near the works or with the soldiers at their camp east of the river. The salt makers are to be instructed to have certain days to make salt and that they must go to the works in a body of not less than fifteen men, one-half of that number to be at all time ready for military duty, subject to the orders of the Sergeant which you place in command, to protect the others while the work is in progress. That from this relief the camp guards must be furnished day and night. The two soldiers are to remain on duty as long as you shall think it will be necessary to have a guard. After the first of December there is but little danger of Indian raids. This side of the Wabash is considered sufficiently safe for so large a

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[1] Jesse Kimball, of an old New England family, was born at Preston, Conn. Mar. 19, 1760; served in the Revolution; moved to N. Y.; served in the legion under Wayne; located at Henderson, about 1793 and thence moved to Gibson Co. Ind. in 1804.

"Jesse Kinball", *Ind. Mag of Hist. XVIII No. 1*
Morrison and Sharplis, *The Kimball Family, Index*

number of cautious men to travel at any time. After the meeting you will send a report of the proceeding to this office.

By directions of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y. of Indiana Territory*

RESIGNATION OF A COUNCILLOR

In General Assembly, Indiana Territory
ST. VINCENNES, 12 Sept. 1807
Har. Pa. 422

The House of Representatives being informed by Pierre Menard from the County of Randolph of his resignation as a member of the Legislative Council of this Territory; proceeded by Ballot to the nomination of two persons to the President of the United States, to fill the vacancy in the Legislative Council, occasioned by the resignation of the said Pierre Menard, when upon counting the ballots:

George Fisher[1] was declared duly nominated.

The House then proceeded in like manner to the nomination of another person when upon counting the Ballots

James Finney was declared duly nominated.[2]

By Order JESSE B. THOMAS,
Speaker of the House of Representatives

PETITION FROM INDIANA, SLAVERY

Sept 19, 1807
House of Representatives Collection portfolio 180
Various resolutions & petitions 1807-08

In the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory:

Great solicitude has been evidenced by the Citizens of this Territory on the subject of the introduction of Slaves. In the

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[1] George Fisher was appointed sheriff of Randolph County (Ill) Aug. 1, 1800. He was the best known physician in the Illinois country. He came from Virginia to Kaskaskia at an early day and spent his life in the immediate neighborhood. He died in 1820. He was a member of the Ill. constitutional convention and sat in the First assembly.

Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois, 358*

[2] James Finney was appointed a justice for Randolph county by Harrison, Nov. 19, 1806 and on Oct. 7, 1807 was made judge of the Common Pleas.

Executive Journal, Ind. Index

year 1802 a special convention [Dec. 25, 1802 above] of Delegates from the respective Counties petitioned Congress for a suspension of the sixth article of Compact, contained in the Ordinance of 1787: in 1805 a majority of the members of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives remonstrated with Congress on the subject. [Feb. 7, 1805, above] In 1806 the Legislative Council and House of Representatives passed sundry resolutions [Feb. 14, 1806, above] which were laid before Congress, declaratory of their sense of the propriety of admitting slaves: and as the Citizens of the Territory decidedly approve of the toleration of Slavery the Legislative Council and House of Representatives consider it incumbent on them, briefly to state, on behalf of themselves and their constituents, the reasons which have influenced them in favor of the measures.

In the first place candor induces us to premise that in regard to the right of holding slaves a variety in opinion exists; whilst some consider it decent and Just to acquire them either by purchase or conquest, others consider their possession by either tenure as a crime of the deepest stain; that it is repugnant to every principle of natural Justice of political rights and to every sentiment of humanity. Without entering into the merits of this controversy it need only be remarked that the proposition to introduce Slavery into the Territory is not embraced by them. It is not a question of liberty or Slavery. Slavery now exists in the United States and in this Territory. It was the crime of England and their misfortune. And it now becomes a question merely of policy in what way the Slaves are to be disposed of, that they may be least dangerous to the community, most useful to their proprietors, and by which their situation may be most ameliorated.

As the law of Congress prohibiting the further importation of slaves into the United States takes effect the first of January next [1808], it is evident that the proposed toleration will not increase the number in the United States.

It is believed, and has not experience verified the fact? that such is the number of slaves in the Southern States that the safety of individuals as well as the political institutions of those States are exposed to no small hazard. However desirable it may be to emancipate them, it can never be done until they are dispersed; it would be equally impolitic for the whites as for the slaves;—The great current of emigration is constantly flowing from the Eastern & Southern States to the Western States and Territories. The increase of population in the Western Country for the last twenty years may afford some idea of its probable amount in the course of the present century;—It must be immense; and were all the Territories opened to the introduction of slaves, a large proportion of them would naturally be drawn from the southern States.

From a reference to the States of Kentucky and Tennessee and at the time of the last United States Census, it is not believed that the number of Slaves would ever become so great as to indanger either the internal peace or future prosperity of the Territory. It is also rendered improbable from the interior situation of the Territory its climate and productions.

Slavery is tolerated in the Territories of Orleans Mississippi and Louisiana;—Why should this Territory be excepted?

It is believed that Slaves possessed in small numbers by farmers are better fed and better Clothed than when they are crowded together in quarters by hundreds;—their situation in Kentucky, Tennessee, and the back parts of Maryland and Virginia verify this belief.

Resolved by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory That it is expedient to suspend for a given number of years the sixth article of compact contained in the Ordinance for the Government of the North-Western Territory passed the 13th day of July in the year 1787.

Resolved that a Copy of the foregoing be forwarded to the Vice President of the United States with a request that he will lay the same before the Senate and that a Copy be forwarded to the Speaker of the House of Representatives with a request that he will lay the same before the said House of Representatives; and that the Governor of this Territory be requested to forward the same as aforesaid. Passed the Legislative council September the 19th 1807

Attest HEY HURST, *clc.*

JESSE B. THOMAS
Speaker of the House of Representatives

SAML GWATHMEY
President Pro tem of the Legislative Council

[Endorsed]

Accg. a letter from Wm. H. Harrison, rec. 6 Nov. 1807

MENARD TO HARRISON

KASKASKIA September 19th, 1807

Har. Pa. 423

SIR:

The private circumstances of my family render it necessary that I should resign my seat in the Legislative council of the Indiana Territory. I must therefore beg that you will accept of this as my resignation.[1]

I am Sir with high consideration yr. most obt. st.

PIERRE MENARD

RESOLUTIONS OF LOYALTY BY THE FRENCH

Sept 20, 1807

Jefferson Papers, 2d series, vol. 42, no. 84

At a general Meeting of the French Inhabitants of Vincennes holden at Mr. Mc.Candless'[1] Tavern on the 18th Septemper 1807 to agree upon and make an Answer to His Excellency the Governor's verbal Communication made to them at a general Meeting called by him on the 16th at the Tavern of Peter Jones[2] Esqr.

Laurent Bazadone,[3] was elected President, and William McIntosh[4] Secretary.

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[1] Effort has been made to attach great political significance to this and other resignations. Harrison had great difficulty in keeping the various offices filled, so small was the pay, and so disagreeable the duties, especially to an old man.

[1] John McCandlass was appointed sheriff of Knox county April 5, 1810. His shop was frequented by the natives while that of Peter Jones at the ferry was the resort of the gentry, or high brows.

[2] Peter Jones was appointed a judge of common pleas and quarter sessions Nov. 1, 1803. Sept. 5, 1805 he became auditor of Knox county. March 17, 1807 he became a lieutenant in the light infantry and Mar. 25, 1808, he was promoted to the captaincy in place of William Prince. June 21, 1810 he became captain of the First battalion and in the Tippecanoe army he became a captain.

Executive Journal index

[3] Lawrence Bazadone or Bazadona was a Spanish trader who finally located at Vincennes where he kept a store. In 1788 he ransomed William Biggs, near the Wea town above Attica. April 29, 1811 Governor Harrison ordered a special session of court to try Bazadone, then in jail, for killing a Musco Indian. In 1805 he had a large store near the ferry at Vincennes.

Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois*
Executive Journal Ind. Ter.

[4] William McIntosh was a U. E. loyalist who had come to Vincennes after the Revolution, about 1787. He was widely interested in land speculation, at times with Harrison. His brother Angus McIntosh was a well known trader of Canada. At first he was a warm friend of Harrison but was strongly opposed to advancing the territory to the second grade.

Dawson, *Harrison, 175*

The following Answer was then read and agreed to, and directed to be prepared by the Secretary to be read again on Sunday next, and to be signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary in triplicate.

The French Inhabitants of Vincenes return Thanks to His Excellency the Governor for the Communication he has been pleased to make to them, correspondent with the sense they entertain of the frankness and patriotism with which they are addressed; and conceiving that the occasion and the importance of the subject communicated, dictate the propriety of stating their answer in the form of Resolutions they have adopted that mode, as follows.

Having taken into consideration that part of the Governor's Communication which relates to the late outrage committed by the British against the United States.

Resolved unanimously that the french Inhabitants of Vincennes freely and explicitly unite their feeble but determined voice with those of their fellow citizens on the atlantic so generaly proclaimed throughout The United States, in the Just expression of their detestation and resentment of the late unprovoked, cruel and outrageous aggression committed by Captn. Humphries of the British Navy in wresting by force of Arms four of our Brethren from on board one of the Frigates of The United States, in time of Peace.

Resolved unanimously that we will support with our Lives and Fortunes such measures as the constituted authorities of our Country may deem proper to adopt and pursue in demanding and enforcing such Satisfaction from the British Government for this recent, and every other outrage committed by them on our National dignity or our Commercial Rights, as the United States are entitled to from a Nation boasting to act on principles of *Right* and not of *Force*.

Having taken into our serious consideration that part of the Governor's Communication which relates to the Patriotism and Fidelity of the French Inhabitants of Vincennes and the circumstances connected thereto.[5]

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[5] "Shortly after the melancholy affair of the Chesapeake, the Governor convened a meeting of the French inhabitants of Vincennes, for the purpose of declaring their sentiments upon the abominable outrage and insult committed upon the flag of the United States, and the murder of one of their citizens, as well as to express their attachment to the government of their country, and their determination to fight for and support it. In his address to the meeting, he informed them of the attempts made by the emissaries of the British government to prejudice the Indians against the Americans, and strongly urged them to detect, and to communicate to him, the names

Resolved unanimously that we perceive with great surprise and indignation that there appears to exist in the mind of the Governor suspicions of our Patriotism and Fidelity to The United States. That under such circumstances a recurrence to the evidence of facts in the past conduct of the French Inhabitants of Vincennes will furnish the strongest arguments and proofs in our power to adduce to remove such injurious suspicions if they realy exist.

Was it not with the aid and comfort of our ancestors as well as many yet surviving, that the Troops of Virginia reduced these Posts? Have we not at all times since, upon every occasion demonstrated our Zeal and attachment to the United States, and joined their Army in defence of our Country, and thereby drawn upon ourselves the eternal hatred of the Indians in our vicinity? Have we since the establishment of our Territorial Government refused to cooperate with our fellow citizens in the faithful performance of every required duty? But we are disposed to admit that should those injurious suspicions be entertained by the Governor, they must have been imparted to him by evil Counsellors. Should there be any persons amongst us, who by their actions or expressions may have given occasion to such Calumnies, let them be exposed and brought to condign punishment.

It is ungenerous to involve indiscriminately the innocent with the guilty, and we deem it no less odious to be suspected than to be guilty of infidelity to our Country. If any expressions favorable to France have been made by any amongst us, they arose only from an impression that the coalesced Powers

of any persons of that description which might come to their knowledge. He also expressed some apprehensions that some attempts might be made to weaken their own attachment to the government of the United States, and seriously warned them to be on their guard against any insidious observations having that tendency: which latter remark was made in consequence of one of the oldest and most respectable of their number having said, that he would have no objections to fight against the Indians, but he could not think of taking up arms against the king of Great Britian; to whom he had once sworn allegiance.

This observation of the Governor called forth the ire of a Scotchman, [McIntosh] notorious for his tory principles; and he, having considerable influence among the persons composing the meeting, by being employed in transacting their business, and having a good knowledge of their language, procured himself to be chosen secretary of the meeting; and supposing himself to be alluded to as a British emissary, he induced them to step forward in his vindication; and he the better succeeded in this, as he contrived to impress them with the belief that the Governor had questioned their own patriotism, which induced them to make common cause with him. But this delusion was soon dissipated, and appropriate resolutions were entered into and handed over to the Governor, in order to have them transmitted to the President of the United States."

Dawson, *Harrison*, 104

in Europe had views of dismembering a Country from which our ancestors emigrated, and for whose Prosperity we do not wish to be understood to feel indifferent, while we explicitly disavow any partiality for France or any other country, which is not consistent with our allegiance to The United States. It may be, and we believe it is part of the Governor's official duty, to warn the People of the danger that may flow from the specious attempts which may be made by British or other foreign Agents, to alienate our affections from our Government, and attach us to the British or other Nations: and we seize the present occasion to assure His Excellency, and through him the General Government, that our attachment and Fidelity to The United States are sincere, strong and permanent. That we know not of British or any other Emissaries or Agents in this place, or in the Indian Country: and if ever such infamous attempts should be made upon us by any, we would regard ourselves as unworthy of our Country, if we concealed them for a moment from the constituted authorities. We must be permitted to observe that the Person [William McIntosh] pointed to by your Excellency has lived amongst us upwards of twenty years, has acquired a handsome Property, and has never to our knowledge or belief attempted to weaken, but on the contrary has always, as on the present occasion strengthened our zeal in the common cause of our Country. It is therefore but an act of Justice to our own honour as well as to him to declare, that we regard the means practised to lessen him in the good opinion of his fellow citizens as repugnant to our sense of the rights secured to every citizen by the laws of our Country, as the accusations appear to us to be ill founded.

Resolved, that the Governor be waited upon by the President, and a committee of two Members of this meeting at one o'Clock on Sunday next, and present to him two Copies of these Proceedings, and that he be and he hereby is requested to transmit one of them to the President of The United States, as the Answer of the French Inhabitants of Vincennes to His Excellencies' Communication.

On Sunday the 20th September 1807. the foregoing Answer was agreed to unanimously.

his
Laurent × Bazadone *President*
mark

Attest Wm. Mc.Intosh *Sy.*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

POST VINCENNES, Sept 27, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 217, 218*

Captain WILLIAM HARGROVE, Ranger Service:

Your report of the 19th inst. by your hunter, the Cree Indian, came in two days ago. He was retained to carry messages to parties on the old Salt trace. That information was wanted from us before this was sent to you. David Robb, John Severn, Sr. and Isaac Montgomery[1] were here last night. The matter of a guard at the salt works was gone over carefully. They all agree with your report that there is no need of guards on the east side of the Wabash and if it were not for a lot of foolhardy, carless people who would insist on going there in small parties, there would be no need of guards on the west side of the river. The two men and the scout which you have there will remain on duty. The most probable trouble, if any comes, will be from south of the Ohio river. You can have your scout informed of this and have him keep a close lookout in that direction. Young Bailey returned several days ago with your report about the refugees [Burr]. Retain the three young men which you enlisted if you need them. If the three families will come to a point within two miles of the Yellow Banks road it will do. If they prefer, they can move on to the new road that is being located to the east no far from where they are now camped. It is thought best for you to have Bailey look after this matter,. These people must be near one of these routes and must prepare themselves a strong blockhouse with a stockade around it.

By order of W. H. HARRISON *Gov. of Indiana Territory*

JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary*

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[1] Thomas Montgomery (Pretty old Tom) "a man who had fought Indians over half of Va., all of Ky., and southern Indiana," was the youngest son in a family of ten, born to Hugh Montgomery, an Irish emigrant to Va. He served in the Revolution and in 1793 came to Ky. He lost his land in Montgomery Co. Ky. and in 1805 located in Montgomery Tp. Gibson Co. Ind. His wife was a cousin of Davy Crockett.

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 229;* Stormont, *Gibson County, 47*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

HEADQUARTERS, INDIANA TERRITORY,
VINCENNES, Sunday, October 4, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 218, 219*

Captain WM. HARGROVE, *in command of Rangers:*

The Governor wishes to assure you of his appreciation of your successful work in gathering so many of the unfortunate refugees at points near the Yellow Banks and other traces and the large colony which you have gathered on the new trace crossing the Yellow Banks road. This is very desirable place to have a strong fort. In making the building be sure that it is strongly put together, made out of large logs and that a stockade ten feet high be built that will enclose one acre of ground. In this enclosure can be erected a number of strong buildings that will safely protect fifty people. This will be a rallying point for all who may come later to that section. The times are very unsettled. The Indians are continually grumbling because the white people are in this country and threatening that unless their lands are restored they will drive them back across the Ohio river. North of the White river they could easily concentrate in such numbers that should they find our people unprepared could overrun the most of your territory. It is hard to tell anything about what an Indian will do when he has the advantage. They are the most treacherous, cunning rascals on earth and the most brutal as well. The only safe way is to keep the advantage on our side and put the Indians on the defense. When they know that your position makes one white man equal to ten Indians there is no danger of an attack. The two men coming into your lines east of the Mud-hole have certainly repented of all the wrong which they have done by following after Traitor Burr. It is best for you to see all these people who are connected with that unfortunate affair and instruct them under no circumstances to let any one know that they were in the Burr conspiracy. If they do in after years they will be accused of being traitors by people not half so worthy as they are.

By WILLIAM H. HARRISON,
Governor of Indiana Territory

Per JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary*

HARRISON TO JEFFERSON

VINCENNES 10th Octr. 1807

Jefferson Papers, 2d series, vol. 42, no. 85

DEAR SIR

I have the Honor to enclose herewith some Resolutions adopted by the French Inhabitants of this place on the 18th Ultimo but which were not put into my Hands until a few days ago. [September 20, above]

In the preamble to the Resolutions there are some Circumstances Mentioned which require explanation. thinking that a public declaration of attachment to the Government at this Crisis would be acceptable to you & honorable to themselves I assembled the French Citizens some time since and after informing them of the late outrage Committed on our flag by the British Vessel & the probability that it might lead to War with that nation I recommended to them to take the subject into Consideration & adopt some mode of expressing their sentiments. The Communication was received by them with apparent pleasure and they promised to follow my advice. In the course of my address [at Jones' Tavern] I informed them also of the attempts which were making by British emissaries to prejudice the Indians against the United States & urged them to endeavour to Detect & Communicate to me the names of any Characters of that description which might Come to their knowledge—I expressed also an Apprehension that attempts might be made to weaken their attachment to the American Government—& warned them to be on their guard against any insidious observations having that tendency. The latter remark was made in consequence of the oldest & most respectable of their number having declared that he would freely take up arms against the Indians but he could not think of fighting against the king of G. Britain to whom he had once taken an Oath of Allegiance. A Scotchman of the name of McIntosh who is as inveterate a tory as any of his nation and who has considerable influence over them from the necessity they are under of employing him to transact their business procured himself to be appointed Secretary to their meeting and supposing that he had been alluded to as a British Emissary prevailed upon them to step forward in his vindication. To effect this more easily & to induce them to make a common cause with him they were prevailed upon to think that I had in my address expressed some doubts of their patriotism, an assertion equally false & mischievous.

I have the Honor to enclose also the Resignation of Pierre Menard [Sept. 19, above] one of the Legislative Council which was sent to me only a few days ago from Kaskaskias altho it had some time since been announced by him to the House of Representatives & Nominations made to fill his vacancy. The persons nominated Messrs [George] Fisher & Finne [James Finney] are both respectable men & good Republicans. Mr Fisher is however the choice of the House of Representatives & I believe of his County. [Sept. 12, above]

I am Dr Sir with the greatest Respect & Consideration your Hume Sevt.

WILLM H. HARRISON

The President of the United States

MEMORIAL FROM CLARK COUNTY, SLAVERY

Oct. 10, 1807

House of Rrepresentatives Collection portfolio 180
Various resolutions & petitions 1807-08

At a numerous meeting of the Citizens of Clark County in Springville (agreably to notice previously given) on saturday the [10] day of October 1807 for the purpose of taking into consideration the Resolution past at the last Session of the Legislature of the Indiana Territory praying the Congress of the United States to suspend for a certain time the sixth article of compact contained in the Ordinance, Mr John Beggs[1] was chosen chairman and Davis Floyd Secretary.

On Motion Ordered that a Committee of five suitable persons be appointed to draft and report to this meeting a Memorial to Congress in opposition to the Resolutions of the Legislature of the Indiana Territory on the subject of Slavery in this Territory by the suspension of the sixth article of Compact contained in the Ordinance and the said Committee was appointed of Messrs Absalom Little[2] John Owens[3] Charles

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[1] John Beggs. The Beggs family was descended from James Beggs of Ireland. The grandfather, Thomas Beggs, was born in New Jersey but soon moved to Western Va. He died in the service as a Revolutionary soldier. The three brothers, James, John and Charles came to Clark county, early, by way of Kentucky, and bought large farms. All were church leaders, John, the oldest was a Baptist. All served in various capacities. Charles was a captain of militia under Harrison at Tippecanoe.

S. R. Beggs, *Early History of West and Northwest, 9;* Dunn, *Indiana, 355*

Beggs[4] Robert Robertson[5] and James Beggs[6] Mr Little from the aforesaid Committee reported a memorial pursuant to the aforesaid Order in the words and figures following (Viz,

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled

The memorial of the Citizens of Clark County Humbly sheweth, that great anxiety has been and still is evinced by some of the Citizens of this Territory on the subject of the introduction of Slavery into the same; But in no case has the voice of the Citizens been unanimous. In the year 1802 at a special convention of delegates from the respective Counties a petition was forwarded to Congress to repeal the sixth article of Compact contained in the Ordinance, But the representation of all that part of the Territory East of Knox County were present and were decidedly opposed to that part of the petition

In the year 1805 the subject was again taken up and discussed in the general assembly and a Majority of the house of Representatives voted against said memorial on the afd. subject, and consequently, the Memorial was rejected as the Journals of that House doth sufficiently evince; But a number of Citizens thought proper to sign the same and amongst the rest the speaker of the House of Representatives, and the President of the Council (tho the president of the Council denies ever having signed the same) and by some Legislative Legerdemain it found its way into the Congress of the United States as the Legislative act of the Territory. In the present year 1807 the subject was again taken up by the Legislature of this Territory and a Majority of both houses passed certain resolutions (in the proportion of two to one) for the purpose of suspending the sixth article of compact contained

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[2] Absalom Little or Littell with his family was one of the first settlers of Clark county. His home was near Sellersburg. He came from Penn. in 1779. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church. On or near his farm was organized one of the earliest protestant churches in Ind.—a Baptist church, 1788. In 1801 Little was appointed an appraiser for Springville. Harrison appointed him a justice Oct. 27, 1808. *Ohio Falls Counties, II, 388*

[3] John Owens was one of the original settlers of Clarksville, 1783; Dec. 24, 1803 he was appointed a Falls pilot; Sept. 20, 1803 he was made Capt. of militia; promoted to major Aug. 16, 1806; during the war of 1812 he served with the mounted rifles as a lieutenant and captain. He served under Bigger at Tippecanoe.

[4] Charles Beggs. See note 1.

[5] Robert Robertson, capt. of militia of Clark Co. Nov. 18, 1806; made major June 12, 1806 and colonel Apr. 13, 1812.

[6] James Beggs. See note 1.

in the Ordinance which we presume is before your Honorable body

But let it be understood that in the Legislative Council there were but three members present and the president of the same (for certain reasons) positively refused to sign the said Resolutions and they were reduced to the last subterfuge of prevailing on the president to leave his seat and one of the other members take it as president pro tem. for the purpose of signing the said Resolutions (whether this is right or wrong Judge ye)

And altho' it is contended by some that at this day there is a Majority in favour of Slavery (whilst the opposite opinion is held by others) tho' the fact is certainly doubtful. But when we take a view of the vast emigration into this Territory and of Citizens too decidedly opposed to the measure we feel satisfied, that at all events Congress will suspend any Legislative act on this subject until we shall by the Constitution be admitted into the Union and have a right to adopt such a constitution in this respect as may comport with the wishes of a Majority of the Citizens.

As to the propriety of Holding those in slavery whom it hath pleased the divine Creator to Create free, seems to us to be repugnant to the inestimable principals of a Republican government. Altho' some of the States have and do hold slaves, Yet it seems to be the general opinion even in those states that they are an evil from which they can not extricate themselves. As to the Interest of the Territory a variety of opinion exists; But suffer your memorialists to state that it is a fact that a great number of Citizens in various parts of the United States are preparing and many have actually emigrated to this Territory to get free from a government which does tolerate Slavery.

The Toleration of Slavery is either right or wrong and if Congress should think with us that it is wrong that it is inconsistent with the principals upon which our future Constitution is to be formed, your Memorialists, will rest satisfied, at least, that this subject will not be by them taken up until the Constitutional number of the Citizens of this Territory shall assume that right

It is considered useless for your Memorialists to recapitulate the many reasons and objections which might be advanced, relying that this subject is fully and fairly understood by your Honorable Body as it relates to the natural right policy and prosperity of a free and independent nation.

On Motion *Resolved* that the chairman be requested to forward duplicate Copies of these proceedings (Signed by the said Chairman and Counter signed by the Secretary) One to the Vice President of the United States or President of the Senate pro Tem and One to the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States

By Order of the meeting

JOHN BEGGS *Chm*

Attest
DAVIS FLOYD *Secy.*

[Indorsed:]

Memorial of the inhabitants of Clark county in the Indiana territory.

6th November 1807—referred to Mr. Jacob Richards, Mr. Kirkpatrick, Mr. Love, Mr. Sloan, Mr. Deane, Mr. Davenport and Mr. Parke.

17th Novemr. 1807—report made and referred to a Committee of the whole House. On Monday the 30th instant.

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

HEADQUARTERS, INDIANA TERRITORY,
VINCENNES, Oct. 12, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 218, 219*

WILLIAM HARGROVE, *Captain Commanding in Ranger Service:*

Your report and the man you sent in under guard, are here. You did the right thing in arresting this man. All such suspicious cases as this should be investigated. What this man is has not yet been found out and it is doubtful if it ever is. If this country were at war with a white race it would evidently be determined that he was a spy locating the military strength and positions of our army. It may be that he is doing that work for the British. He evidently is not what he claims to be. A prisoner for two years among the Indians would not have such clean underwear beneath his buckskin suit. Then his hair has been recently cut by a barber. He will be retained for the present. This is Sunday and the cart drivers are all at a gathering down the river someway. Will forward the supplies tomorrow.

By order of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Sect. of Indiana Territory*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

HEADQUARTERS, INDIANA TERRITORY,
Sunday, Oct. 18, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 220*

Captain WILLIAM HARGROVE, *Commanding Rangers:*

Your report by FuQuay is received. The flints were of a new lot. Since your statement has come they have been examined and found to be of shelly material and are of no value. Others will be sent you as soon as possible. Have your men save the old ones until the others come.

The statement of the Delaware Indian that he has seen the prisoner whom we are holding as a spy at Clarkesville, two moons ago is noted.

The old trace that runs near the Ohio river crossing the Wabash and on the saline regions of the Illinois has been a regular pass way for Indians from time when none know. The Shawnees under chief Setteedown[1] have, as you know, a straggling settlement along this trail and extending to about ten miles off the Yellow Banks trace that you patrolled. Our scouts from this place have often been over the route and visited some white people located on the north bank of the Ohio. Major John Sprinkles,[2] who lives on the north bank some six miles up the river from the mouth of Green river was to see the Governor yesterday and informed him that detached bands of Indians had been passing east for eight or ten days and appeared to be carrying their luggage with them. Bailey Anderson,[3] who lives in the neighborhood of a few of the

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[1] Setteedown or Settetah was chief of a small straggling band of nondescript Indians, mostly Shawnees. Their village from 1807 to 1811 was near the mouth of Cypress creek Warrick county. In 1811 he was implicated in the murder of the Meeks family of Spencer county and killed.

Warrick, Spencer, & Perry Counties, 251

For a more detailed account see Arvil Barr, in *Indiana Mag. of Hist. XIV, 304-331*

[2] John Sprinkle was the first permanent settler of Warrick county, he was a Pennsylvanian born 1772. From there he located in Henderson 1792. He came to Indiana in 1803 and settled at Newburg Warrick county where he died, 1821. His title of Major is from the Ky. militia. A brother, George, was captured during the Miami war, about 1790 and ransomed at Fort Wayne about 1794.

Indiana Magazine of Hist XIV, 308
Warrick county, (1885) 21

[3] Bailey Anderson came to Warrick county about 1806 and may have been a follower of Burr. His place was near the mouth of Cypress creek—"Bailey's Roost".

Ind. Mag. of Hist, XIV, 308

He came from Ky. and in 1818 he went on to Texas. Anderson Tp. Warrick Co. is named for him.

Warrick county (1885) 24

Shawnee wigwams, informed Mr. Sprinkles that some of these visiting Indians were preparing a camp not more than one mile from his cabin. This may be nothing but hunting parties from over the Wabash. Any unusual gathering of Indians on the Ohio river at this time of the year is looked on with suspicion. They may intend to remain during the winter and if a chance comes, attempt to capture boats and movers descending the river as soon as the water is in sufficient stage. You will temporarily leave your command in charge of Sergeant Hogue, taking two reliable men with you and at your settlement secure mounts for your parties. Then go south along the Red Banks route and up to Major Sprinkles' cabin, who is aware of your coming. Bailey Anderson will fall in with your party as you go east from the Major's. You are to make an official visit to chief Setteedown. Bailey Anderson understands their language and will act as interpreter. Before leaving the old Chief invite him to bring some of his young men and visit Governor Harrison at this Post. Have him set the day as early as he will. You will then proceed east on the trace until you come to where it crosses the road running to the north that comes to the Ohio river just west of the mouth of Blue river. Thoroughly familiarize yourself with the route. In returning, note well the topography of the country. Return the two men to their station and you report in person to this post.

By the direction of WM. H. HARRISON *Governor of Indiana Territory*

JOHN GIBSON *secretary*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY. October 20, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 221, 222*

Captain WILLIAM HARGROVE, *Commanding the Western Division of Rangers east of the Wabash river:*

Last Sunday night the 18th inst. two of our scouts returning from a long trip found themselves at White Oak Spring [Petersburg] for a little after seven o'clock in the evening. On going to the gate asked permission to stay over night in the stockade, which was denied them. They were informed that when the gates were closed for the night that they could not be opened for anyone. The scouts showed their passes signed by Governor Harrison, yet they were refused admittance saying that Governor Harrison nor any of his men could get in after night. The Governor directs that you investigate this matter. Scout Ell Ernest, the bearer of this order, will be permitted to be present while the investigation is being made as he was one of the scouts who was refused permission to stay in the stockade. Go fully into the details. The Military authorities are doing everything possible with the few men at their command to protect the settlers who are scattered on the southern borders of this Territory and cheerfully do this hard service, imperilling the lives of the best men of the country, trying to give protection to those who are exposed to danger; but when it comes to such actions as is above related of men who were being guarded, insulting and denying the common coutesies to those guarding them that is so fully extended by all decent pioneer settlers to all who come to their cabins. Some parties at that fort are guilty of indignities that will not be silently passed over. Find, if you can if the owner of that fort was at home that night. Secure the names of the men who were there and if possible the one who was spokesman. When you have made this investigation send the report to this office by Ell Ernest.

Ordered by W. H. HARRISON

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, Oct. 23, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 222*

Captain WM. HARGROVE:

The Governor directs me to send his compliments and inform you that he appreciates the prompt and thorough manner in which you made the investigation wanted. Woolsey Pride is here and is fully exonerated and commended for so summarily punishing the parties who were guilty of the petty meanness.

Your obedient servant, JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y of I. T.*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

HEADQUARTERS, INDIANA TERRITORY, October 28, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 222, 223*

WM HARGROVE, *Captain Commanding Rangers:*

Chief Settedown and his young men have returned to their homes. He assured the Governor that the Indians gathering in his neighborhood were very peaceable inclined toward the white people and gave as a reason for their being there that game was more plentiful than across the Wabash and that they intended to stay only a short while. In answering the inquiry why he did not want to keep all the game for himself and people, said, that there was much more than he wanted. Finally said in less than one moon they would all go back over the Wabash. It is hoped that this will be true, but the only security with the Indians is to be always prepared and watch them. FuQuay is better acquainted with that section than any one else we have in the service. He and Ben Page have orders to report to you at your east stockade camp, on the Clarksville trace and will hand you this letter. It is thought best for you to go with the two scouts to the Yellow Banks and have them make such disposition of their time during the next thirty days as will secure the best information of the movements of the strange Indians. This suggestion is made for your consideration in this matter. You are on the ground and will understand the situation better than can be understood at this distance. The two scouts have each a new ax besides their rifles and ammunition. This is the equipment that most of the newcomers bring to the Territory. Have them go into the section a few miles east of Bailey Anderson's and build a small cabin and put in their time hunting and roving over as large a territory around their cabin as they can. In doing this they will have a pretty good idea of what the Indians are doing around them. If there is any design other than friendship by the newcomers, the Shawnees know it. Of all this you are in the best position to find out the truth. The two scouts will send or bring you a report as often as you think best to require it. You are safe in giving FuQuay your confidence as he is one of the most trusted men that is in the employ of these head-quarters.

By order of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary of Indiana Territory*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

POST VINCENNES, November 4, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History, 223*

Captain WM. HARGROVE, *Commanding a Detachment of Rangers:*

The location for the refugees is no doubt a good one. Plenty of water is very desirable. The Governor is favorable to your suggestion. It certainly would be to the advantage of the new emigrants for them to prepare a little cabin inside of the stockades and to remain in it during the winter. If they prefer to go to some other place in the spring they can do so. The advantage of being with a number of people during the cold season in hunting and the social advantages is recompense enough for all the trouble they would be at to erect the little cabin.

Your opinion of FuQuay is correct. He has been closely identified with the work in this part of the Territory since 1801. The Governor would gladly comply with your request but his services as scout is of such importance that it is not thought best to take him out of that position. Sergeant Hogue would fill the place you wanted FuQuay for with a little training.

The supposed spy has been sent to Fort Washington [Cincinnati] with a statement of the evidence and the affidavit against him. There will be no further need of hunting evidence in that case. Without a doubt he is a spy for the British and will be held as such for an indefinite time unless direct evidence of his guilt should be secured. Then he will be summarily dealt with.

You now have four roads or traces running to the east that can be easily found and traveled over, dividing your territory into sections between the Ohio and White rivers. Also you have four roads or traces running north and south dividing your territory in that direction from near the Wabash on the west to Blue river on the east, thus enabling you to give much better protection to settlers now there and to the emigrants coming into your territory.[1] This condition makes that section of this territory very desirable for settlers. The most important thing that you can do is to see that the blockhouses are so located that they will be accessible to those in the surrounding country if danger should come. There is no certainty that we will have a continuation of the quiet that now exists. The English on the north are doing all that they can to cause trouble between the Indians and the pioneers, using the treaties which have been made as a pretext, claiming that it was fradulently obtained.

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[1] For the location of these traces see Arvil Barr in *Indiana Magazine of History XIV, 304 seq.*

It is thought best that you make a personal inspection of all the blockhouses that are now built and the several that are being constructed at the different stations in your territory and see that they are securely built and good, strong, durable stockades surrounding them that will have sufficient room for the construction of from six to ten small cabins. Some one who is most competent in each fort must be placed in command and it must be understood that he is to be obeyed by all of those who will use that fort as a place of refuge.

Have them select by lot the man they want, but advice those interested that the most efficient men thay have should be chosen. You will make a careful inspection of their arms and ammunition and should you find them deficient in either you can make a requisition on the ordnance office at this place through these head-quarters for the needed supplies. That needed for the eastern forts will be forwarded to you at White Oak Springs fort. That for the western division will be sent to David Robb's fort. You will have the proper parties meet you at a stated period at these places and give out the guns and ammunition to them taking their receipts for the same. This will simplify the work as soon as you can have a sufficient number of forts so that they will be reasonable accessible in all the Territory, which you command, the need of the Rangers continually marching over the traces will be done away with. Carefully read this letter of suggestions and when you send in your next report any suggestions you may have to make will receive careful consideration.

By direction of W. H. HARRISON *Gov. of Indiana Territory*

JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, November 12, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 225-227*

Capt. WM. HARGROVE, *Commanding first division of Rangers, east of the Wabash river:*

Your report enclosing a letter from FuQuay. The contents of that letter were fully considered by the Governor. That there would be some excuse made for the Indians to remain during the winter months has been suspected. The fact that they are building such secure tepees warrants that suspicion, but their attempt to be adopted into the tribe of the Shawnees was unlooked for. The Governor directs that you have a vigilant watch kept on their actions until about the 26th inst. the time Chief Setteedown set for their return will then be up. Better have Bailey Anderson interview the old Chief and in their talk remind him of his promise to Governor that they would be gone in one moon. FuQuay and Anderson it seems found out that the Illinois Indians on the visit are Kickapoos and that they have one of their subchiefs in command of them. This looks suspicious. You can do nothing as yet, only have FuQuay and Ben Page keep a vigilant watch on the Indians and instruct them to send one of your runners, who you will keep near them, to you with any information that they may secure. If you should learn any new dangerous developments, send immediately to this head-quarters a report of it. If it should become necessary, one hundred men can be sent from this Post to any point which you may think best to place them. The Governor thinks it best to make a camp on the Yellow Banks trace at the point where the large fort is located [formerly called Taylorsvile, now Selvin, Warrick county, Ind.] If the stockade is not as large as is needed, it can be enlarged and in a short time the soldiers can put up such barracks as will make them comfortable for the short time that they will likely stay.

The Piankashaw Indian, named Yellow Bird has just returned from a visit to Indian friends on the west fork of White river. He said to one of our friendly Indians that the Indians on White river were grumbling about the treaties and threatening to drive the Americans back over the Ohio. That there is a great unrest among the Indians is not doubted by those whose business it is to know what is going on outside of the settlements. What it may terminate in is uncertain. It is best for our people to be well on their guard and be ready in the event war should come.

By order of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y. of Indiana Territory*

Post Script.: The Governor directs that you ascertain how many able-bodied men you have in your district that would be able to bear arms. This duty can be done by some of your active young men.

SENATE REPORT ON SLAVERY IN INDIANA

November 13, 1807

Am. Sta. Pa. Misc. I, 484

Mr. Franklin, from the committee[1] to whom was referred the representation and resolution of the Legislature Council and House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory, bearing the date of 13th of July, [?] 1807; [September 19 above] and, also, the remonstrance of the citizens of Clark county, of the Territory aforesaid, [October 10, above] reported:

The Legislative Council and House of Representatives, in their resolutions, express their sense of the propriety of introducing slavery into their Territory, and solicit the Congress of the United States to suspend, for a given number of years, the sixth article of compact, in the ordinance for the government of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, passed the 13th day of July, 1787. That article declares: "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory."

The citizens of Clark county, in their remonstrance, express their sense of the impropriety of the measure, and solicit the Congress of the United States not to act on the subject, so as to permit the introduction of slaves into the Territory; at least until their population shall entitle them to form a constitution and State Government.

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[1] This committee consisted of Jesse Franklin of North Car., Aaron Kitchell of New Jersey and Edward Tiffin of Ohio. The two petitions, one from the territorial legislature, dated Sept. 19, 1807, the other from citizens of Clark county, dated Oct. 10, 1807 are given in the *Annals*, (Senate) under date of Nov. 13, 1807.

Your committee, after duly considering the matter, respectfully submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is not expedient at this time to suspend the sixth article of compact for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio.

HOUSE REPORT ON SLAVERY IN INDIANA

November 17, 1807

House of Representatives Collection portfolio 180
Various Resolutions & petitions 1807-08

The Committee,[1] to whom were referred the letter from William Henry Harrison governor of the Indiana territory, inclosing certain resolutions passed by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of said territory [Sept. 19, supra], relative to the suspension for a certain period, of the sixth article of compact [Ordinance of 1787] between the United States and the territories and states north-west of the river Ohio, made the 13th of July 1787. And the Memorial of the inhabitants of Clark county in the Indiana territory—

Report

They have attentively considered the Resolution of the Legislative council and House of Representatives of the Indiana territory—stating the expediency of suspending for a given number of years—the sixth article of Compact—contained in the ordinance for the government of the North Western territory—passed the 13th of July in the year 1787—together with the reasoning in favor of said resolution—And also—a counter memorial of a number of Citizens of Clark county in the said Territory of Indiana—[October 10, above]

It appears to the committee as well from the statement of the Legislative council & House of Representatives of said territory—as from the Memorial of the Citizens of Clark county,—that a difference of opinion exists in the territory, as to the right of holding slaves—and as to the propriety of introducing them within the said territory.

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[1] This committee was composed of Jacob Richards of Penn., William Kirkpatrick of N. Y., John Love of Va., John Davenport of Conn., Josiah Deane of Mass. and Benjamin Parke of Ind. appointed Nov. 6, 1807. They reported Nov. 17. It will be noted it was a northern committee. These petitions were presented in the senate Nov. 7. See Senate report supra.

On a subject of such magnitude, as the introduction of slavery (which by numbers is considered as a serious evil, and to be cautiously avoided) the voice of the Citizens should be clearly ascertained. How far the introduction of slavery in said territory would operate to the prejudice, & injury of one part of the Citizens; and to the advancement & prosperity of the other, your committee cannot undertake to say—but the policy of a measure, that probably would have that tendency, without promoting the public-good, is at least questionable.

In a few years, from the rapid growth of population in the territory, its numbers, will entitle it to be admitted into the Union, as an *Independent State,* when the Citizens will have a right to adopt such measures, as may comport with their wishes on the subject.

Your Committee are of opinion—that it would be improper at this time for Congress to legislate on the subject—And submit the following Resolution.—

Resolved,

That it is inexpedient to suspend for a given number of years, the sixth article of Compact, contained in the ordinance for the government of the North-Western territory, passed the 13th day of July in the year 1787—

[Indorsed:]

Report (Mr. J. Richards) from the Committee to whom was referred on the 6th instant, a letter from William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana territory, inclosing certain resolutions passed by the legislature of the said territory, relative to a suspension, for a certain period, of the sixth article of compact between the U. S. and the territories and states, north west of the river Ohio; also a memorial of the inhabitants of Clark county in the territory aforesaid.

17th Novemr. 1807—read and referred to a committee of the whole House on Monday the 30th instant.

Report Mr J Richards order for Monday week

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, November 18, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History,* 227

Captain WM. HARGROVE, *in the Ranger Service:*

The men will be sent in two hours from the time your runner arrives if they will be needed. If you think that fifty men will be sufficient, that number will be sent. It is best to have all that will be needed.

At a point some miles below the mouth of White river, there has been some trouble between the settlers and the Indians who had a few wigwams some distance to the east of the Wabash river. Two Piankashaw Indians are here to-day. They say that their people were driven away across the Wabash river and their tepees, skins and plunder burned.

It is directed that you go and investigate this matter and see what can be done about obtaining a satisfactory adjustment with the Indians. Everything has been done here to allay the ill feelings of the two Indians. The Governor ordered some tents, blankets and kettles to be sent to those who lost their property. If you can find out who the white people were you will remind them that such conduct as this must not occur again. This Territory is in no shape for a race war with the Indians, which they would be only too glad for an excuse to engage in. It might be best that you take David Robb and some other of your best informed citizens with you when you make the investigation. The Indians who were driven away are with another band of Piankashaw Indians west of the Wabash several miles below the mouth of the White river.

By order of WM. HENRY HARRISON *Governor of Indiana Territory*

JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

HEADQUARTERS INDIANA TERRITORY, VINCENNES, Nov. 23, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 228*

CAPTAIN HARGROVE, *Commanding Rangers:*

You will personally invite Bailey Anderson to visit these Headquarters. The Governor wishes to properly recognize his services in persuading old Chief Setteedown to force the Kickapoo Indians back to their homes west of the Wabash. There will be no further trouble in that direction. Your estimate of the number of men in your Territory able to bear arms shows a very gratifying condition. A little more work in locating forts and stockades at two or three exposed places, will place you in good condition to repel any attack that may be made on the settlements.

By order of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary*

HARRISON TO HARGROVE

VINCENNES, INDIANA TERRITORY, November 27, 1807

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 228, 229*

WILLIAM HARGROVE, *Commanding the Western Division of Rangers east of the Wabash river:*

The Governor directs that you discharge the men who are on patrol duty except those who are on duty on the trace east of White Oak Springs Fort. The patrol over that route need not go over that trace but once in every eight days. The scout and the two friendly Indians will patrol the section of White river from the forks up to as far as twenty-five miles east of the Mudholes. There is more danger arising from stray bands of Indians attempting to come into the settlement for the purpose of stealing horses than there is of an attack on the settlers.

In discharging the men, any whom you find who wish to remain in the service, you will enlist for regular soldiers and order them to report to these head-quarters with a copy of their enlistment papers. When you have finished this work, have scouts, FuQuay and Page remain with you and with them visit every portion of your Territory and notify the people at the blockhouses and the settlements that they must keep a vigilant lookout, as the Rangers will be withdrawn. After having visited all the stations, return to White Oak Springs and discharge all but two of the men and Sergeant Hogue who you will place in command with instructions to carefully watch the section east of the Mudholes on his patrol; and for him to report by the hand of one of the friendly Indians to these head-quarters once every two weeks. When you have finished this work you will report to this Post, bringing FuQuay and Ben Page with you.

By order of the Governor

JOHN GIBSON, *Sec'y. of Indiana Territory*

HOUSE REPORT ON VINCENNES UNIVERSITY

December 17, 1807

Am. Sta. Pa. Misc. I, 654

The Committee[1] on Commerce and Manufactures report:

The petitioners state that the Legislature of the Indiana Territory in the year 1806, passed an act incorporating a university in the district of Vincennes, styled the University of Vincennes; and that the same act authorized the petitioners to dispose of a small part of the land appropriated by an act of Congress for the purpose of erecting the necessary buildings for said institution. The petitioners state that, as the land belonging to the institution cannot be leased at present to advantage, they pray that Congress will pass a law laying a small tax on salt made at the public works in that Territory, and also on Indian traders, for the support of the said institution, until the other institutions in the Territory are organized can be benefited by the fund accruing therefrom.

The committee have given to the petition of the trustees of the University of Vincennes that deliberate attention which its importance demands. They are sensible of every disposition that can be friendly to institutions the objects of which are to inculcate and disseminate knowledge of every kind. The people of no nation can be so deeply interested in promoting and encouraging the sciences as the citizens of a republic. They are frequently called upon personally to perform public duties of high concern, on the right discharge of which the happiness of individuals and the prosperity of the community depend. Information in the mass of the citizens is one of the best securities that can be devised against the abuses of power; and it operates no less forcibly in checking and restraining the aspiring ambition and subtle arts of those to whose care is confided the public welfare.

As public and private virtues spring from and are fostered and matured by true knowledge, it becomes one of the first obligations of this Government, if it can constitutionally exercise the power to take under its patronage institutions that are calculated to insure its diffusion.

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[1] This committee consisted of Thomas Newton of Va., Richard Cutts of Mass., David Thomas of N. Y., William McCreery of Md., Samuel W. Dana of Conn., Robert Marion of South Car., and John Porter of Penn. The report is given in *Annals* (H. R.) Dec. 17, 1807. The petition is not given.

The committee will inquire what considerations have been given to a subject of so much moment by the National Government? The Territories of the United States are under the superintending authority of the General Government.

In the acts of Congress we are, therefore, to look for the care and solicitude they had a right to expect from their common guardian. As the district of Vincennes, in the Indiana Territory, is brought into view by the petition of the trustees of the Vincennes University, it becomes the duty of the committee to ascertain whether the bounty of the General Government to that Territory has been sufficiently large. By an act of the 26th of March, 1804, making provision for the disposal of the public lands in the Indiana Territory, and for other purposes, a section of land, equal to 640 acres, in each township, is reserved for the support of public schools; and one entire township is set apart in each of the three districts into which that Territory is divided for the use of seminaries of learning. To the district of Vincennes is allotted one entire township, which contains twenty-three thousand and forty acres of land. The price of an acre is estimated at two dollars; and the value of the donation amounts fully to forty-six thousand and eighty dollars. On this statement the committee are willing to rest the claim of Congress to the gratitude of the citizens of that Territory and their posterity for the munificent allotments of land which have been made for the promotion of the sciences. The committee are constrained to notice the prayer of the petitioners. It is, that a law may be passed "laying a small tax on salt made at public works in that Territory, and also a tax on Indian traders, for the support of the Vincennes University, until the other seminaries are organized, and are in a situation to participate in the revenue raised and collected from those taxes." The committee will here take the liberty of observing, that, whenever the population of that Territory shall be so advanced and increased as to require seminaries of learning on the extensive scale of universities the liberal donations of the General Government will be found to be commensurate with the views of the petitioners and with the just and laudable intentions of the donor. The reservation of the salt springs for future disposal in that Territory evidently points out the design of Congress, which was to furnish a necessary of life at a moderate price, by keeping and preserving the source of it from the monopoly of spectulators. The committee are not a little surprised that the enlightened policy of Congress should escape the notice and penetration of so intelligent and so respectable a body of men as the trustees of the University of Vincennes.

The committee, flatter themselves that the withholding of their assent from the prayer of the petition will be justified by that liberal mode of thinking which is inspired by the sciences, and by that true spirit of justice which equally and impartially regards the rights of all.

With deference to the House, they submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That, ample provision having already been made for the support of public schools and for seminaries of learning in the district of Vincennes, the prayer of the trustees of the University of Vincennes is unreasonable, and ought not be granted.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 27th Jany. 1808

Har. Pa. 212

SIR:

The Delaware Tribes have determined to remove the ensuing Spring from their present habitations to settle over on the west side of the Mississippi. Their particular destination is White River [Missouri] to which they say they have been invited by the Indians of that country. I can see no injury that will result to the United States from this removal; on the contrary it will leave vacant a fine tract of country immediately contiguous to the settled parts of the State of Ohio and the upper county of this territory which may in a short time be purchased. If however the President's view of this subject should be different from mine I will upon receiving your instructions endeavour to stop their emigration which will probably take place in the latter part of March and the beginning of April next.

I have the honor to be with great respect
Sir your humble servant

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. HENRY DEARBORN Esq. *Secy. of War*

JEFFERSON TO HARRISON

WASHINGTON Jan. 30. 08

Jefferson Papers, 1st series, vol. 12, no. 381

DEAR SIR

I duly received your letter of Oct. 10. covering the resolutions of the French inhabitants of Vincennes, and had hoped that their uneasiness under your supposed want of confidence in them had subsided. but a letter lately received from their chairman, [Laurent Bazadone, Chm. Wm McIntosh is meant] covering another copy of the same resolutions induces me to answer them, in order to quiet all further uneasiness. I inclose you my answer, [January 30, below] open, for your perusal, and will thank you to seal and deliver it. I have expressed to them the opinion I have long entertained of the antient Canadian French, on a long course of information, & as it is favorable to them, I trust it will be soothing, and restore those good dispositions which will ease the execution of your duties, and tend to produce that union which the present crisis calls for.

Russia and Portugal have cut off all intercourse with England, their Ambassadors recalled, and war follows of course. Our difficulties with her are great; nor can it yet be seen how they will terminate. Accept my salutations & assurances of great respect & esteem.

TH:JEFFERSON

Governor HARRISON

JEFFERSON TO MCINTOSH

WASHINGTON Jan. 30. 08

Jefferson Papers, 1st series, vol. 12. no. 380

I received some days ago your letter of Dec. 15. covering a copy of the resolutions of the French inhabitants of Vincennes of Sep. 18. in answer to the address of Govr. Harrison, who had, in the month of October forwarded me a copy of the same. in his letter inclosing it he assured me that his address to them on the subject of our differences with England was merely monitory, putting them on their guard against insinuations from any agent of that country, who might find their way among them, and containing no expression, which if truly explained to them, should have conveyed the least doubt of his confidence in their fidelity to the United States. I had hoped therefore that the uneasiness expressed in their resolutions had been done away by subsequent explanations, as I have no reason to believe any such distrust existed in the governor's mind. I can assure them that he never expressed such a sentiment in any of his communications to me, but that whenever he has had occasion to speak of them, it has been in terms of entire approbation & attachment. in my own mind certainly no doubts of their fidelity have ever been excited or existed. having been the Governor of Virginia when Vincennes & the other French settlements of that quarter surrendered to the arms of that state, 28 years ago, I have had a particular knolege of their character as long perhaps as any person in the US, and in the various relations in which I have been placed with them by the several offices I have since held, that knolege has been kept up. and to their great honor I can say that I have ever considered them as sober, honest, and orderly citizens, submissive to the laws, and faithful to the nation of which they are a part: and should occasion arise of proving their fidelity in the cause of their country, I count on their aid with as perfect assurance as on that of any other part of the US. in return for this confidence, and as an additional proof on their part that it is not misplaced, I ask of them a return to a perfect good understanding with their governor, and to that respect for those in authority over them which has hitherto so honorably marked their character. as to myself they may be assured that my confidence in them is undiminished, and that nothing will be wanting on the part of the general government to secure them in the full participation of all the rights civil & religious which are enjoyed by their fellow citizens in the union at large. I beg leave through you to salute them as well as yourself with affection & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

MCINTOSH, WM.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 18th Feby. 1808

Har. Pa. 214

SIR:

From everything that I see and hear it appears that the disposition of the Indians in this vicinity is as friendly towards the United States as it every has been. I have however no faith in the pacific declarations of those in the neighborhood of the lakes. If they do not take up the hatchet in the event of a war with Great Britain fear not love will restrain them. And this is the opinion of all the well informed chiefs in this quarter. Should they meditate hostilities you may depend on it that they will not throw off the mask until they are ready to strike. The professions of no Indians are to be relied upon implicitly but the Potawatimis, Ottawas and Chippewas who reside in the neighborhood of Detroit are the most perfideous of their race. They have been so long used to play a double game between our agents and those of the British that they are perfect in the arts of deception. I have also very strong suspicions that the Sacs are not friendly to us. A few weeks ago a party of 8 or 10 passed through the Delaware towns on White River, a mission to the Shawnee Prophet. In a conversation with the chief of the village they declared it to be the intention of their tribe to support the prophet against all his enemies.

Mr. Wells informs me that there is a very unusual assemblage of Potawatomies in the vicinity of Fort Wayne. He thinks their intentions perfectly pacific and that their only object is to get an occasional supply of provisions of which he says they are in great want. I have directed him to keep a watchful eye over them and to send me two or three of the chiefs whom I have designated that I may endeavour to discover what their designs really are.

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir Your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. HENRY DEARBOURN Esq. *Secy. of War*

[Endorsement]

Posted at Jeffersonville Feb. 20; Rec'd March 7. Relative to the disposition of the Indians in that vicinity and on the Lakes.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

Jeffersonville Feby. 20. [1808]

Sir: Your Excellencies letter of the 18th ult. has been received All prudent measures ought to be pursued to counteract the management of our neighbours but we ought not to shew any improper anxiety for cultivating peace with those Indians who may have hostile views, the principal chiefs ought to be told in strong terms that their future existence must in a great measure depend on their own conduct in case of war. I wish you could find sufficient leisure to visit Ft. Wayne for the purpose of ascertaining the real objects and views of Wells as well as the Indians at Greenville &c. I fear that Wells is too attentive to pecuniary considerations.[1]

CLAUS TO GORE

AMHERSTBURG 27th Feby. 1808

Mich. Pioneer & Hist. Col. XV, 44

[Lieut. Gov. FRANCIS GORE][1]

SIR,

The Messenger sent out to the Glaize [on the Maumee] on the 10th Instant, is not yet returned, I am much at a loss to account for his delay, he was desired to proceed to that place and see Mr. Fisher, who your Excellency has appointed an Interpreter, and to desire him to come in immediately & to bring the Shawanese Chiefs with him, and also the Prophet, the message was verbal, no writing was trusted with him for fear of accidents; the only way that I can account for his delay, is that there may be some difficulty in persuading the Prophet (Lau-be-was-i-kaw) also (Els-qua-a-tawa) to come in.

On the 24th instant I had a long conference with Guyash, a Chief of the Chippewa Nation, a tried soldier & trusty man, after a good deal of conversation he told me, that on his way here he called on the Governor [William Hull] at Detroit and asked him for news, the Govr. told him he had received letters from Washington, and said that the English and Americans were getting nearer to each other and that he expected they were now one people, and that as soon as he heard any news he would let him know it, the conversation with Governor Hull took place last Saturday the 20th Instant. I then came to the point and asked him his opinion if there should be any disturbance between Great Britain & America, he said there were three Nations that spoke the same Language, the Ottawas Potawatamies and Chippewas that he heard that they had spoke often on that subject among themselves, and expected that they would be called on by the King if a War took place between the two countries, but that they must sit quiet; he continued & said, if the whole of the Nations were to talk together, that may not be the case, I told him that I hoped his idea of his friends would prove true if required, for that the King their Father had always shown a great regard for them & spared no expence to make them comfortable & that he would most certainly keep his eyes looking towards them.

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[1] This letter, evidently in answer to that of Harrison, Feb. 18, has neither signature nor date. It appears to be a mere memorandum on the back of the Harrison letter for the direction of the clerk in answering Harrison. It must have been written as late as March 7 when the Harrison letter was received at Washington.

[1] Francis Gore had been superintendent of Indian affairs since 1796. He was stationed at that time on the Niagara frontier.

Two days ago I had a private meeting with the little King, an Ottawa Chief, from L'Arbre Croche, [on Little Traverse bay] and after talking some time I asked him the same question that I did Guyash (what was his opinion of the Indians if a disturbance took place between Great Britain & America?) his reply was, the ground is smooth yet, I pressd it again & his answer was, you will know if it happens. Your Excellency knowns how cautious Indians are in general in giving their opinion, particularly on so delicate a matter, but from the manner in which he spoke it is easily to be understood that he considers the Indians decidedly opposed to the Americans. With the exception of the Hurouns, who are very few, those two are the only men on the ground that I would speak to in confidence the rest are a very indifferent set. The Little King's Band, present, only 11 men, are very respectable Indians & appear to be most completely under his control.

The season for boiling Sugar is now arrived & the whole are pressing me very hard to return to their sugar Bush and to give them clothing as they have been kept here the whole winter, which has prevented them from hunting; I do not see how it is possible to keep them here without a very great expence indeed; I am obliged to give them this day, what presents remain in store, & if I was to detain them Just now, they would look for payment for the loss of the sugar season, and make a claim on Government for bread, from a pretence of losing the opportunity of preparing the ground for their corn, I shall use every endeavor in my power to detain some of the young men, those with families will go and it is more than probable that they will not return before the latter end of April or May.

I cannot discover that the American Government have had any public or private meeting with the Indians, except the one of the 4th Novr last, with Governor Hull for the purpose of making a purchase of land which has caused much dissatisfaction among the several Nations between this Post & Lake Michigan, in my opinion it will not be settled without the loss of some lives.

I cannot close my letter without expressing my thanks to Your Excellency for Captain [Matthew] Elliott's assistance, which I have found of great use on several occasions.

with much respect I have the honor to be Your Excellencies most obedient and most humble Servant

W. CLAUS[2] *D. S. G.*

CLAUS TO SELBY

[Lieut PRIDEAU SELBY *Asst. Sec. Indian Affairs* York]

AMHERSTBURG 25th March 1808

Mich. Pioneer & Hist. Col. XV, 45

SIR,

The indisposition of Captain Johnny the Shawanese chief prevented me from seeing him on business untill this day, he still continues very ill, but his people being anxious to return hom, induced me to go to their quarter & I there spoke to him on the situation of public affairs.

I cannot find out that any communication has been made to any of the Indian Nations by the American Government respecting the difference between Great Britain and America.

The enclosed is what was said to Capt. Johnny in the pressence of Blackbear and the Buffaloe, Capt Elliot was present & I was obliged to employ James Girty[1] as my Interpreter as I had done on former occasions Fisher not having yet arrived.

I am rather disappointed at not hearing from you, particularly as you promised me that once a week at least you would send, I have been here seven weeks & not one message yet, I have wrote twise officially to the Governor & twice to you,

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[2] William Claus was in general charge of Indian affairs of Upper Canada. His field reached down the Mississippi to St. Louis.

[1] James Girty was a Pittsburg trader at the beginning of the Revolution. He with his brothers George and Simon joined the British. He owned a farm near Amherstburg.

Butterfield, *The Girtys*, index

probably I have erred in writing to the Governor instead of its going through, which enduces me now to transmit the enclosed to you, that you may lay the same before His Excellency.

No doubt but His Excellency must see some necessity for my stay here, or I should have received directions to return before now. The number of Indians victualed now amounts to 259 men, women, & children, & many of them go off tomorrow the Shawnese also.

I am Sir Your most obedt. Huml. sert.

W. CLAUS *D. S. G.*

REPORT ON DIVISION OF INDIANA TERRITORY

April 11, 1808

Am. Sta. Pa. Misc. I, 922

That the petitioners[1] state many inconveniences, hardships, and privations, as well as the discouragement of emigration into their country, under which they labor, in consequence of a connexion which they call unnatural, between the two very distant settlements, whose country, by the compact between the United States and the State of Virginia, is ordained to constitute two separate and distinct States.

Among the disadvantages, they state that the inhabitants of their two large and populous counties are subject to be called from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and fifty miles through a wilderness (which, for want of wood and living water, must long remain dreary and difficult to pass through) to attend as suitors, witnesses, &c., as the general court, which is held at Vincennes, has cognizance of every matter in controversy exceeding the value of fifty dollars.

They state, also, that the country, wich is to constitute the Eastern State, having three-fifths of the representation in the Territorial Legislature, with all the officers for the administration of the Territorial Government, appointed by the President of the United States, they who live in the country which is to constitute the Western State, are oppressed with taxes, the avails thereof are expended in the country which is to form the Eastern State, and at the discretion of those over whom they can have no control. They pray for a dissolution of this connexion, and the establishment of a new Territorial Government consisting of the country, which, by the compact, is designated for the Western State, as it is marked out on the map of the United States.

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[1] These petitions, from Randolph and St. Clair counties, were presented April 6, 1808, by Nathaniel Lyons, and referred to the following committee: Nathaniel Lyons of Ky., Benjamin Parke of Ind., Francis Gardner of N. H., Killian K. van Rensselaer of N. Y., William Hoge of Penn., Adam Boyd of N. J. and Josiah Dean of Mass. The report is given in the *Annals* (H. R.) Apr. 11, 1808, but not the petitions.

The committee, however, considering the press of important business which must occupy the attention of the National Legislature, during the short time proposed for the continuance of the session, the unpromising aspect of our fiscal concerns, and particularly the impolicy of increasing the number of Territorial Governments without its being manifestly necessary, are of opinion that it is inexpedient, at this time to grant the prayer of the petitioners.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

JEFFERSONVILLE (Falls of Ohio) 14th April 1808

Har. Pa. 216

SIR:

I left Vincennes a few days ago and the day before my departune a young man from the Delawares Towns came to inform me that a Potawatime Indian had arrived at the Towns with a speech from the British in which they were informed that they (The British) were upon the point of commencing hostilities against the United States and requesting the Delawares to join them. The latter gave a flat refusal and declared their determination to adhere to the United States. I am endeavouring to make the friendly Tribes enter into an association to oblige the others to keep the peace. Unless we have a law which will prevent white persons from going into and residing in the Indian country we will have it filled with British agents, who will constantly counteract us.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir, Your humble servt

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. HENRY DEARBORN Esqr. *Secty. of War*

CLAUS TO SELBY

[Lieut PRIDEAU SELBY]

AMHERSTBURG 3rd May, 1808

Mich. Pioneer & Hist. Col. XV, 49

SIR,

Mr. Fisher, whose receipts to the 25th March last I now enclose, arrived here on the 22d ulto. he brings nothing new with him but what I have mentioned on a former occasion—the Language of the American Govt. to the Indians, to sit quiet in case of hostilities.

There is little doubt in my mind of the weight it has with them, owing to the very weak state of this country, it makes them extremely cautious. The Prophet has moved to the Wabashe with his people, nearly eighty men. he expects a visit from thirty different nations from the Southward and Westward of the Mississippi. I recd. a message from him through Fisher assuring me of his friendship, I find the cause of his not coming in when I sent for him with the Shawanese Chiefs, was owing to a little jealously between him and those chiefs. I understand that Mr. McDonald has left a packet for me at Mr. Dalsons which he brought from York, I have sent over for it.

Everything appears perfectly quiet among the Indians.

Your obedt. Sert.

W. CLAUS, S. W. G.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 19th May 1808

Har. Pa. 218

SIR:

The Shawnese imposter [The Prophet] has acquired such an ascendency over the minds of the Indians that there can be little doubt of their pursuing any course which he may dictate to them, and that his views are decidedly hostile to the United States is but too evident. I had a very considerable confidence in the Delawares and Miamis to resist his designs, but a late circumstance has convinced me that altho they may not be converted to his divine mission they are under the greatest apprehensions of his temporal power. (The Prophet has selected a spot on the upper part of the Wabash [Tippecanoe] for his future and permanent residence and had engaged a considerable number of Potawatimies, Ottawas, Chippewas and other northern Indians to settle there under his auspices.) This circumstance so alarmed the Miamis and Delawares that they resolved to defeat the measure at any risk and the Chiefs of the latter set out to inform him of their determination. The Prophet would not however deign them an interview but dispatched his brother to meet them whose threats or whose persuasions were sufficient to drive back the chiefs with some indications of apprehension and terror. From the latest information it appears also that the Delawares were in a state of considerable alarm. Altho the council of their chiefs had but a short time ago directed the warriors to prevent the Prophet from approaching the Wabash.

I have lately conversed with an intelligent man who passed (a few weeks ago) through some of the villages of the Potawatimies that are under the Prophet's influence. He says that they are constantly engaged in what they term religious duties. But that their prayers are always succeeded by or intermixed with warlike sports, shooting with the bow, throwing the tomahawk or wielding the war club. This combination of Religious and warlike exercise and the choice of weapons of their own manufacture sufficiently indicates the designs of their author.

I most sincerely wish the President would think himself authorized to have him seized and conveyed to the interior of the United States until the present appearance of war is removed.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect Sir your Humble Servant

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honorable HENRY DEARBORN *Secretary at War*

THE PROPHET TO HARRISON

June 24th 1808

Har. Pa. 219-225

My Father The paper which I now deliver to you is the speech you sent to us by [John] Connor; [Sept. 5, 1807] when it was delivered we were surprised to find that we had been so much misrepresented. The chief, the prophet had sent us to speak to you in his name.

My Father. It never was my intention to lift up my hand against the Americans; on the contrary we had determined to follow the advice of the great Spirit, who has told us that our former conduct is not right; that we ought to live in peace upon the land he has given us. This is our positive determination and we are resolved not to listen any longer to bad advice.

My Father you have always told us to let you know what is done amongst us and I now inform you that I sent you word by Connor, that we were shortly to move to the Wabash, we have lately done this and I now send some of my chiefs to visit you and to inform that the bad reports you have heard of me are all false and beg you not to believe them.

My Father. As a proof of our sincerity we have brought our women and children to reside near you. I am now very much engaged in making my new settlement but as soon as it is completed I will pay you a visit and hope to remove every bad impression you have received against me.

Father I hope what I now say will be engraven on your heart. It is my determination to obey the voice of great spirit and live in peace with you and your people. I do not mean to do anything to risk the safety of our children, but on the contrary to multiply them as much as possible. This is what the Great Spirit has told us repeatedly. We are all made by him, although we differ a little in colour. We are all his children and should live in peace and friendship with each other.

Father. Believe what I say, it is the truth. The Great Spirit has told us not to lie you must know that I did not make my own Head and Tongue, they were made by the Great Spirit and that I cannot lie without offending him.

Father. In consequence of our removal we are in great distress. We hope that you will assist our women and children with a little corn. We are now planting and hope to have a plenty when it is ripe.

Speech of the Shawnees PROPHET to Govr. HARRISON

HARRISON TO THE PROPHET

My Children. I have listened to the speech you brought to me from the Shawnee chief or prophet and now return you my answer, to which I request you to pay particular attention that you may truly repeat it to him. It is true that I have heard a very bad report of you, not only the white people in your country but many of the Tribes your neighbours have taken up very unfavorable opinions of your intentions. It is believed by them that you are endeavouring to alienate the minds of the Indians, from their great Father, the President of the 17 fires, and once more to bring them under the influence of the British and I must confess that I have myself given credit to this report. But the solemn assurance which you now give me that you have no other object but that of making your people happy and live in peace with all mankind have in a great measure removed my prejudices and if your subsequent conduct agrees with your present professions you may rest satisfied that you will continue to enjoy the lavor and protection of the 17 fires. Very different however will be your lot if you permit yourselves to be seduced by the British agents. By those enemies to your repose and happiness who have as often deceived you and led you into difficulties and dangers. You need only to recollect their conduct to you during the last war [Wayne's Campaign] in which you were engaged with the 17 fires to know the manner in which you will be treated should you again open your ears to their council.

It was by their persuasions that you took up the tomahawk but they abandoned you as soon as distress came upon you and left you to the mercy of those very enemies whom you had provoked and, angered to gratify their revenge and malice. How different has been the conduct of the chief of the 17 fires towards you. Like a true Father he watches over your happiness and gives you the same advice that you say you have received from the great spirit that is to have pity on your women and children and live in peace with all mankind. War he detests and never engages in it, but in his own defence nor will he ever condescend to ask assistance of his children confident in his own strength and knowing the calamity which war always brings on those who engage in it without sufficient cause, he is desirous that his children should remain at peace in their cabbins If any of the nations which reside beyond the great lake waters should provoke him to war he is sufficiently able to punish them. He wants the aid of no power on earth and relies on his own strength and the favor of the great spirit who always takes the side of the injured.

Your Father the president will be much pleased when he hears your determination to consider his protection and to shut your ears against the bad talks of the people on the other side of the great lakes and I shall take care to express to him my belief in your sincerity. But I must candidly inform you that it is his positive determination in any case of the Tribes who became his children at The Treaty of Greenville should lift up the Tomahawk against him that he will never again make peace as long as there is one of that Tribe on this side of the Lakes. He gives them their free choice either to live by his side in peace and happiness and receive from him every necessary aid for providing a comfortable and certain subsistance for their women and children or all the calamities which the number and strength of his warriors would enable him to inflict I do not say this with an intention to insult you. I know that the Shawnees and other Tribes which have joined you are brave warriors but the long knives are not less brave and you know their numbers are as the blades of grass or the grains of sand on the river shore. Be wise then and show the people who are endeavouring to seduce you that you have sense enough to distinguish the path that leads to happiness from that which would conduct you to certain misery and ruin.

With respect to your religious opinions they shall never be the cause of dissention and difference between us. The mild religion which we possess will not permit us to use any other means than argument and reason to induce others to adopt our opinions and it is an inviolable rule with the 17 fires to permit every man to worship the great spirit in the manner he may think best. I shall say nothing upon the subject of your settlement on the Wabash, as that country is the property of the Miamies, we do not wish to interfere with you.

The bearer of the prophet's speech then addressing Governor Harrison said:

Father. When I return to my village with your answer every woman and child will rejoice to find that you are still their friend.

(Upon being questioned by the Governor as to the religious opinions and pretentions of the chief or Prophet he said)

"I have now listened to that man upwards of three years and have never heard him give any but good advice. He tells us that we must pray to the great spirit who made the world and everything in it for our use. He tells us that no man could make the Trees and the plants and the animals but that they must be made by the great spirit to whom we ought to pray and obey in all things. He tells us not to lie to steal or to drink whiskey not to go to war but to live in peace with all mankind. He tells us also to work and make corn. (The Governor having offered him some hoes and a plough he said) Father you can give us nothing that will be acceptable to us, we are now not ashamed to work and make corn for our women and children.

PROCLAMATION: ELECTION

July 6, 1808

Executive Journal, 19

The President of the United States having appointed George Fisher of Randolph County, and Shadrach Bond Jr. of St. Clair County, Esquires, Members of the Legislative Council, and they having signified to the Governor their intention of resigning their seats in the House of Representatives of this Territory: The Governor, Pursuant to a Law of the Territory, Issued a writ of election directed to the Sheriffs of the said County, Commanding and Authorizing them to hold an Election in their respective Counties, on Monday the twenty-fifth instant, for the Purpose of Electing a member in each of said Counties to serve in the House of Representatives for the residue of the time for which the said George Fisher and Shadrach Bond Jr. were elected to serve.[1]

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES July 12th 1808

Har. Pa. 226, 227

SIR:

I have lately received a deputation from the Shawnese prophet with a very pacific and concilitary speech [June 24, above] a copy of which with my answer [June 24, above] is herewith enclosed. The bearer of this message complained most bitterly of the misrepresentations which have been circulated relative to the prophet's views and his disposition towards us. He is shortly to visit me and I shall take the opportunity to endeavour to develop his character and intentions nor do I think it at all impossible to make him an useful instrument in effecting a radical and salutary change in the manners and habits of the Indians. He has already gained two very important points towards the accomplishment of this desirable object. His followers drink no whiskey and are no longer ashamed to cultivate the earth. [See August 1, below]

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[1] This election was held July 25. Rice Jones, son of John Rice Jones, was elected from Randolph county and John Messinger, a son-in-law of the famous Nathaniel Lyons, from St. Clair.

Altho I have not received any instructions from the president directly or from your Department I have in consequence of an application from Governor [Meriwether] Lewis [Missouri] (and under the belief that he had been instructed on the subject) informed the several tribes in this territory who have heretofore been inimical to the Osages that the United States would no longer protect that tribe and would oppose no obstacle to any hostile enterprises which might be undertaken against them. This intimation has been joyfully received and I have reason to believe that the Osages will be attacked in the Fall by a force that they will not be able to resist.

I have the honor to be very respectly Sir, your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. H. DEARBORN Esq. *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO JEFFERSON

VINCENNES 16th July 1808

Jefferson Papers, 2d series, vol. 42, no. 93

DEAR SIR

The petitions herewith enclosed were put into my hands a few days ago with a request that I would forward them to you. The person [John Rice Jones][1] who is the subject of them is really one of the most abandoned men I ever knew. You will no doubt be surprised at this declaration when you recollect that he holds his appointment as a member of the Legislative Council by my recommendation. This is indeed a circumstance of Infinite Mortification to me & I can only comfort myself with the reflection that I was imposed on, in common with many others who ought to have known him better. The truth is, that he conducted himself with so much art that nineteen twentieths of the people of this County had designated him for the Council. His talents are unquestionable—And he had taken so decided a part in favor of the second Government altho one of the largest landholders in the Territory, & altho a professed Federalist had manifested so much Moderation that it appeared to me that he could not with Justice be neglected in the arrangement of officers consequent upon the change of System. He has lately been Indicted by the Grand Jury of this County for receiving Bribes in two instances when he acted as Attorney General to dismiss prosecutions which he had commenced on the part of the Territory. I have enclosed a statement of the case made by the present Atty. Genl. Mr [Thomas] Randolph.[2]

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[1] John Rice Jones was born in Wales, Feb. 10, 1759. He was a college graduate in England; came to Philadelphia 1780 and opened a law office; came to Vincennes in 1787; to Kaskaskia in 1790; spoke French fluently; returned to Vincennes in 1802; revised territorial laws in 1807; to St. Louis in 1810; in lead business with Moses Petosi; in Con. convention of Mo. 1819 and became a supreme court justice of Mo.; died in office in 1824. He and Harrison were warm friends but parted when Jones became interested in land speculation.

Reynolds, *Pioneer Illinois 170*

I trust my dear Sir that you entertain such an opinion of my Candor & attachment to you as to believe that I would not willingly be the means of inducing you to commit am improper act. But I do most sincerely think that the removal of Jones from his seat in the Council would be attended with highly salutary consequences to the United States as well as to the Territory.

We shall have a number of Candidates for the appointment of Delegate to Congress. The devisions which the parties will take are, those for & those who are opposed to the Devision of the Territory & those who favor the admission of Negroes & those who are against it. I have some expectation that Mr Thos. Randolph from Virga whom I have appointed to succeed Mr [Benjamin] Parke as Atty. General will also succeed him as Deligate & I am certain that nothing will prevent it but the short time he has been in the Territory.

Until a few months ago I have believed that Davis Floyd was no farther engaged in Burrs Conspiracy than he acknowledged to have been in the Statement he made after his return & which was forwarded by me to the Secretary of State in the Spring of 1807. I have lately however discovered that besides the circumstances mentioned by Mr [George] Poindexter [of Mississippi Ter.] in his Testimony on Burrs Trial—He knew that there was a Connection between the latter & the British Government. He now acknowledges that Burr told him that he was to receive a large sum of money from the British Minister—

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[2] Thomas Randolph became attorney general June 2, 1808; was born in Va. 1771; graduated from William and Mary, a member of the famous Randolph family. He and Harrison were warm friends. He served as attorney general till his death on the battle field of Tippecanoe, Nov. 7, 1811. He, Col White and Jo. Daviess were great masonic friends and all were buried together. Esarey, *Courts and Lawyers*, index

I am Dear Sir with the sincerest Respect and Attachment
your Hume Servt.

July 17th WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

P. S. I have enclosed a copy of a letter [not found] from John R. Jones to a citizen of this Town written to day but by mistake dated the 17 June it needs no comment— His infamous offer to induce me to suppress the petitions which to his own knowledge contain the sentiments of nine tenths of the people of the county was treated with the contempt it meritted.

W. H. H.

[Addressed:] THOMAS JEFFERSON *President of the United States*

[Indorsed:]

Harrison Wm. Henry Vincennes July 10, 08; recd Aug. 18

[Enclosed in preceding letter]

We whose names are hereunto affixed most respectfully represent to the President of the United States, that in our opinions, it would be highly proper to remove John Rice Jones from his appointment as a member of the Legislative Council of the Indiana Territory. His whole conduct since his appointment to that office, having manifested a total absence of moral & Political virtue & a most rancorous enmity, both to the administration of the General Government & that of the Territory.

WILLM HENRY HARRISON
JNO GIBSON
GEORGE WALLACE JR [son-in-law of Gibson]
WALLER TAYLOR[3]

[3] Waller Taylor was born in Lunenberg Co. Va., about 1785 and died there August 26, 1826. He came to Vincennes in 1804; territorial judge 1806; chancellor 1808; major

Having seen a statement made by Henry Hunt, [Hurst] under date of the 17th Inst. relative to the conduct of John R. Jones, and reposing implicit confidence in it, I believe Jones unworthy of holding a seat in the Legislature of the Territory—Vincennes 19th July 1808.[4]

R. [B.] PARKE

PROPHET TO HARRISON

August (1) 1808

Dawson, *Harrison, 108*

FATHER:

It is three years since I first began with that system of religion which I now practise. The white people and some of the Indians were against me; but I had no other intention but to introduce among the Indians, those good principles of religion which the white people profess. I was spoken badly of by the white people, who reproached me with misleading the Indians; but I defy them to say that I did anything amiss.

Father, I was told that you intended to hang me. When I heard this, I intended to remember it, and tell my father, when I went to see him and relate to him the truth. I heard, when I settled on the Wabash, that my father, the Governor had declared that all the land between Vincennes and Fort Wayne was the property of the Seventeen Fires. I also heard that you wanted to know, my father, whether I was God or man; and that you said, if I was the former, I should not steal horses. I heard this from Mr. Wells, but I believe it originated with himself. The Great Spirit told me to tell the Indians, that he had made them and the world—that he had placed them on it to do good, and not evil. I told all the red skins that the way they were in was not good, and that they ought to abandon it. That we ought to consider ourselves as one man, but we ought to live agreeable to our several customs, the red people after their mode and the white people after theirs; particularly, that they should not drink whiskey, that it was not made for them, but the white people, who alone know how to use it; and that it is the

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1807; aid to Harrison at Tippecanoe and during the War of 1812. In 1816 he became U. S. senator serving till 1825.

Ind. Mag. of Hist. Ix. 92

[4] As a result of this breeze Harrison revoked Floyd's license as a Falls pilot and his commission in the militia. Jones was not dismissed but he soon left the territory.

cause of all the mischiefs which the Indians suffer; and that they must always follow the directions of the Great Spirit and we must listen to him, as it was he that has made us.

Determine to listen to nothing that is bad. Do not take up the tomahawk, should it be offered by the British, or by the long knives. Do not meddle with anything that does not belong to you, but mind your own business, and cultivate the ground, that your women and your children may have enough to live on. I now inform you that it is our intention to live in peace with our father and his people for ever.

My father, I have informed you what we mean to do, and I call the Great Spirit to witness the truth of my declaration. The religion which I have established for the last three years, has been attended to by the different tribes of Indians in this part of the world. Those Indians were once different people; they are now but one; they are all determined to practice what I have communicated to them, that has come immediately from the Great Spirit through me.

Brother, I speak to you as a warrior. You are one. But let us lay aside this character, and attend to the care of our children, that they may live in comfort and peace. We desire that you will join us for the preservation of both red and white people. Formerly, when we lived in ignorance, we were foolish; but now, since we listen to the voice of the Great Spirit, we are happy.

I have listened to what you have said to us. You have promised to assist us. I now request you, in behalf of all the red people, to use your exertions to prevent the sale of liquor to us. We are all well pleased to hear you say that you will endeavor to promote our happiness. We give you every assurance that we will follow the dictates of the Great Spirit.

We are all well pleased with the attention that you have showed us; also with the good intentions of our father, the president. If you give us a few articles, such as needles, flints, hoes, powder, etc. etc. we will take the animals that afford us meat with powder and ball.[1]

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[1] The former deputation visited Harrison at Vincennes in July. In August the Prophet with his congregation came to Vincennes and spent over two weeks in the vicinity. It seems he held services daily and preached vigorously to his proselytes. Harrison had many conversations with him and their diplomacy seems to have been well-matched. See Harrison to Sec. of War Sept. 1, below.

Dawson, *Harrison,* 107

HOFFMAN AND ABBOTT TO HARRISON

Michilimackinac August 15, 1808
Har. Pa. 231-233

SIR:

Painful necessity obliges us to announce to you that John Campbell, Esq. late Indian agent at La Prairie du Chiene is no more. On Friday last he and a Mr. Redford Crawford, one of the Macinac Company met on an island near British St. Joseph's to settle an affair of honor which unhappily eventuated in the death of Mr. Campbell.

This information is communicated as much from an eye to the interest of our government as in compliance with his wish expressed before he left this island and reiterated on his death bed. He also requested us in case the affair alluded to should terminate unfortunately for him that we would solicit a Mr. [Julien] Du Bugne[1] at the Lead mines twenty leagues below the Wisconsin on the Mississippi to discharge the duties of Indian Agent in his stead until the Government shall appoint another. And likewise observed that he knew no man better qualified for this office of Indian agent for that country than Mr. DuB. and that it was his fervent wish for the interest of the United States Mr. DuBugne should receive that appointment.

We shall immediately write to Mr. DuBugne on the subject.

Mr. Campbell expired on the night of the 13th inst.

With great esteem, Sir your obt. servt.

G. HOFFMAN (Col. D. Mc)[2]
SAML. ABBOTT *Asst. Judge Dell C.*[3]

His Excellency Gov. HARRISON, Vincennes

P. S. It is believed proper to inform you also that the Indian traders from this country have none of them obtained licenses. Mr. Campbell notified the Macinac Company of his authority on that subject and offered licences free of expence. The Company refused and neglected applying, alledging that they deemed it unnecessary to have licenses when they held a clearance from the Collector of their district altho' informed that his Clearance evidenced the payment of duties only and authorized merely the transportation of their merchandise to the spot therein mentioned.

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[1] For an account of Julien Dubuque see Cole, *History of Iowa, 66;* Gue, *History of Iowa index*

[2] George Hoffman, collector of customs at Macinac was born in Va. 1783; postmaster at Detroit 1805; sent to Macinac 1806; son in law of Peter Audrain. Died Mar. 2, 1810. Burton, *Hist. Collections, 290*

[3] Samuel Abbott, his assistant, was a member of the Abbott family of Detroit.

They had no particular objection to taking licenses but were entirely averse to entering the requisite Bonds. The article explanatory of Jay's of the treaty of Greenville is relied on by them for a justification of their neglect of conduct.

G. HOFFMAN
SAML. ABBOTT (Asst. Judge D. M. C.)

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 1st Sept. 1808
Har. Pa. 228, 229

SIR:

The celebrated Shawnese Prophet has just left me after a visit of more than two weeks. He is rather possessed of considerable talents and the art and address with which he manages the Indians is really astonishing. I was not able to ascertain whether he is, as I at first supposed, a tool of the British or not. His denial of being under any such influence was strong and apparently candid. He says that his sole purpose is to reclaim the Indians from the bad habits they have contracted and to cause them to live in Peace and friendship with all mankind and declares that he is particularly instructed to that effect by the great spirit. He frequently harangued his followers in my presence and the evils attendant upon war and the use of ardent spirit was his constant theme. I cannot say how successful he may be in persuading them to lay aside their passion for war but the experiment made to determine whether their refusal to drink whiskey proceeded from principle or was only empty profession, established the former beyond all doubt

Upon the whole Sir I am inclined to think that the influence which the Prophet has acquired will prove rather advantageous than otherwise to the United States. [See the Prophet's talk, Aug. 1, above]

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect Sir your Humble Servant.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. HENRY DEARBORN Esq. *Secy. of War*

DELAWARES TO HARRISON

WHITE RIVER, Sept. 9, 1808

Dawson, *Harrison, 110, 111*

FATHER—

Attend to the advice of your children, the head warriors of the Delaware nation, who reside along this river. We think it our duty to inform you (of) the business which we lately undertake (undertook) with regard of (to) the tomahawk. We have consult (consulted) with the head warriors of the Miamis, who seem afraid to take (up) the tomahawk, and would rather act as little children, only looking on their grandfathers. They are waiting till all the other nations take it up, then they must of course take it up too. The head warriros of (the) Potawatamies have sent word to us that they are preparing for (to) march against (the) Osages.

We have been carry (carrying) the tomahawk to the Shawanese and Wyandots, who (are) fond of war. They both took it up and would sharpened, (sharpen it) but could not started (start) this fall, and finally agreed to put it off till next spring; at which time the whole confederate nations will be ready to march, that we may cut off our enemy with one stroke.

The Wyandots undertake to send runners to notify (the) Chippewa, Ottawa, and the rest of the nations.

Father, our friend, the bearer, from beyond (the) Mississippi, will deliver this letter to you. We wish you to furnish him with provisions, powder and lead, and some clothing.

Father, one word yet. All our allies in this part of the country have jointly request (requested of) you this one thing—that is, we wish you to prohibit all your traders along the Mississippi from selling arms and ammunition to our common enemy, (the) Osages; for we have been inform (informed) that they have frequently come to those French traders, and beg for such articles, whereby they have been enabled to do more mischief; and if your traders should furnish them with such articles since we proclaim (proclaimed) war against that nation, it will, of course, as it were, strengthen our enemy, while we profess to be friends of the United States,; therefore we entreat you to listen, and consider what we have to say.[1]

TOMMAQUA BEAVER
WENAVAKHENON KILLBUCK
WOQUICKGUCKHOMMAN
PHKOAKHUG
In behalf of the rest

ANNUAL MESSAGE, SECOND SESSION, SECOND ASSEMBLY

September 27, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, October 1, 1808*

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

The appointment of our delegate to Congress [Benjamin Parke], to a seat on the supreme Judiciary bench of the Territory; has occasioned my calling you together at an earlier period than that which was assigned at the close of the last session. To accommodate the gentlemen who manage their own farms, I have barely allowed time for a deliberate choice of a person to represent you, and for his arrival at the seat of the national government by the time fixed for the meeting of Congress.

In my address at the opening of the last session, I requested your attention to certain subjects which appear to me to require legislative provision; and to such of them as have not been acted upon I reiterate my recommendation for an early notice. Amongst these the revenue and militia laws (from their superior importance) deserve a very particular and critical examination.

That the former is inadequate to its object is evident from the emptiness of the treasury. Nor is there the least reason to doubt that this proceeds from the mode of collection rather than the height of the tax, or inability of the people to pay it. It is believed that the adoption of the system which has for many years been successfully used in the neighboring states would remove every difficulty, and place our revenue beyond the reach of those accidents and contingencies which have hitherto embarrassed it.

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[1] This letter was written for the Indians by some trader, very probably John Connor. The words in parenthesis were supplied by Dawson.

The militia, at all times a subject of importance, is peculiarly so at the present crisis, uncertain as we are at what moment its services may be necessary. Constituting as it does the principal defence of our rights and sovereignty, no labor or expense can be misapplied which has a tendency to perfect its organization and dicipline. Amongst the defects of the present law, I have particularly noticed its want of coercion to produce the returns and reports which it directs to be made. The regularity of these constitute the most essential feature of a military body; and until they are properly understood and attended to, no great progress can be made in any other part of the military art. I would recommend a certain and severe punishment to such officers, particularly of the higher grades, as shall neglect this important duty.

As far as my own observation and information extends, it appears that there exists a very general (and I believe just) complaint, against the height of the taxes collected under the denomination of county levies. The tax on cattle and work horses is peculiarly objectionable, as it subjects the poor to an unequal share of the public burdens. The milk of neat cattle forming the principal food of the poorer classes of our fellow citizens, it appears to me that a tax upon the animal that produces it is quite as improper as a tax on any other article of general necessity. Two modes of remedying the evil present themselves to your consideration: by abolishing altogether some of those claims by which the county treasuries are exhausted, or by transferring others to the general territorial fund. It appears to me that both these plans may be adopted with propriety. Upon examining the county treasurers' accomts, it will appear that a considerable sum is yearly appropriated in each county to compensate the surveyors of the roads. The opening of roads is certainly a matter of considerable consequence; but as this is always done by the labor of each individual citizen, and not by contract, I could never learn what public advantage has ever resulted from surveying them. The law as it stands, however, makes it the duty of courts to have it done. If there were no other reason for compensating the judges of the courts of common pleas out of the Territorial treasury, the great inequality of the counties in wealth and population would be a sufficient one; but when it is recollected that the proposed change would greatly relieve the poor without oppressing the rich, that it would take the burden from the shoulders of the man who has nothing and add a mite only to the contributions of the wealthy—in a word that it might render unnecessary the poll tax on indigent young men, on work horses, and oxen, and on the food which nourishes that part of the rising generation which is to constitute the strength and defence of our country—the measure would appear to combine justice with policy.

The frequent occurence of horse stealing along the southeastern boundary of the Territory makes an enquiry into the competency of the law upon that subject worthy your attention. This nefarious practice is said to have produced great distress and inconvenience to some of our citizens, by depriving them of the means of cultivation at the most critical season of the year. Could we command the funds necessary for the support of that humane institution [penitentiary] which is in use in several of the States, the object of which is by a course of moderate labor and solitary confinement to restrain the vicious and restore them to habits of industry and usefulness, I should be amongst the first to advocate its adoption. As this is not, however, within our means, we must postpone the accomplishment of our wishes on this subject to the period when the increased wealth and population of our Territory will justify the measure. In the meantime it is our duty to protect the property of our fellow citizens by providing adequate punishment for the repeated depredations that are complained of and which it appears our present laws are insufficient to restrain.

If the proceedings of the court of Chancery, gentlemen, have until lately been slow and dilatory, it ought to be attributed to its true cause—the want of compensation to its officers. It cannot be supposed that they will give their time and talents to the public, and perform the laborious duties required of them, without remuneration. With respect to the usefulness of the court, and the propriety of its being continued, my own opinion is fixed and decided. If ever there was a country where a court of Chancery was necessary, ours is the one; because in no other (as I believe) has there ever been so much valuable property transferred without the observance of the legal forms of conveyance, or where the evasion of the specific performance of contracts would produce so much confusion, injustice, and ruin. It is not many years since a bare assignment of title to lands upon a bit of paper, without any of those peculiar phrases which our laws require in the transfer of real property, was deemed both by the buyer and seller a sufficient conveyance. Indeed, there have been instances where the delivery of possession has been considered and accepted as sufficient evidence of purchase. To enforce the observance of *bona fide* contracts made in this manner it is believed a court of Chancery is alone competent; nor is it by any means that loose and fluctuating tribunal which some have considered it, where will and not law presides, and where the arbitrary opinion of the judge is the only rule of decision. It is, on the contrary, bound down by rules and laws as well defined, and as well understood, as those of any other court; and as it compels the specific performance of contracts, and enables contending parties reciprocally to avail themselves of facts which might otherwise be forever buried in the bosoms of their opponents, it is peculiarly calculated to protect the simple and ignorant against the artful and designing.

It gives me great pleasure to inform you, gentlemen, that there is every prospect of a continuance of that harmony and good understanding with our Indian neighbors which is so mutually beneficial and which it has been my constant endeavor to preserve. I pronounce with confidence that at no anterior period have our relations with the neighboring tribes been placed upon a better footing, or on one which gives such just cause of exultation to the friends of that wise, humane, and beneficent policy which has been adopted by our government, and which forms so singular an exception to the treatment of savages by those who are called civilized. We can challenge the world to produce a similar instance of a great and powerful nation respecting on all occasions the rights of its weaker neighbors, and acquiring by fair, equal, and reciprocally advantageous treaties that extension of territory which other nations have been accustomed to seize by violence. A course of conduct so different from that which they have experienced from other civilized powers has at length produced amongst the Indians a thorough conviction that their prosperity and happiness can only be secured by preserving inviolate their connections with the United States. And as all the wars which have arisen between ourselves and the aborigines are justly attributable to the prevalence of foreign influence amongst the latter, we may fairly calculate that our

Indian frontier will be free from those alarms and apprehensions which have had so much effect in retarding its settlement.

The laws of Congress for the disposal of the public lands in the Territory having directed a section to be reserved in each township for the support of schools, it may be proper, Gentlemen, at the present session, to make some provision for securing this precious deposit from depredation, and putting it in a state of progressive improvement.

With these observations, gentlemen, which relate to subjects connected with your immediate duty, I might leave you to your deliberations; but on an occasion of this kind, addressing a respectable and organized body of my fellow citizens, it is impossible that I should not recollect, and recollecting that I should pass unnoticed, the critical and unprecedented situation of our national affairs.

It is true that in this infant state of our political existence we have no voice in the councils of the nation, but we are nevertheless Americans; and as such feelingly alive to everything which can effect the interest of our common country. If a uniform course of justice, moderation, and forbearance towards the belligerent powers of Europe could have preserved to us a continuance of that peace which is so ardently desired by all classes of our fellow citizens, America might fairly calculate upon an exemption from those evils which are the inevitable consequences of war. Such however seems not to be our lot. The storm which has been so long lowering at a distance, and which has spread such havock and destruction over the fairest portion of the creation, has assumed a direction which menaces our peaceful and happy shores. If it is yet possible to divert this force without a prostration of national honor; if it is possible to procrastinate the appeal to arms even for a single day; such is the moderation of our government, and such its policy, that we may be certain at least of enjoying that day in peace. We shall "drain the cup of conciliation to the dregs", and not unsheath the sword until every expedient which the wisdom and experience of our rulers shall suggest shall have been tried in vain.

If some of these measures are attended with temporary distress and inconvenience, let it be remembered that the alternative was war. If by a voluntary act of our own we have abandoned the ocean to our rivals and cut off our trade with every part of the world, in the event of war nearly the same result would have been produced by the superior fleets of our enemies, if Britain was to be our antagonist, or by the influence of France upon the continent of Europe, if it should be our fate to contend with her. There is this essential difference, however, between the two cases. In the one the immense property which we had exposed upon the ocean would have been captured, and would have afforded our enemies additional means of annoying us. The embargo has preserved it to our own use, and our gallant seamen, instead of languishing in European dungeons, are safe, in their native harbors, waiting the signal which calls them to avenge their country's wrongs. Considered as a commercial regulation to countervail the iniquitous and arbitrary orders in council and decrees of the belligerents, the wisdom of the embargo is equally manifest. Like every other species of warfare, this commercial contest may prove injurious to both parties; but that it will injure our antagonist most is evident from the very nature of our former intercourse. For our provisions and raw materials for their manufactures, hemp and tar for their navies, we receive in return either articles of luxury, or such as with little exertion we can make for ourselves. Possessing within her own bosom all the comforts, conveniencies, and many of the luxuries of life, America should be as independent of foreign labor as she is of foreign government. Like the country of Confucius, she might form a world to herself. From Europe we have nothing to learn that is worth the least risk to acquire. Her sciences and arts have long been transplanted amongst us, and the vigor of their growth proclaims them already naturalized. The adoption of her manners could add nothing to our happiness, and being inconsistent with the simplicity of republicanism might gradually undermine the fair fabrick of our government. And who can tell but that a wise and beneficent Providence might have ordained the present suspension of intercourse to wean us from the contaminating influence of foreign manners and opinions, that we might transmit our republican institutions in a pure and unsullied stream to the latest generations?

Until the present crisis, no circumstance has occured since the formation of our constitution which made it necessary for the government to adopt any rigorous measure, or to restrain the people in the enjoyment of all those blessings which a state of peace and prosperity afforded. The embargo law is, however, of this description; and the enemies of our government have expressed the fondest hopes that the impatience of the people, under the deprivations it occasions, would compel a repeal of it before it could produce the effects its authors had intended. An event of this kind would be deplorable indeed, nor would its pernicious consequences be confined to the present age and generation. The most specious objection which has been urged against republican governments is the want of consistency and the necessary energy in times of difficulty and danger. If America should abandon the ground she has taken on account of any trivial inconveniences which a suspension of foreign commerce produces, what exultation would it occasion to the advocates of monarchy and aristocracy, and what endless humiliation to the friends of republicanism! But I cannot believe it possible that the same people who, in a seven-years war, encountered with heroic fortitude all the calamities and hardships which an enemy superior in everything but valor could inflict, have become so fond of the luxuries and gewgaws of Europe as to submit to the humiliating conditions which are at present annexed to their enjoyment.

However foreign this subject may be to your official duties, gentlemen, you may nevertheless, as influential individuals, render essential service to your fellow citizens by inculcating amongst them the propriety of adapting their habits and directing their exertions to suit the present situation of the country, and to meet the crisis which seems to be approaching. Industry and economy, at all times republican virtues, are now peculiarly requisite, and every exertion should be made to encourage domestic arts and manufactures for the supply of those articles of indispensable utility which we have been accustomed to receive from abroad.

It may also be proper to impress upon the minds of your constituents that the Embargo is a measure of imperious necessity, and produced by circumstances which the government could neither controul nor qualify.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

SPECIAL MESSAGE ACKNOWLEDGING THE ANSWER OF THE LEGISLATURE TO HIS ANNUAL ADDRESS

October 6, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, January 21, 1809*

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Legislative Council:

I receive with great satisfaction the answer which you have now presented to my address to both houses at the opening of the session and you may rely upon my cordial co-operation in every measure which has a tendency to promote the interests of the territory.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON

SPECIAL MESSAGE: ABSENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

October 10, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, December 3, 1808*

To the House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory.

GENTLEMEN: The Legislative Council having requested me by a resolution passed this day to send for their absent members, Benjamin Chambers and Samuel Gwathmey[1] Esqs., I expect to be able in the course of a few days to give the House of Representatives some certain and definite information upon the subject of the enquiry made of me yesterday relative to the last named gentleman.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES Octr. 11th, 1808

Har. Pa. 230

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a communication [August 15, above] lately received from the collector [George Hoffman] of Michilamacanac and an associate judge [Samuel Abbott] of the Michigan Territory announcing the unfortunate fate of Mr. [John] Campbell our Indian agent at Pra du Chien who fell in a duel with one of the British Macanac Company on the 12th of August.

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[1] Samuel Gwathmey, a nephew of George Rogers Clark, laid off the town of Jeffersonville in 1802 and was for many years one of its most prominent citizens. He died there in 1850.

English, *Conquest of the Northwest, 997*
Baird, *Clark County*

The insolence of these foreigners is really intolerable. They have now a great number of traders in the Indian country who have no licences and who put our laws at defiance and it appears from the schedule of their goods entered at Macanac and transmitted to me by the collector that Ardent Spirits forms no small part of the cargoes of some of them.

There is little doubt but Mr. Campbell fell a sacrifice to his zeal in the discharge of his duty. I know nothing of the Mr. Dobac [Julien Dubuque] whom he recommends as his successor.

I have the honor to be very respectfully Yr. Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. HENRY DEARBORN *Esq. Secy. of War*

THOMAS TO JEFFERSON

VINCENNES IND. TERRY. 12 Oct. 1808

Har. Pa. 425-427

SIR:

I have the honor of transmitting you the enclosed Resolutions and nominations agreeably to the request of the House of Representatives of this Territory.

I have the honor to be Sir your most obt.

JESSE B. THOMAS

The President of the United States

Indiana Territory House of Representatives October 1808

Whereas by a law of the Territory it is declared that no person shall be elegable to a seat in either branch of the Legislature who holds a commission during pleasure directly under the United States or this Territory, and whereas upon examination of Robert A. Nue[1] and Jonathan Jenings[2] being first sworn, it appears to this House that Samuel Guathmey a member of the Legislative Council has accepted and now exercises the office of Register of the Land Office for the district of Jeffersonville whereby his seat has become vacated.

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[1] Robert A. New was an early resident of Jeffersonville. Along with Floyd he helped Burr procure supplies and recruits. He had charge of a boat. In 1816 he became the first secretary of state serving till 1825. Esarey, *Indiana,* index

[2] Jonathan Jennings was perhaps a Virginian, born about 1784. His father was an itinerant Presbyterian preacher. While a child he was taken to Penn. He spent some time in college but his education was meager. He came to Jeffersonville in 1806; to Vincennes in 1807 and plunged into politics. From 1808 his political activities never ceased, as delegate to Cong., governor and congressman almost till his death. His ability was mediocre, except as a political politician where he was unsurpassed. A. R. Blythe, *Mss. Biography of Jennings*

Resolved therefore that this House in pursuance of the ordinance do now proceed to nominate Two persons to be returned to the President of the United States, in order that he may appoint one of them to fill the place of the said Samuel Guathmey in the Legislative Council, and that the Speaker be and is hereby directed to transmit the same to the President together with this resolution.

Whereas Samuel Gwathmey, Srgt. as a Member of the Legislative Council of this Territory did (as has satisfactorily appeared to this House) in the month of August last, resign his seat as such member, and did (as was done in the case of Shadrach Bond, Senior, a Member of the Legislative Council from the County of St. Clair) transmit by the hand of the Honble. Waller Taylor to the Governor of this Territory (from whom he had received his Commission as such Councillor by directions of the President of the United States) his resignation.

And *Whereas,* this House, on the ninth day of its present session (being the fourth day of October instant) entered into the following Resolution

Resolved that a Committee be appointed on the part of this House to wait on the Governor of this Territory and request information whether Samuel Gwathmey, Esquire, has resigned his seat as a member of the Legislative Council in order that this House may proceed to the nomination of fit persons to the President of the United States to fill the said vacancy—and that Messrs. [G. W.] Johnston and [John] Messenger be that Committee. The Committee named therein, in virtue thereof waited upon the Governor, on the day of the passage thereof who returned them for answer "That he would answer the request of the House of Representatives in writing" and upon the following day being the fifth instant, he, by his Secretary Genl. [John] Gibson made this House the following answer "To the House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory, Gentlemen, the Legislative Council having requested me by a Resolution passed this day to send for their absent members, B. Chambers and Saml. Gwathmey, Esquires, I expect to be able in the course of a few days to give the House of Representatives some certain and definitive information upon the subject of the enquiry made of me yesterday relative to the last mentioned gentleman" which answer this House immediately proceeded to consider of, and not conceiving the same either satisfactory or sufficient they entered into the following Resolutions *Whereas,* by a law of the Territory, it is declared that no person shall be eligible to a seat in either Branch of the Legislature who holds a Commission during pleasure directly under the United States or this, Territory; and whereas upon examination of Robert A. New and Jonathan Jennings, being first sworn, it appears to this House that Samuel Gwathmey a Member of the Legislative Council has accepted and now exercises the office of Register of the Land Office for the District of Jeffersonville, whereby his seat has become vacated; resolved therefore, that this House in pursuance of the Ordinance, do now proceed to nominate two persons to be returned to the President of the United States in order that he may appoint one of them to fill the place of the said Samuel Gwathmey in the Legislative Council, and that the Speaker be and he is hereby directed to transmit the same to the President by the ensuing mail together with this Resolution (which this House conceived itself authorized to do from the Revised Laws of the Territory page 241 being "A Law to regulate Elections in the 13th section whereof it is thus provided "No Sheriff, under Sheriff, Clerk of any Court or person holding a Commission during pleasure directly under the States or this Territory except the Justices of the Peace and Militia Officers shall be eligible to a seat in either Branches of the Legislature") and the said nomination took place accordingly, when Hugh McCalley and Charles Beggs were duly nominated as will appear by the nomination accompanying this Resolve:

And *Whereas* the Legislative Council, without being officially informed of the above nomination have (from what cause this House will not express, but which the world easily can and the President of the United States may conjecture) entered into the following resolution—

Whereas the Legislative Council have been informed that the House of Representatives have proceeded to the nomination of two persons to be submitted to the President of the United States to fill the seat of Samuel Gwathney Esquire a Member of this House and have undertaken to examine witnesses at their Bar to shew that the said Samuel Gwathmey has forfeited his right to a seat in the Council in consequence of his having accepted another commission under the President of the United States, an enquiry which according to all the laws usages and customs which prevail throughout the United States, properly and exclusively belongs to this Council.

SPECIAL MESSAGE: RESIGNATION OF SAMUEL GWATHMEY

October 14, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, December 10, 1808*

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I have it now in my power to give you decisive information on the subject of Mr. Samuel Gwathmey's resignation of his seat in the Legislative Council.

Previous to the meeting of the Legislature I received from Mr. Gwathmey a letter requesting me to communicate to the President of the United States his resignation of his appointment as councillor, but when the session was opened, finding that but three members of the Council attended and hearing that there was a probability that one of them would vacate his seat, either by resignation or by his election to the office of delegate to Congress, I returned Mr. Gwathmey his letter of resignation and strongly urged the propriety of his taking his seat for a week or two, to prevent a dissolution of the Legislature for the want of a competent number of members in the Council. He has, however, declined doing so, and wishes me to notify you that he considers himself no longer a member of the Council.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

HARRISON TO JEFFERSON

VINCENNES, 18th Octr. 1808

Jefferson Papers, 6th series, vol. XIII, no. 291

DEAR SIR

The term for which General Gibson was last appointed expires in the Course of next month— He is far from being a very expert Secretary, but he is a very honest man which is much better & I am persuaded that his reappointment would be acceptable to a great majority of the people, it would be entirely so to[1]

Dear Sir Your Sincerely devoted Hume Servt

WILLM H HARRISON

The President of the United States

recd Nov. 10

SPECIAL MESSAGE MILITIA

October 20, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, December 24, 1808*

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives

At the opening of the present session I recommended to the two houses to take the militia law into their serious consideration for the purpose of amending such parts of it as were susceptible of improvement. I now reiterate my request on that subject. From the critical examination which I have lately given the law, it appears to be more defective than I first supposed. It appears that the commander-in-chief is only authorized by that law to call the militia into actual service when there is an actual or threatened invasion. There are a thousand exigencies which may require a part of the militia to be called out other than that of an invasion, and in every State of the Union the executive is invested with this power. It may indeed be supposed that the right is inherent in the commission of commander-in-chief. However this may be, it is evident that without the aid of the laws he cannot enforce his orders nor compel the obedience of the privates. But the most serious difficulty arises from the want of a provision by law for the pay and subsistence of those who are called into service. Men may serve for a short time without pay, but it is impossible that they can do duty without provisions. I must therefore recommend to the two houses to take the subject into their consideration, and adopt such measures in the premises as may appear to them proper and just. And I also recommend to them the claim of the companies of militia of this county

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[1] Gen. John Gibson was nominated by John Adams May 14, 1800; renominated by Jefferson Nov. 12, 1804; renominated by Jefferson Nov. 11, 1808; renominated by Madison Nov. 9, 1812.

Executive Journal United States index

which I have lately ordered out for the protection of the jail. [Guarding murderers of John Coffman] The justice of allowing them subsistence or an equivalent for it must be sufficiently manifest.[1]

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

SPECIAL MESSAGE, REVENUE

October 20, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, December 24, 1808*

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives:

Since my report made to the last session of the expenditure ordered by me out of the contingent fund, I have drawn for the following sums, viz:

In favor of John Johnston Esq.,[1] for prosecuting Abigal Rough[2] for murder, 40 dols.

To Elihu Stout,[3] for printing proclamation, etc., 6 dols.

To Gen. W. Johnston,[4] for Postage of letters, etc., from the secretary's and auditor's offices, 5 dols., 93 cents.

To Benjamin Coffman, for going to Kentucky as the agent of this Territory to receive [William] Walker, [John] Fisher, and [Adam] Barger, fugitives from justice,[5] and for his trouble and expenses [in] endeavoring to apprehend them, 35 dols. Total, 86 dols., 93 cents.

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[1] Harrison had had considerable experience with militia, thoroughly believed in them, and never lost an opportunity to urge the country to universal military training. In this connection read his letter to Governor Charles Scott of Kentucky.

[1] John Johnson was a Kentuckian, place and time of birth unknown. He was at Vincennes as early as 1804, taking an active part in the election of that year. In 1805 he was in the legislature, in 1806 he helped John Rice Jones revise the laws; in 1809 he was a candidate for congress; in 1816 he represented Knox county in the Con. convention. He was appointed to the supreme bench in 1816 but died Sept. 17, 1817 before doing any important work.

Esarey, *Courts and Lawyers, 184*

[2] Abigail Rough was on trial for the murder of an infant child.

[3] Elihu Stout was born in Newark, N. J. A printer by trade. He came west and worked for a number of years with the Brandfords at Frankfort, Ky. on the *Gazette.* From there he went to Nashville where he made the acquaintance of Jackson. July 4, 1804, he issued the first paper in Indiana the *Gazette.* From then till his death April 1860, he was one of the best known citizens of Vincennes.

Esarey, *Newspapers of Ind. Mss.*

[4] General Washington Johnson was born in Culpepper Co. Va., came to Vincennes in 1783; said to have been the first lawyer in Indiana. He was twice circuit judge and often in the legislature. Died Oct. 26, 1833 at Vincennes.

Esarey, *Courts and Lawyers, 66*

[5] "July 6, 1808 the governor having received information that a certain John Coffman of the county of Knox was shot and murdered by William Walker, John Fisher and Adam Berger (and others unknown) citizens of Ky. and that they had returned to that state he wrote to the governor of that state and demanded of him

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

SPECIAL MESSAGE CONCERNING FUGITIVE CRIMINALS

October 24, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, December 31, 1808*

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council

I transmit for the information of the two Houses an extract of a letter from the late Governor of Kentucky,[1] upon a subject highly interesting to the citizens of this Territory. Having read and considered the same, I must request the Council to transmit the extract, together with this message, to the House of Representatives.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

[EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE LATE GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY]

I also take this oportunity to acquaint you that on meeting with frequent interruptions (while I was in office) in apprehending fugitives from justice, I submitted a late case respecting [John] Coffman to the Federal Judge, who returned for answer that the act of Congress is unconstitutional, the powers therein given do not extend to Territorial Governments, grounding opinion on Judge Marshall's decision in Col. Burr's case. I have submitted this opinion to Governor [Charles] Scott for him to forward to Congress, and give you the information for your reflection thereon.

A true extract from the original.

JOHN GIBSON, *Secretary.*

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that the said persons be delivered up to Jacob Coffman whom he had appointed for that purpose."

Ex. Journal, 19

October 29, following, Abraham Hiley or Haley was convicted of this murder and sentenced to be hanged Nov. 2. The noose was twice placed about his neck but he was finally pardoned.

Knox County (1886) 175

[1] Christopher Greenup, the retiring governor of Kentucky, was a Revolutionary soldier, a representative from Ky. in Congress 1792-1797. Governor of Ky. 1804-1808. Died at Frankfort Apr. 24, 1818.

SPECIAL MESSAGE VETOING A BILL ESTABLISHING JUDICIAL SYSTEM

October 24, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, February 4, 1809*

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council:

I have received and duly considered the bill which originated in the Council, entitled "An act establishing district courts and a high court of errors and appeals." I sincerely lament the necessity which compels me to withhold my consent to it under its present form, because the general principles and provisions of the bill are such as I most cordially approve and have on several occasions recommended to the two houses. My objections are entirely confined to the third and ninth sections.

By the former the clerks of the several courts of common pleas are *ex officio* clerks of the district courts in their respective counties, where the emoluments of each are not sufficient to induce a properly qualified person to undertake the discharge of them. But in several of the counties it is probable that either of them [Clerkships] would be an object to a man of business; at least the executive should be possessed of power to divide them if he thinks proper to do so. This section also declares that the executive shall remove the clerk of any court upon the application of the court to which he is clerk. I cannot consent that a single judge, or any number of judges, shall have the right to direct the executive in any matter which is purely of an executive nature.

My objections to the ninth section of the bill is that it is in contradiction to a law of Congress which declares that any one judge of the Territory shall have authority to hold any court in the said Territory, the others being absent; but this section disqualifies a judge from holding two courts successively in the same county.[1]

WILLIAM H. HARRISON

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[1] For a discussion of these early courts see Esarey, *Courts and Lawyers*, Ch. 2

SPECIAL MESSAGE VETOING A BILL CONCERNING ATTORNEY GENERAL

October 25, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, January 14, 1809*

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

I cannot give my consent to the bill which originated in your house, entitled "An act concerning the Attorney General, and for other purposes," because it violates the ordinance [of 1787] which declares that the appointment of all officers is vested in the Governor of the Territory. Were it indeed otherwise, I should consider it highly improper that the officer who prosecutes the pleas of the United States should derive his appointment from any other source than the United States, or their servant and agent, the Governor for the time being.[1]

WILLIAM H. HARRISON

SPECIAL MESSAGE: RESIGNATION OF GWATHMEY

October 25, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, February 11, 1809*

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council

I have inadvertently neglected to communicate to the Council that Saml. Gwathmey resigned his seat in their body, that I have communicated the same to the House of Representatives and shall by the next mail communicate it to the President. As Mr. Gwathmey's resignation was made known to me before I had an opportunity of transmitting to the President the resolutions which I some time since received from the Council for that purpose, I did not think it was necessary to transmit them at all.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

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[1] There was some party spirit shown in this affair. The anti-slavery party controlled the Assembly and also favored a division of the Territory. The governor was opposed to the latter movement especially. When Benjamin Parke became territorial judge Thomas Randolph, a Virginian of the famous Randolph family and a warm personal friend of Harrison, was appointed, June 2, 1808, attorney general and it was his office the Assembly attempted to get control of. Randolph, the brilliant young descendant of Pocahontas was killed by the Indians at Tippecanoe.

SPECIAL MESSAGE TAX ON HORSES

October 26, 1808

Vincennes *Western Sun, January 14, 1809*

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives

I have received the bill which you have passed, entitled "An act to alter and repeal certain parts of an act entitled an act to regulate county levies," and I have approved and signed it with pleasure. The abolishing the tax on neat cattle and on young men[1] will afford some relief to the poor and to the farming interest. But I must again most strongly recommend to the two houses to take off or at least lessen the tax upon work horses. If the other objects of county levy are not sufficient to meet the county expenses, some of those expenses, the compensation to the judges of the common pleas for instance, might with propriety be transfered to the Territorial treasury. The average price of all the horses which are to be found in any county will not, I am confident, exceed forty dollars, and for that forty dollars of capital fifty cents per annum is exacted, whilst a capital of one hundred dollars in land pays only twenty cents to the Territory and five cents to the counties. The tax on horses in the State of Kentucky is fixed, as I am told, at nine cents. Let us imitate this wise example of our neighbors, and relieve the poorer class of our fellow citizens from the intolerable burden that oppresses them.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 9th Nov. 1808

Har. Pa. 234

Sir:

The part of the Shawnese Tribe which is attached to the Prophet having removed last summer to the Wabash and being almost in a starving condition applied to me for relief. This I did not think it proper to afford them to the extent required but as the annuities for their tribe have been generally engrossed by the Black Hoof[1] band I offered to advance them provisions to the amount of one hundred dollars to be deducted out of their next years annuity. this offer was accepted and the provisions furnished by Mr. [George] Wallace to the amount of $102 for which sum I have this day drawn on you to be paid as soon as the money for the next year's annuities shall be appropriated.

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[1] "And every able bodied single man of the age of twenty one years and upwards, who shall not have taxable property to the amount of $200, a sum not exceeding one dollar, nor less than fifty cents." *Laws of Indiana Territory,* 1807. (John Rice Jones *Revision*) 374

I have the honor to be with the highest consideration Dear Sir

Your humble servant

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. The Secretary of War

JEFFERSON TO HARRISON

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1808

Dawson, *Harrison*, 111

SIR,

By the treaty of 1803, we obtained, from the Kaskaskias, the country as far as the ridge dividing the waters of the Kaskaskia from those of the Illinois river. By the treaty of 1804, with the Sacks and Foxes, they ceded to us from the Illinois to the Ouisconsin. Between these two cessions is a gore of country, to wit, between the Illinois river and Kaskaskia line, which I understand to have belonged to the Peorias, and that that tribe is now extinct. If both these facts be true, we succeed to their title by our being proprietors paramount of the whole country.

In this case, it is interesting to settle our boundary with our next neighbors, the Kickapoos. Where their western boundary is I know not; but they cannot come lower down the Illinois river than the Illinois lake, on which stood the old Peoria fort, and perhaps not so low. The Kickapoos are bounded to the S. E. I presume, by the ridge between the waters of the Illinois and Wabash, to which the Miamis claim; and N. E. by the Potawatamies. Of course it is with the Kickapoos alone we have to settle a boundary. I would therefore recommend to you to take measures for doing this. You will, of course, first endeavor, with all possible caution, to furnish yourself with the best evidence to be had of the real location of the S. W. boundary of the Kickapoos, and then endeavor to bring them to an acknowledgment of it, formally, by a treaty of limits, if it be nothing more; the ordinary presents are all that will be necessary; but if they cede a part of their own country, then a price proportioned will be proper. In a letter to you of Feb. 27, 1803, I mentioned that I had heard there was still one Peoria man living, and that a compensation, making him easy for life, should be given him, and his conveyance of the country by a regular deed be obtained. If there be such a man living, I think this should still be done. The ascertaining the line between the Kickapoos and us is now of importance, because it will close our possessions on the hither bank of the Mississippi, from the Ohio to the Ouisconsin, and give us a broad margin to prevent the British from approaching that river, on which, under color of their treaty, they would be glad to hover, that they might smuggle themselves and their merchandize into Louisiana.—Their treaty can only operate on the country so long as it is Indian; and in proportion as it becomes ours exclusively, their ground is narrowed. It makes it easier, too, for us to adopt, on this side of the Mississippi, a policy we are beginning on the other side—that of permitting no traders, either ours or theirs, to go to the Indian towns, but oblige them all to settle and be stationary at our factories, where we can have their conduct under our observation and control. However, our first object must be to blockade them from the Mississippi; and to this I ask the favor of your attention, and salute you with great friendship and respect.

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[1] Black Hoof was a well known chief of a Shawnee village. His name Cutthewekasaw is signed to the Greenville treaty of 1795; to the treaty of 1803; 1805; and to the second treaty of Greenville, 1814. He was born in Florida, and remembered his tribe moving from there to Pennsylvania and Ohio. He was prominent in the fight against Braddock in 1755, and was in all the Indian wars with the Americans in the Northwest to the close of the last century, until the treaty of Greenville in 1795. Up to that time he had been the bitter enemy of the white man; afterward he remained faithful to that treaty. Tecumtha tried to seduce him, but failed, and by his influence he kept a greater portion of his tribe from joining the British in the War of 1812. He became the ally of the United States, but bodily infirmity kept him from active service. In the instance of his friendship just mentioned, he simply brought his people to camp, and left younger chiefs to conduct them in the campaign.

Lossing, *War of 1812*, 64

THOMAS JEFFERSON

GOVERNOR HARRISON

House Report Dividing Indiana Territory

December 31, 1808

Am. Sta. Pa. Misc. I, 945

Mr. Jesse B. Thomas,[1] from the committee to whom was referred the resolution to inquire into the expediency of dividing the Indiana Territory, made the following report:

That, by the fifth article of the ordinance of Congress [1787] for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, it is stipulated that there shall be formed in the said Territory, not less than three, nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of session and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit:

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[1] Jesse Burgess Thomas, a descendant of Lord Baltimore, was born in Hagerstown, Md., in 1777; moved west in 1779; studied law with his brother, Richard Symmes Thomas, in Bracken county, Ky., where he was married—his wife dying within a year after marriage. On the organization of Dearborn Co., Indiana territory, March 7, 1803, he located at Lawrenceburgh as a practising attorney, and was elected, Jan. 3, 1805, to represent that county in the legislature which convened at Vincennes, Feb. 1, by proclamation of Gov. Wm. H. Harrison, to choose members of the legislative council; from the ten names thus selected congress appointed five; again, on proclamation of the governor, the legislature assembled at Vincennes, July 29, 1805, and at this, its first session, he was elected speaker, and Benj. Chambers of the same county, president of the council; he presided as speaker of the first and scond sessions of the General Assembly at Vincennes, from Sept. 26, 1805 to Oct. 24, 1808 three years and one month, when he was elected by the Assembly as delegate to the 10th congress, to succeed Benj. Parke, resigned, serving from Dec. 1, 1808, to March 3, 1809; was appointed and commissioned Aug. 24, 1805, by Gov. Harrison, a captain of militia of Dearborn county; during his legislative term, he married the widow of Maj. John Francis Hamtramck, and moved to Vincennes, residing there a short time; on the organization of the Illinois territory, March 7, 1809, President Madison appointed him one of its judges; he then moved to Kaskaskia, thence to Cahokia, and later to Edwardsville; in July, 1818, he was a delegate from St. Clair Co. to, and president of the convention that formed the constitution of Illinois and suggested its name; was elected by the first General Assembly of Illinois one of its first two United States senators, serving from Dec. 4, 1818 to March 3, 1828; in 1820, while in the senate he introduced the Missouri Compromise, was chairman of the committee of conference on this measure, and as adopted was his work, this he regarded as the most important act of his life; in 1824 he was a member of the caucus that nominated his friend, William H. Crawford, for president; in 1840, he took an active part in effecting the nomination of his old friend, Gen. Harrison, for president, and attended the convention held that year at Columbus, Ohio; in 1829, he assisted in the organization of St. Paul's Episcopal church of Mt. Vernon, Ohio, of which he was a consistent member, where he had moved at the close of his last term in the senate, and owned a large property; he was also one of the town proprietors of Brookville, Franklin Co., Ind. In stature, he was full six feet with a florid-brown complexion dark-hazel eyes, dark-brown (nearly black) hair, with a well developed muscular system, and weighed over two hundred pounds; was very particular in his personal appearance, and had the mode of a refined gentleman of the last century; was very considerate of the rights and feelings of others, and would not buy at a sheriff's sale. He died childless, at Mt. Vernon, O., leaving a large estate, May 4, 1853, aged 75 years. Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Ill, 401-2*

The Western State shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincennes, due north to the Territorial line between the United States and Canada, and by the said Territorial line to the lake of the woods and Mississippi.

The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash, from Post Vincennes, to the Ohio by the Ohio by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said Territorial line, and by the said Territorial line.

The Eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said Territorial line:

Provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said Territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever; and shall be at Liberty to form a permanent constitution and State Government:

Provided, the constitution and Government so to be formed shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

By the aforesaid article, it appears to your committee that the line fixed as the boundary of the States to be formed in the Indiana Territory, is unalterable, unless by common consent; that the line of demarcation which the Wabash affords between the eastern and western portions of said Territory, added to the wide extent of wilderness country which separates the population in each, constitute reasons in favor of a division, founded on the soundest policy, and conformable with the natural situation of the country. The vast distance from the settlements west of the Wabash to the present seat of Territorial Government, renders the administration of justice burdensome and expensive to them in the highest degree. The superior courts of the Territory are, by law, established at Vincennes, at which place suitors, residing in every part of the Territory, are compelled to attend with their witnesses, which to those who reside west of the Wabash amounts almost to a total denial of justice. The great difficulty of travelling through an extensive and loathsome wilderness, the want of food, and other necessary accommodations on the road, often presents an insurmountable barrier to the attendance of witnesses; and even when their attendance is obtained, the accumulated expense of prosecuting suits where the evidence is at so remote a distance, is a cause of much embarrassment to a due and impartial distribution of justice, and a proper execution of the laws for the redress of private wrongs.

In addition to the above considerations, your committee conceive that the scattered situation of the settlements over this extensive Territory cannot fail to enervate the powers of the Executive, and render it almost impossible to keep that part of the Government in order.

It further appears to your committee, that a division of the said Territory will become a matter of right under the aforesaid article of the ordinance, whenever the General Government shall establish therein a State Government; and the numerous inconveniences which would be removed by an immediate separation, would have a direct tendency to encourage and accelerate migration to each district, and thereby give additional strength and security to those outposts of the United States, exposed to the inroads of a savage neighbor, on whose friendly dispositions no permanent reliance can be placed.

Your committee have no certain data, on which to ascertain the number of inhabitants in each section of the Territory; but, from the most accurate information they are enabled to collect, it appears that west of the Wabash, there are about the number of eleven thousand, and east of said river, about the number of seventeen thousand, and that the population of each section is in a state of rapid increase.

Your committee, after maturely considering this subject, are of opinion that there exists but one objection to the establishment of a separate Territorial Government west of the river Wabash, and that objection is based on the additional expense which would, in consequence thereof, be incurred by the Government of the United States. But it is also worthy of observation, that the increased value of the public lands in each district, arising from the public institutions which would be permanently fixed in each, to comport with the convenience of the inhabitants, and the augmentation of emigrants all of whom must become immediate purchasers of these lands, would far exceed the amount of expenditure produced by the contemplated temporary Government.

And your committee, being convinced that it is the wish of a large majority of the citizens of the said Territory that a separation thereof should take place, deem it always just and wise policy to grant to every portion of the people of the Union that form of Government which is the object of their wishes, when not incompatible with the constitution of the United States, nor subversive of their allegiance to the national sovereignty.

Your committee, therefore, respectfully submit the following resolution:

Resolved: That it is expedient to divide the Indiana Territory, and to establish a separate Territorial Government west of the river Wabash, agreeably to the ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, passed on the 13th day of July, 1787.[2]

JEFFERSON TO HARRISON

WASHINGTON, December 31, 1808

Dawson, *Harrison, 112*

SIR,

The general government of the United States has considered it their duty and interest to extend their care and patronage over the Indian tribes within their limits, and to endeavor to render them friends, and, in time, perhaps, useful members of the nation. Perceiving the injurious effects produced by their inordinate use of spirituous liquors, they passed laws authorizing measures against the vending or distributing such liquors among them. Their introduction by traders was accordingly prohibited, and for some time was attended with the best effects. I am informed, however, that latterly the Indians have got into the practice of purchasing such liquors themselves, in the neighboring settlements of whites, and of carrying them into their towns, and that, in this way, our regulations, so salutary to them, are now defeated. I must, therefore, request your excellency to submit this matter to the consideration of your legislature. I persuade myself that, in addition to the moral inducements which will readily occur, they will find it not indifferent to their own interest to give us their aid in removing, for their neighbors, this great obstacle to their acquiring industrious habits, and attaching themselves to the regular and useful pursuits of life. For this purpose it is much desired that they should pass effectual laws to restrain their citizens from vending and distributing spirituous liquors to the Indians. I pray your excellency to accept the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

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[2] This committee was composed of Jesse B. Thomas, John Smilie of Penn., Burwell Bassett of Va., Samuel Taggart of Mass., and Thomas Kenan of N. C. Mr. Thomas appeared in Congress Nov. 18, 1808 as delegate to finish the term of Benjamin Park, resigned. This petition with several others was read that day and had doubtless been brought by Thomas, who was under promise to work for a separation. On his return he moved to Kaskaskia. Along with the report a bill was presented which became a law Feb. 3, 1809. The report is given in the *Annals*, for Dec. 31, 1808.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

JEFFERSON TO MIAMIES[1]

December, 1808

Dawson, *Harrison, 117*

To My Children, the Miamis, Potawatamies, Delawares, and Chippewas:

Some of you are old enough to remember, and the younger have heard from their fathers, that this country was formerly governed by the English. While they governed it, there were constant wars between the white and the red people. To such a height was the hatred of both parties carried, that they thought it no crime to kill one another in cold blood whenever they had an opportunity. This spirit led many of the Indians to take side against us in the war; and at the close of it, the English made peace for themselves, and left the Indians to get out of it as well as they could. It was not till twelve years after that we are able, by the treaty of Greenville, to close our wars with all our red neighbors. From that moment, my children, the policy of this country towards you, has been entirely changed. General Washington, our first President, began a line of just and friendly conduct towards you. Mr. Adams, the second, continued it; and from the moment I came into the administration, I have looked upon you with the same good will as my own fellow citizens, have considered your interests as our interests, and peace and friendship as a blessing to us all. Seeing, with sincere regret, that your people were wasting away, believing that this proceeded from your frequent wars, and the destructive use of spirituous liquors, and the scanty supplies of food, I have inculcated peace with all your neighbors, have endeavored to prevent the introduction of spiritous liquors among you, and have pressed on you to rely for food on the culture of the earth more than on hunting. On the contrary, my children, the English persuade you to hunt. They supply you with spirituous liquors, and are now endeavoring to engage you to join them in the war against us, should a war take place. You possess reason, my children, as we do, and you will judge for yourselves which of us advise you as friends. The course they advise, has worn you down to your present numbers; but temperance, peace, and agriculture, will raise you up to what your forefathers were, will prepare you to possess property, to wish to live under regular laws, to join us in our government, to mix with us in society, and your blood and ours united, will spread again over the great island.

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[1] Toward the close of October 1808 the governors of the several states and territories were ordered to organize and equip the militia to the number of 100,000. At the same time a movement was begun to pacify the Indians. Leading chiefs were summoned to Washington that the aged Jefferson might address them before he retired from the presidency. These addresses were made to the northwestern Indians.

Dawson, *Harrison, 113*

My children, this is the last time I shall speak to you as your father; it is the last counsel I have to give. I am now too old to watch over the extensive concerns of the seventeen states and their territories. I have, therefore, requested my fellow citizens to permit me to retire to live with my family, to choose another chief and another father for you, and in a short time I shall retire, and resign into his hands the care of your and our concerns. Be assured, my children, he will have the same friendly disposition towards you which I have had, and that you will find in him a true and affectionate father. Entertain, therefore, no uneasiness on account of this change, for there will be no change as to you. Indeed, my children, this is now the disposition towards you of all our people. They look upon you as brethren, born in the same land, and having the same interests. In your journey to this place, you have seen many of them. I am certain they have received you as brothers, and been ready to show you every kindness. You will see the same on the road by which you will return; and were you to pass from north to south, or east to west, in any part of the United States, you would find yourselves always among friends. Tell this, therefore, to your people on your return home. Assure them that no change will ever take place in our dispositions towards them. Deliver to them my adieus, and my prayers to the Great Spirit for their happiness. Tell them, that during my administration, I have held their hand fast in mine, that I will put it into the hand of their new father, who will hold it as I have done.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

JEFFERSON TO DELAWARES

December, 1808

Dawson, *Harrison*, 113-115

My Son, the Beaver,[1] the Head Warrior of the Delawares,

I am glad to see you here, and to take you by the hand. I am the friend of your nation, and sincerely wish them well. I shall now speak to them as their friend, and advise them for their good. I have read your speech to the secretary at war, and considered it maturely. You therein say that, after the conclusion of the treaty at Greenville, the Wapanahies, and other tribes of Indians, mutually agreed to maintain peace among themselves and with the United States. This, my son, was wise, and I entirely approve of it. And I equally commend you for what you further say, that yours and the other tribes have constantly maintained the articles of peace with us, and have ceased to listen to bad advice. I hope, my son, you will continue in this good line of conduct, and I assure you that the United States will forever religiously observe the treaty on their part; not only because they have agreed to it, but because they esteem you. They wish you well, and would endeavor to promote your welfare, even if there were no treaty; and, rejoicing that you have ceased to listen to bad advice, they hope you will listen to that which is good.

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[1] Signed Tomaguee to the treaty of 1804 and Punchlmck to that of 1817, if it is the same person.

My Son, you say that the Osage nation has refused to be at peace with your nation or any others. That they have refused the offers of peace and extended their aggressions to all people. This is all new to me. I never heard of an Osage coming to war on this side of the Mississippi. Have they attacked your towns, killed your people, or destroyed your game? Tell me in what year they did this, or what is the agression they have committed on yours and the other tribes on this side the Mississippi. But if they have defended themselves and their country, when your tribes have gone over to destroy them, they have only done what brave men ought to do, and what just men ought never to have forced them to do. Your having committed one wrong on them gives you no right to commit a second; and be assured, my son, that the Almighty Spirit which is above, will not look down with indifference on your going to war against his children on the other side of the Mississippi, who have never come to attack you. He is their father as well as your father, and he did not make the Osages to be destroyed by you. I tell you that if you make war unjustly on the Osages, he will punish your nation for it. He will send upon your nation famine, sickness, or the tomahawk of a stronger nation, who will cut you off from the land. Consider this thing, then, well, before you strike; his hand is uplifted over your heads and his stroke will follow yours.

My son, I tell you these things because I wish your nation well. I wish them to become a peaceable, happy, and prosperous nation. And if this war against the Osages concerned yourselves alone, I would confine myself to giving you advice, and leave it to yourselves to profit by it.—But this war deeply concerns the United States. Between you and the Osages is a country of many hundred miles extent belonging to the

United States. Between you, also, is the Mississippi, the river of peace. On this river are floating the boats, the people, and all the produce of the western states of the union. This commerce must not be exposed to the alarm of war parties crossing the river, nor must a path of blood be made across our country. What we say to you, my son, we say also to the Osages. We tell them that armed bands of warriors, entering on the lands or waters of the United States, without our consent, are the enemies of the United States. If, therefore, considerations of your own welfare are not sufficient to restrain you from this unauthorized war, let me warn you on the part of the United States to respect their rights, not to violate their territory.

You request, my son, to be informed of our warfares, that you may be enabled to inform your nation on your return. We are yet at peace, and shall continue so, if the injustice of other nations will permit us. The war beyond the water is universal; we wish to keep it out of our island; but should we go to war, we wish our red children to take no part in it. We are able to fight our own battles; and we know that our red children cannot afford to spill their blood in our quarrels. Therefore, we do not ask it, but wish them to remain at home in quiet, taking care of themselves and their families. You complain that the white people in your neighborhood, have stolen a number of your horses. My son, the secretary at war will take measures for enquiring into the truth of this; and if it so appears, justice shall be done you.

The two swords you ask shall be given to you; and we shall be happy to give you every other proof that we esteem you personally, my son; and shall always be ready to do anything which may advance your comfort and happiness. I hope you will deliver to your nation the words I have spoken to you, and assure them that, in everything which can promote their welfare and prosperity, they shall ever find me their true and faithful friend and father—that I hold them fast by the hand of friendship, which I hope they will not force me to let go.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

JEFFERSON TO DELAWARES

December 1808

Dawson, *Harrison, 115-117*

My Son, Captain HENDRICK, and my Children, the Delawares, Mohiccons, and Munsies

I am glad to see you here, to receive your salutations, and to return them, by taking you by the hand, and renewing to you the assurances of my friendship. I learn, with pleasure, that the Miamis and Potawatamies have given you some of their lands on the White River to live on, and that you propose to gather there your scattered tribes and to dwell on it all your days.

The picture which you have drawn, my son, of the increase of our numbers, and the decrease of yours, is just; the causes are very plain, and the remedy depends on yourselves alone. You have lived by hunting the deer and buffalo; as these have been driven westward, you have sold out on the sea board, and moved westwardly in pursuit of them. As they became scarce there, your food has failed you; you have been a part of every year without food, except the roots and other unwholesome things you could find in the forests. Scanty and unwholesome food produce diseases and death among your children, and hence you have raised fur, and your numbers have decreased. Frequent wars, too, and the abuse of spirituous liquors have assisted in lessening your numbers. The whites, on the other hand, are in the habit of cultivating the earth, of raising stocks of cattle, hogs, and other domestic animals in much greater numbers than they could kill of deer and buffalo; having always a plenty of food and clothing, they raise abundance of children; they double their numbers every twenty years. The new swarm are continually advancing upon the country like flocks of pigeons, and so they will continue to do. Now, my children, if we wanted to diminish our numbers, we could give up the culture of the earth, pursue the deer and buffalo, and be always at war. This would soon reduce us to be as few as your are; and if you wish to increase your numbers, you must give up the deer and buffalo, live in peace, and cultivate the earth. You see, then, my children, that it depends on yourselves alone, to become a numerous and great people. Let me entreat you, therefore, on the lands now given you, to begin to give every man a farm; let him enclose it, cultivate it, build a warm house on it, and when he dies let it belong to his wife and children after him. Nothing is so easy as to learn to cultivate the earth; all your women understand it; and to make it easier, we are always ready to teach you how to make ploughs, hoes, and other necessary utensils. If the men will take the labor of the earth from the women, they will learn to spin and weave, and to clothe their families. In this way you will also raise many children. You will double your numbers every twenty years, and soon fill the land your friends have given you; and your children will never be tempted to sell the spot on which they have been born, raised, have labored, and called their own. When once you have property, you will want laws and magistrates to protect your property and persons, and to punish those among you who commit crimes. You will find that our laws are good for this purpose. You will wish to live under them; you will unite yourselves with us, join in our great councils, and form one people with us, and we shall all be Americans. You will mix with us by marriage. Your blood will run in our veins, and will spread with us over this great island.

Instead then, my children, of the gloomy prospect you have drawn of your total disappearance from the face of the earth, which is true if you continue to hunt the deer and buffalo and go to war, you see what a brilliant aspect is offered to your future history. If you give up war and hunting, adopt the culture of the earth, and raise domestic animals. You see how, from a small family you may become a great nation, by adopting the course, which from the small beginning you have described, has made us a great nation.

My Children, I will give you a paper declaring your right to hold against all persons the lands given you by the Miamis and Potawatamies, and that you never can sell them without their consent. But I must tell you that if ever they and you agree to sell, no paper which I can give you can prevent your doing what you please with your own land. The only way to prevent this, is to give to every one of your people a farm, which shall belong to him and his family, and which the nation shall have no right to take from them and sell. In this way alone, can you ensure the lands to your descendants, through all generations, and that it shall never be sold from under their feet.

It is not the keeping your lands which will keep your people alive on them, after the deer and buffalo shall have left them. It is the cultivating them alone which can do that. The hundredth part in corn and cattle, will support you better than the whole in deer and buffalo.

My son Hendrick, deliver these words to your people. I have spoken to them plainly, that they may see what is before them, and that it is in their own power to go on dwindling to nothing, or to become again a great people. It is for this reason I wish them to live in peace with all people; to teach their young men to love agriculture, rather than war and hunting. Let these words sink deep in their hearts, and let them often repeat them and consider them. Tell them that I hold them fast by the hand, and that I will ever be their friend, to advise and assist them in following the true path to their future happiness.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

PROCLAMATION: APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES

April 4, 1809

Vincennes *Western Sun, April 15, 1809*

Whereas, from the late division of the territory [into Indiana and Illinois] it has become necessary to make a new apportionment of the representatives to the General Assembly, I have thought proper to issue this my proclamation, hereby directing and declaring that the house of representatives shall, at the next General Assembly, be composed of eight members, of which the county of Knox shall furnish three; the county of Clark, two; the county of Dearborn, two; and the county of Harrison, one. And I do further direct that the election for the additional representative from the counties of Knox, Clark, and Dearborn, and for the member hereby assigned to the county of Harrison, shall be held on Monday the twenty-second day of May next ensuing, at the places in the several townships of the said counties respectively which have or may be assigned by the courts of common pleas of said counties for that purpose.

Done at Vincennes, in the said Territory, on the fourth of April, one thousand eight hundred and nine. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and have caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed.[1]

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

JOHN GIBSON, Secretary.

CLARK TO SECRETARY OF WAR

St LOUIS, April 5th, 1809

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 798

The Indian prophets have been industriously employed, the latter part of the winter and spring, privately counselling with, and attempting to seduce the Kickapoos, Saukies [Sacs], and other bands of Indians residing on the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, to war against the frontiers of this country.

WM. CLARK

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 5th April 1809

Har. Pa. 237, 238

SIR:

I had the honor some weeks ago [Dec. 31] to receive a letter from the late President of the United States directing me to commence a negotiation with the Kickapoo Indians and with the remnant of the Peorias for the settlement of our boundary and eventually for a further extinguishment of the title south of the Illinois river. But before I could take any effectual steps to carry this order into effect the law for erecting that part of the Territory into a separate government came to my hands. Altho the authority with which this business would have been transacted (being that of a commission constituting me Commissioner Plenipotentiary for Treating with the Indians northwest of the Ohio) is quite distinct and independent of my appointment as governor of the Indiana Territory, I have thought it best to postpone the execution of the President's instructions until I should receive some further communication on the subject from the Present President or from your Department.

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[1] The act organizing Indiana territory, approved May 7, 1800, provided that the house of representatives of the territory should consist of not less than seven members until the total number of electors of the territory should equal 5000. The governor does not seem to have been advised of the recent law of congress, approved February 27, 1809, which made the minimum number of representatives nine and took the power of apportionment out of his hands and vested it in the assembly.

I shall with equal pleasure unite my exertions to those of the Governor of the Illinois Territory [Ninian Edwards] or resign the whole negotiation to him as the President shall please to direct.

I have the Honor to be very respectfully
Sir your humble servant
WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble The SECRETARY of War

WELLS TO HARRISON

FORT WAYNE 8th April 1809

Har. Pa. 240

SIR:

As the Indians in this agency appears to be agitated respecting the conduct and as they say the intentions of the Shawnees Prophet I deem it my duty to communicate some of the most material information that has come to my knowledge on this subject to you. The Chippeways, Ottaways, and Pottawatomys are hurrying away from him and say that their reason for doing so is because he has told them to receive the Tomahawk from him and destroy all the white people at Vincennes and all those that live on the Wabash and Ohio as low down as the mouth of Ohio and as high up as Cincinnati; that the great spirit had directed that they should do so at the same time threatening them with destruction if they refused to comply with what he proposed.

I am convinced that something is intended among them from the manner in which the Indians are leaving the Prophet, but I do not believe that any harm is intended, or will be attempted by the Prophet or any other Indians against the White people. It appears to me that the Lake Indians intend falling on the Prophet in consequence of so many of them dying at his place of residence last fall. All the Traders believe that the Prophet intends to strike a blow at the white people, among them that are of this opinion are [Peter] LaFontaine[1] and [Touissant] Dubois. The Little Turtle, 5

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[1] Peter Lafontaine came from Detroit down to Fort Wayne about 1776 and established a trade among the Miamies. He married an Indian girl and their chidren became Miami chiefs. Griswold, *Fort Wayne, index*

Medals, and other influential Indian Chiefs agree with me that no harm is intended towards the whites. Mr. Dubois who passed the Prophet's Village a few days ago, told me that fifty of the Winebagoes had just joined him, and that he understood that more were on their way, and appeared to be alarmed for the safety of the people in that quarter. The force the Prophet has at this time is not more than eighty or an hundred men and I don't believe he will ever be able to double his number; with this handful of men I am sure he will attempt nothing. At the same time I must say that it is and always has been my opinion that he only wanted power to make him dangerous. They cannot continue embodied long as they have no provision and no means to get any. Should you be of the opinion that it would be proper for me to do anything respecting this business more than keeping a watchful eye over the Prophet I shall be glad to receive your direction. The Indians that are leaving him and daily passing this place are in a starved situation and humanity compells me to give them some provision which I hope will meet with your approbation, I shall give them as little as possible.

Inclosed you will receive the amount of provision issued to the Indians in this agency by Capt. [Nathan] Heald[2] during my absence. The amount is more than is usually issued in the Winter, but I am convinced that the starved situation of the Indians in this agency fully justifies the quantity that has been issued. As I have received no particular instructions from the war office respecting the issue of provisions to Indians and as the Indians are starving in this quarter I hope you will send me instructions by the Bearer in what manner to act in this respect. The Miamies complain and say that one of their men has been killed in the neighborhood of that place lately, as it is a circumstance that I am not acquainted with I hope you will give me a statement how it happened in order that I may remove all wrong impressions that have been made on their minds on that subject. I hope you will endeavour to purchase the land up the Wabash as high up as the

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[2] Nathan Heald became commandant at Fort Wayne in 1807. He was born in Ipswich N. H. Sept. 24, 1775; arrived at Fort Wayne, January 1807; married a daughter of Samuel Wells, who fought at Tippecanoe, and the niece of William Wells, agent at Fort Wayne. Heald was the unfortunate commander at the massacre of Fort Dearborn, 1812.

Griswold, *Fort Wayne, index*

Quaife, *Chicago, index;* a journal of Capt. Heald is in the appendix of the latter volume.

Vermillion from the Miami and Wabash Indians. I think the time favourable. I shall be ready at any time to give you my aid to accomplish it. Let me hear from you on this subject.

I am Sir Respectfully your most obt.

Signed WILLIAM WELLS

PROCLAMATION: APPORTIONMENT

April 10, 1809

Vincennes *Western Sun, April 15, 1809*

Whereas, by an act of Congress passed at their last session, the Governor of the Indiana Territory was empowered and directed to divide the said Territory into five districts, each of which to be entitled to send one member to the Legislative Council of the Territory: Now *therefore* be it known, that the five districts as aforesaid shall be formed as follows, viz.—The county of Dearborn shall form one district; the county of Clark, one district; the county of Harrison, one district; the townships of Busseron, Palmyra, and Vincennes, in the county of Knox, one district; and the townships of Harrison, White River, Wabash, and Ohio, in the said county of Knox, another district. And I do further direct and order that the election for the said members of the Legislative Council, shall be held at the same time, and at the same places, as are fixed by my proclamation of the fourth of this instant for the election of an additional representative; and the proceedings in the said election shall be the same as prescribed by law for the election of representatives[1].

Given under my hand and the seal of the Territory, at Vincennes, this tenth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and nine, and of the Independence of the United States the thirty third.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

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1. The law of February 27, 1809 had granted the voters of the territory the right to elect the members of the territorial council. This same act gave the voters the right to elect their delegate to congress.

United States Statutes at Large, II, 525 (Tenth Cong. ch. XIX)

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 18th April 1809

Har. Pa. 241-243

SIR:

Since my last of the 12th inst. I have received by a special express a letter from Mr. [William] Wells [April 8, above] the Agent at Fort Wayne, a copy of Which I have now the honor to inclose. This letter is so strongly coroborative of the information received from Govr. [Meriwether] Lewis that I can no longer doubt of the hostile disposition of the Tribes of the Mississippi and Illinois River and those on the Wabash who adhere to the Shawnese Prophet. Messrs. [Peter] Lafontaine and [Touissant] Dubois the persons mentioned by Wells are two of the most respectable Indian Traders in this country, the former has more extensive intercourse with them than any other trader, speaks most of the Indian languages and has resided amongst them for thirty years. They are also men of honor and integrity and their opinions are more to be relied on in the present instance than that of Capt. Wells who has been absent from Fort Wayne during the whole Winter, and only reached it a few days before the date of his letter. Wells opinion and that of the chiefs whom he mentions is entirely founded upon an erroneous estimate of the strength of the Prophets party. His disposition to do mischief he does not doubt. Wells had no information of the combination amongst the Tribes of the Mississippi and the Illinois and he is extremely incorrect as to the number of men now with the Prophet. He has probably not more than 80 or 100 immediately at his place of residence. but I am well informed that he has within the distance of 40 or 50 miles of his village four or five times that number. I also fear that the story which has been circulated for some time of the determination of the Chippewas and Ottawas of Lake Michigan to fall upon the Prophet is a mere pretense suggested by the British to cover the real design of the former, and that when they reach the Wabash they will join the Prophet and the Winebagoes to fall upon our settlements. Under all these circumstances and considering the unprotected situation of this town and the neighboring settlements I have determined to organize arm and equip and call into actual service two companies of volunteer militia agreeably to the instructions of the

Secretary of War in his letter of the 17th of September 1807. Considerable progress has already been made in drawing out those men and in the course of two or three days I hope to have it completed. They will be placed upon the Wabash a few hundred yards below the Garrison called Fort Knox as well to protect it as to cover this place. Fort Knox is the depository of the arms and ammunition which have been sent here for the use of the militia. It consists of a range of open barracks and a block house not connected by pickets or any other defence. It is garrisoned by Lieut. [Ambrose] Whitlock[1] with 14 or 15 men and the greater part of these are frequently absent with the Lieut. who is the paymaster of the District. Standing immediately upon the frontier both it and the Town of Vincennes could be surprised plundered and burned by an hundred Indians at any time without the least risk to themselves, as there is not a single family settled to the north and northwest to give notice of their approach. A detachment of 12 or 15 men of the two companies called out will be placed in the settlement of Bosseron 20 miles northeast of this place, from which as well as from the main body scouts will constantly be kept out for a distance around the settlements. I have directed Mr. Wells to call upon the Delawares, Miami and Potawatomi tribes to fulfil that article of the Treaty of Greenville by which they are bound to prevent any party with hostile intentions against our settlements to pass through their country. This is essentially necessary for their own safety. For as our people will generally pursue the attacking party and it will be impossible to distinguish the different tribes the innocent will frequently suffer for the guilty, at any rate, it will be often in the power of the hostile tribes so to manage their attack as to make it appear to be the act of our friends, and the war commenced by a few of the most feeble and insignificant tribes will gradually extend to all the rest.

The violence and indiscretion of our own people will also greatly contribute to this result.

I shall do myself the Honor to communicate to you anything interesting which may come to my knowledge before the next post day and am with great respect sir,

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[1] Ambrose Whitlock, born in Va.; sergt. 1st Inf. 1796-1800; Sec. Lieut. 1801-1807; Lieut. 1807-1812; Capt. 1812-14; paymaster-general 1815-16. An old companion of Harrison. Later settled at Crawfordsville, died June 26, 1863.

Heitman, *Register, 1030*

your humble servant.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. The Secretary of War.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 26th April 1809

Har. Pa. 245, 246

SIR:

Since my last of the 18th Instant I have received information which has in a great measure dissipated all my anxiety on the score of a rupture with the Indians at least so far as relates to the Tribes on the Wabash and its Waters. It is principally derived from two subordinate Indian traders, who have spent the winter at the towns of the Potawatomies a few leagues below the station of the Prophet. Those men most positively assert that the Prophet is feared and hated by all the neighbouring tribes, the Kickapoos excepted and that it was only a dread of his supernatural powers which prevented them from falling on him but that this is in a great measure destroyed by an incident which occured a few days ago. The Prophet had always declared that the least violence which would be offered to him or his followers would be punished by the immediate interposition of the Great Spirit who would not fail instantly to destroy the perpetrators of so great a sin. Three young men of the Ottawa and Chippawa Tribes were determined however to make the experiment and by the direction of their own chiefs entered the Prophet's camp murdered a squaw within ten steps of his tent and effected their escape to the camp of their friends about 40 miles distant.

The traders are of opinion that they will not fail to attack the Prophet as soon as they can be prepared for it.

This information together with a number of other circumstances which go to show the fidelity of the Miamis, Delawares, Weas, and Potawatomies of the Wabash, would have induced me to countermand the order for turning out the two companies mentioned in my last if it had reached me a few days sooner, but as we had got through all the trouble of calling them from their homes and organizing them I thought it best not to disband them until I heard some thing decisive from Governor [Meriwether] Lewis. Besides altho I believe sincerely that there is not the least danger from the Tribes above mentioned, yet I know that when an attack is meditated they are capable of practising almost any artifice to take the object of it by surprise.

As the two companies of militia are placed in a situation convenient to me I shall exert myself to improve the time that they may remain in service in teaching them such of the military evolutions as suits the service that they are likely to be employed in. Having spent seven years of my life in the army and very much attached to the profession this employment will be by no means unpleasant to me.

I have the honor to be very respectfully Sir your humble servant

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. The SECRETARY of War

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT 29 April 09

Har. Pa. 1

WM. HY. HARRISON SIR:

I have had the honor to consult the President of the U. S. on the subject of your Excellencies Letter of the 5th instant, [April 5, above] and am to inform you that it is considered to be inexpedient to proceed at this time in the Negociation with the Kickapoo and other tribe of Indians, for the extinguishment of their title to the Lands south of the Illinois river.

I am etc.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 29th April 1809

Har. Pa. 244

SIR:

I have this day drawn upon you in favor of Peter Jones & Co. for one Hundred and fifty one dollars sixty & ¾ cents for various articles furnished in the usual presents etc. to Indian chiefs and others.

I have the Honor to be with great respect sir your
Humble servant

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

To the Honble. The SECRETARY OF WAR

CLARK TO SECRETARY OF WAR

ST. LOUIS, April 30th, 1809
Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 799

I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a letter, which confirms my suspicions of the British interference with our Indian affairs in this country. (Extract from the enclosed letter): "I am at present in the fire, receiving Indian news every day. A chief of the Puant [the Winnebagoes] nation appears to be employed by the British to get all the nations of Indians to Detroit, to see their fathers, the British, who tell them that they pity them in their situation with the Americans, because the Americans had taken their lands and their game; that they must join and send them off from their lands; they told the savages that the Americans could not give them a blanket, nor any thing good for their families.

They said they had but one father that had helped them in their misfortunes, and that they would assemble, defend their father, and keep their lands." It appears that four English subjects have been at Riviere la Roche [Red] this winter, in disguise; they have been there to get the nations together, and send them on the American frontiers. Other Indians are pushed on, by our enemies, to take the fort of Belle Vue [Iowa].

WM. CLARK

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 3d May 1809
Har. Pa. 248

SIR:

The information which I have received since my letter of the 26 ult. was written is entirely contradictory to that which

I then detailed—the Mr. [Touissant] Dubois who [William] Wells speaks of in the letter of which I had the honor to inclose you a copy arrived here a few days ago from Detroit via Fort Wayne. He is decidedly of opinion the the Prophet will attack our settlements. His opinion is formed from a variety of circumstances but principally from a communication made to Mr. [Peter] Lafontain by two chiefs his friends, the substance of which was that the Prophet and his followers had determined to commence hostilities as soon as they could be prepared and to "sweep all the white people from the Wabash and White River" after which they intended to attack the Miamies. Dubois thinks there is no real misunderstanding between the Prophet and the Ottawas and Chippewas and that the Squaw who was said to have been killed by the latter died in reality a natural death and was then tomahawked and skalped by some of the Prophet's party to carry on the deception and to prevent us from taking the alarm at the force he is collecting and which he pretends is to protect him against the Chippewas and Ottawas—(about eight days ago he had with him three hundred and fifty warriors well armed with Rifles and tolerably supplied with ammunition, they have also bows and arrows War Clubs and a Kind of Spear). I still think he will not dare to attack us but I am preparing the Militia as well as circumstances permit and the two companies which I have ordered out are rapidly improving in discipline being daily exercised either by the Major who commands them or myself in the evolutions practised by General Wayne's army. The Prophet cannot keep the number of men which he now has embodied any length of time as soon as they disperse I shall dismiss the two companies which I have had mustered agreeably to the instructions of Genl. Dearborn by a careful person selected for that purpose.

I have the honor to inclose herewith an extract [not found] of my letter of instructions to the agent at Fort Wayne.

I am with great respect Sir Your Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. The SECRETARY AT WAR.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 16th May 1809

Har. Pa. 250

SIR:

I have great pleasure in being enabled to inform you that there no longer exists the least probability of a rupture with any of the Indian tribes of this frontier. The party which the Prophet had assembled have dispersed with manifest indications of terror and alarm. Whether this is to be attributed to the military preparations which were made here, To the want of provisions, disappointment upon the part of the Prophet as to the force he expected to raise, or to the combination of all these causes, or whether indeed he had ever any design of attacking us I cannot at present determine. Whatever I shall be able to discover on this subject shall form the matter of another communication. I have engaged a confidential Frenchman who speaks the Indian languages to reside at the Prophet's Town for a few weeks to watch his movements and discover his politics.

I have for several years considered a further extinguishment of Indian title to the North East of this and extending from the Wabash to the purchase made at the Treaty of Grouseland as a most desirable object. And it appears to me that the time has arrived when the purchase may be attempted with a considerable prospect of success. Our settlements here are much cramped by the vicinity of the Indian lands, which in the direction above mentioned is not more than twenty-one miles. The country on the Wabash below this is sunken and wet, that to the north and west almost entirely Prairie and not of such a quality to be settled for many years. These circumstances must necessarily render the settlements here feeble for a considerable time unless a further extinguishment of title is effected in the direction I have mentioned.

The effecting of this purchase will come within the scope of the Instructions hitherto received, but I shall conclude no bargain until I am honored with the President's further direction.

The two companies of militia were dismissed on the 12th Instant. They have been regularly mustered and the pay-rolls are now preparing, as soon as they are finished they shall be forwarded.

I have the honor to be most respectfully

Yours,

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. The SECRETARY OF WAR

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT 5 June 09

Har. Pa. 2, 3

WM. HY. HARRISON, Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the several letters of your Excellency, dated the 11th 18th & 26th of April and of the 3rd & 16th of May, the latter containing the agreeable information of the dispersion of the hostile Combination of the Savages in your vicinity. It was apprehended from the first accounts that more serious consequences might ensue but a reliance on your opinion & judgment encouraged a belief, in the favorable termination which has taken place. It is with great satisfaction that I now request that you will be pleased to accept an assurance of my own, as I perceived you already possess the entire confidence of the executive in your Communications, together with their approbation of the measures adopted by your Excellency which have undoubtedly had their influence in producing the result.

The proposal to extinguish the Indian Title to certain Lands East of the Wabash will be attended to—Your Excellency will be satisfied that a proposal of this kind, will excite no disagreeable apprehension and produce no undesirable effects before It shall be made.

On reinforcing the old or establishing new posts on the western Frontiers, there has been some difference of opinion. A permanent reinforcement of St. Louis & Detroit appears desirable. May I avail the public of your military experience & general knowledge of the country by asking your opinion generally on the subject

With great respect &c.

TUPPER TO SECRETARY OF WAR

SANDUSKY, 7th June, 1809
Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 799

The conduct of British traders, in introducing spirituous liquors among the Indians in this part of the country, and their determined hostility to the measures of our Government, have long been subjects of complaint, and their infamous stories have much embarrassed our operations. (Extract)

S. TUPPER

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 8th June 1809
Har. Pa. 251

SIR:

I have this day drawn upon you in favor of Peter Jones Esq. for six hundred dollars being part of the Kaskaskias annuity and the compansation to the Roman Catholic Priest for the present year agreeably to your letter of the 1st ultimo.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secy. of War*

HULL TO SECRETARY OF WAR

DETROIT, June 16th, 1809
Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 799

The influence of the Prophet has been great, and his advice to the Indians injurious to them and the United States. We have the fullest evidence, that his object has been to form a combination of them in hostility to the United States. The powerful influence of the British has been exerted in a way alluring to the savage character. (Extract)

WM. HULL

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES, July 5th 1809

Har. Pa. 252-263

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 5th ultimo. The President's and your approbation of my conduct is highly gratifying to me, and permit me to assure you Sir, that no exertions on my part shall be wanting to merit a continuance of the confidence of the Administration.

The Shawnee Prophet and about forty followers arrived here a week ago. He denies most strenuously any participation in the late combination to attack our settlements which he says was entirely confined to the Tribes on the Mississippi and Illinois river and he claims the merit of having prevailed upon them to relinquish their intentions. I must confess that my suspicions of his guilt have been rather strengthened than diminished in every interview I have had with him since his arrival. He acknowledges that he received an invitation to go to war against us from the British last fall, that he was apprised of the intentions of the Lake Indians early in the spring and warmly solicited to join their league. But he could give no satisfactory explanation of his neglecting to communicate to me, circumstances as intensely interesting to us, towards which I had a few months before directed his attention, and received a solemn assurance of his cheerful compliance with the instructions I had imposed on him. The result of all my inquiries on the subject is that the late combination was produced by British intrigue and influence in anticipation of war between them and the United States. It was however premature and ill-judged and the event sufficiently manifests either a great decline in their influence, or in the talents and address with which they have been accustomed to manage their Indian relations. The warlike and well armed Tribes of the Potawatamies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Delawares and Miamies, I believe neither had nor would have joined in the combination and altho the Kickapoos whose warriors are better than those of any other Tribe, the remnant of the Wyandots excepted, are much under the influence of the Prophet, I am persuaded they never were made acquainted with his intentions, if they were really hostile to the United States.

As you have done me the honor to request my opinion with respect to the position of the Troops destined to protect the Western frontiers. I will communicate the result of my reflections on the subject with great pleasure. Such is the nature of Indian warfare, that I am persuaded one hundred thousand men would not be able to form a cordon along the frontiers of this Territory, Michigan and the State of Ohio sufficiently compact to preserve our settlements from their desultory attacks, in case of a general combination of the North Western Tribes against us. And any fort that is built with a view to form part of such a line of defence would in my opinion be useless. The chain of Forts begun by Genl. St. Clair and completed by Genl. [Anthony] Wayne extending into the Indian country from the Ohio, and which were so situated as to cover the settlements from any attack but that of Indians, afforded not the least security to the inhabitants and were no further useful than as resting places for the small convoys which were employed to throw in provisions for the campaign at the head of the line. As we have no elevation in the whole extent of what was formerly the North Western Territory that can be dignified with the name of mountain, we have consequently no difficult passes such as the ancient world and some of the Atlantic states afford the securing of which would necessarily command the country for a considerable extent.

There are, however, military positions to be found, which if properly improved would not only prevent the ingress of any regular force but effectually keep the Indians in check. Those are to be sought for along the greate water courses which bound the country on either side and on those elegant channels of communication, which nature has provided at Intervals to unite them. Without the aid of these the Bulky articles which make up the returns of the Indian Merchant, could never be taken out. The country being remarkably flat, the roads are necessarily bad in winter and in the summer the immense prairies to the west and north of this produce such a multitude of flies as to render it impossible to make use of pack horses. Hence it follows that a few well selected positions on the straits which unite the Lakes, on the Mississippi and on the communications which connect them would completely control the Indian trade and consequently the Indians. I suppose the force to be stationed at Detroit, ought in some measure to be regulated by that kept by the British in the neighbouring fortress of Malden. This has not I believe, for several years exceeded two weak companies and is at present reduced to one. The fort at Detroit can have little or no influence in controling the Indian Trade because it does not command the strait and if it did much the greater part of the trade is now and the whole could be carried on by the canoe route of the grand river. The proper position for our object is therefore to be sought for higher up. In case of a war with the U. S. and Great Britain the latter could never think of defending upper Canada, and no valuable purpose to them could be answered by a temporary possession of Detroit and the neighbouring settlements. I can therefore see no good reason for an accumulation of force at this point. A strong regular work to be garrisoned by two companies but capable of accommodating a Battalion, would I should imagine be amply sufficient. It would be highly desirable to have the Fort so situated as to command the ship channel of the Strait. When I was at Detroit in the year 1803 the British had and I believe still have 6 or 7 armed vessels carrying from 8 to 22 guns on Lake Erie. With a part of this force and with the assistance of the Indians Macinac would be easily reduced as from its insular situation no reinforcement or supplies could reach it if the enemy possessed the superiority of naval force in the upper lakes. To prevent this, it will be necessary either to build a number of vessels equal to theirs or by fortifying the river of Detroit confine them to Lake Erie. A situation proper for this purpose was the object of my enquiry and Hog Island two miles above the Town of Detroit was pointed out as the most eligible. There is also another favorable situation for commanding the navigation in the strait between Lake St. Clair and Lake Huron.

As the canoe route at the grand river and Lake Nipissing to its entrance into Lake Huron is entirely within the British Territory the port of Michilimacinac is of considerable importance. It is here and at the neighbouring British port of St. Joseph's that the valuable trade which is borne along the route above mentioned and that which comes by the way of

Detroit is parcelled out for the various directions which it afterwards assumes. In the event of a war with the British, it will be their first object to furnish the Tribes who espouse their cause with a sufficiency of arms and ammunition to render them independent of a supply from us for several years. The port of Macinac with the aid of one or two small armed vessels would be a great check to the throwing in these supplies, but it could only be stoped entirely by erecting a work at the rapids of St. Mary, the pass leading into Lake Superior. This route into the Mississippi is not so good a one as that of the Fox River of Wisconsing but the one being secured and the other open would expose us to the same mischiefs as if neither were guarded. For the peace establishment of Macanac one well disciplined complete company, under a vigilant officer, would be sufficient. Of all the communications between the Lakes and the Mississippi that from Lake Michigan by the Fox and Wisconsing rivers is the most used and the most interesting and important. It is through this channel that nine tenths of the goods for the supply of the Indians above the Illinois river and in Louisiana is conveyed and until we have a military force upon it, we can never control either the Traders or the Indians. I was so sensible of this, that at a Treaty which I made at St. Louis in the year 1804 with the Sacs and Foxes, I inserted a clause authorising the United States to build a Fort on either side the mouth of the Ouisconsing or on the opposite bank of Mississippi as the one or the other would afford the best site. I am convinced that great advantage would arise from a company being stationed there. The village of Prairie du Chien consisting of about thirty French Families is three miles above. The Fort lately erected on the Mississippi near the mouth of the Demoins will serve as an intermediate post and support to that on the Ouisconsing. The site of the latter is, I am informed extremely bad, being commanded by higher ground within musket shot. The Post of Chicago is an important one. It occupies the usual communications between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi by means of a short creek on which the Fort stands, and which actually takes its rise in the same lake or swamp with a branch of the Illinois River, so that in the spring boats with their loading pass freely from one to the other. The site of Fort Wayne was selected by General Washington; to erect a fort there was the object of Genl. St. Clair's campaign. Its accomplishment by Genl. Wayne and a further knowledge of the country sufficiently evinced the wisdom of the choice. Proceeding from Fort Wayne to the Wabash and down that river at the distance of 150 miles from fort Wayne and 150 from this place, is the site of the old Wea Towns, where there is a considerable reservation of lands made by the Treaty of Greenville, for a Fort. The situation is beautiful and besides commanding the Wabash is near the mouth of the Tippecanoe which discharging itself into the former has its course in the neighbourhood of the Illinois and St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan to each of which there is a portage of nine and fourteen miles, much used by the Indians and sometimes by Traders. Notwithstanding these advantages I would not recommend the building of a Fort there. I think, however, that one other is necessary on the Wabash, but I should prefer it lower down, as near our boundary line as possible. The Indians would be greatly dissatisfied at our occupancy of the Wea Towns and the giving up the reservation at that place would be a great inducement with the Weas to cede the country they now live on between this place and the Vermillion River. There is no part of the Western country so much exposed as this. The Tribes in our neighbourhood (those which were confederated in the war terminated by General Wayne) are numerous, warlike and well armed and are more than a match for all the others, with whom we have intercourse, united. I believe, however, they have no idea of again measuring their strength with ours. No other influence than that of the French could induce them to do it. But in the event of a French war (it) they could be led to believe that there was even a possibility that their efforts united to those of the French would again put the latter in possession of this country, the remembrance of all the calamities which and their frequent wars with us have brought upon them, and the justice and benevolence with which they have been treated since the peace would be insufficient to prevent their taking part against us. The happiness they enjoyed from their intercourse with the French is their perpetual theme—it is their golden age. Those who are old enough to remember it, speak of it with rapture, and the young ones are taught to venerate it as the Ancients did the reign of Saturn "you call us" said an old Indian chief to me "your

Children why do you not make us happy as our Fathers the French did? They never took from us our lands, indeed they were in common with us—they planted where they pleased and they cut wood where they pleased and so did we—but now if a poor Indian attempts to take a little bark from a tree, to cover him from the rain, up comes a white man and threatens to shoot him, claiming the tree as his own." When the first information of the cession of Louisiana to France reached them they could not conceal their joy and I sincerely believe that the appearance of the first French uniform at St. Louis would have been a signal for a general revolt of all the tribes in this quarter, the Delawares excepted. The present Garrison at Fort Knox is too near this town to be of as much advantage as if placed some distance above. A good situation could be found near our present boundary line, but if the further extinguishment of title, which I had the honor to propose to you, is accomplished, it might with propriety be placed still higher up. It appears to me, however, highly proper to have a company stationed some where in this neighbourhood. I can see no advantage in keeping up the garrison at Fort Massac, excepting as a depository for the stores destined for St. Louis. This purpose would, however be as well answered by a careful non commissioned officer and six men as with the present garrison. A show of force in the neighbourhood of St. Louis would certainly contribute toward the neighbouring Tribes and if a whole regiment of infantry and one or two companies of artillery could be spared for the protection of Upper Louisiana and for garrisoning the post in this and the Illinois Territories the Field and Staff of the Regiment with the balance of the Companies might with propriety be placed there—an arrangement of this kind would have a great tendency to preserve discipline and subordination. Permit me to recommend that in the forts that are far advanced in the Indian country, besides the deposit of six months provisions by the contractor, that there should constantly be kept two or three hundred bushels kiln dried corn to be annually renewed. No loss would arise from this measure, as the old deposit could be always sold to the Traders or Indians when the new should arrive. Contractors are so often negligent, and convoys of provisions passing for a considerable distance through a wilderness are subject to so many accidents that I have myself known more than one instance where a Garrison was upon the point of being forced to abandon its charge for the want of food.

Should my recommendations to place a company on the Wabash near this place be adopted I should be much gratified to have Lieut. [Ambrose] Whitlock who at present commands Fort Knox and is paymaster of the District continued. He served under my immediate command for several years and I will venture to pronounce that there is not a more zealous and attentive officer or one possessed of better principles in the service. He is now the oldest Lieutenant in his regiment, if there is not already a vacancy for him. There is also a surgeon's mate here, to whom it would be very convenient to remain as his connections reside in this neighbourhood.

I have the honor to be with perfect respect Sir, your
Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS Esqre. *Secry. of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 14th July 1809

Har. Pa. 235, 236

SIR:

Your letter of the 20th of December last requesting me to account for the unusual quantity of provisions issued to the Indians at this place in the months of June July and Aug. last I had not the honor to receive until this day week. I did myself the honor to inform you in my letter of the 1st of Sept. that I had been visited by the celebrated Shawnese Prophet. This person having announced to me his approach and understanding that he was accompanied by some hundreds of famished Indians of both sexes and being ever anxious to avoid every unnecessary expense I sent him a preremptory message requiring him to dismiss all his retinue 40 or 50 excepted. This order he affected to obey but in 24 hours after his arrival the mass presented themselves exhibiting the most miserable set of starved wretches my eyes ever beheld. I had no alternative but to feed them, drive them out of the settlements with force or turn them loose upon the inhabitants.

They possessed neither arms nor ammunition and if they had the wilderness at that season affords little or nothing. I gave them as little as possible and got rid of them as soon as possible. Mr. Wells was for having me starve all those which appertained to the prophet I did not believe however that that was the pilosophy of the President. I fed them and gave them a small supply of food and ammunition to take with them (partly in anticipation of the Shawene annuity). Whether this disbursement may prove to have been a politic one or not time will determine. I think it not impossible but it may—for I never knew an Indian that was not more grateful for having his belly filled than for any other service that could be rendered him. But at any rate I am certain of one thing that I have done for the best. Besides the Prophet and his party the whole of the Kickapoo, Piankeshaw and Wea Tribes were here in June and July to receive their annuities and being unusually scarce of corn at their villages I was not able to get rid of them in as short a time as usual and many of the chiefs returned in August to assist at the Council with the Prophet.

In managing the affairs of the Indian Department Sir, I act as I think the President would direct were he present and acquainted with all the circumstances. I am confident however that I frequently err and I have no wish to have anything left to my discretion but what is absolutely unavoidable. And permit me to assure you that all your directions whether in unison with my own opinions or not shall be faithfully and punctually executed.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect sir your humble servant

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. HENRY DEARBOURN Esq. *Secy of War*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT 15th July 1809

Har. Pa. 4

His Excelly. WM. H. HARRISON

SIR:

The President of the United States authorizes and instructs you to take advantage of the most favorable moment for extinguishing the Indian title to the Lands lying east of the

Wabash and adjoining south on the lines of the Treaties of Fort Wayne and Grouseland. The compensation to be paid for this extinguishment should not exceed the rate heretofore given for the Indian title to Lands in that quarter; to prevent any future dissatisfaction, Chiefs of all the Nations who have or pretend right to these lands, should be present at the Treaty; and, if practicable, the cession should be obtained without leaving any reservations. It is discretionary with you to stipulate in what manner the consideration shall be paid; whether in a gross sum payable after the ratification of the Treaty by instalments or in annuity for years or perpetuity, or partly in both these modes, as you may deem most expedient. The payment by instalments is preferred. For the expences attending the Treaty or Treaties, you will draw on this Department, except for the Provisions, which you will require of the Contractor, unless some other Person will agree to furnish them below Contract price.

Besides reasonable expences, you will be allowed, six dollars per day and the Secretary to the Commission, should one be necessary, three dollars per day, while actually employed.

A Diary of the proceedings should be kept by the Commission or the Secretary, and a certified copy thereof, forwarded with the Treaty to this Department.

I am, Sir, respectfully &c.

PROCLAMATION, SALE OF LIQUOR

August 23, 1809

Executive Journal

A conference being about to be held at this place with sundry tribes of Indians the Governor agreeably to the Laws of the Territory issued his Proclamation prohibiting the sale of spirits or any other intoxicating Liquors to any Indian or Indians at Vincennes or within thirty miles of the same during the said conference. [Abstract]

PROCLAMATION: CONVENING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

August 31, 1809

Vincennes *Western Sun, September 2, 1809*

Whereas, the circumstances of the Territory require that the Legislature should be convened; I have therefore thought proper to appoint, and do by these presents appoint, Monday the sixteenth day of October next for the meeting of the same; and the members of the Legislative Council and of the House of Representatives, and each and every of them, are required to give their attendance on that day, in the Town of Vincennes, accordingly.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Territory, at Vincennes, this thirty-first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and nine, and of the Independence of the United States the thirty fourth.[1]

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

FORT WAYNE 1st October 1809

Har. Pa. 265
Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 761
Dept. of Interior, Indian Office Mss.

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that a Treaty was yesterday concluded with the Delaware, Potawatomie, Miami and Eel River Tribes by which they have ceded to the United States a Tract of land twelve miles wide along the boundary from fort Recovery, southwardly, to the boundary established by the Treaty of Grouseland, also a Tract between the boundary established at this place in 1803 and a line to be drawn from the mouth of Racoon Creek on the Wabash to the Grouseland extinguishment. This tract is believed to be about sixty miles in a direct line from our former boundary to the mouth of Racoon Creek and is to be thirty miles wide opposite to the north east corner of the Vincennes Tract, The Consent of the Wea Tribe is necessary to complete the title to the latter and that of the Kickapoos to a Tract of fifteen miles in width on the northwest side of the Wabash from our former boundary line up the River to a continuation of the line to be run from the Grouseland extinguishment to the mouth of Racoon Creek. These three Tracts will contain upwards of two millions and a half of acres and will cost less than two cents per acre, a complete History of our procedings will be forwarded from Vincennes for which, at present, time will not permit. I shall collect the Weas immediately on my return to Vincennes to procure their consent of which there is little doubt to the Treaty. That of the Kickapoos being not quite so certain nothing been announced for the Tract in which they are interested. The assemblage of Indians has been greater at this Treaty than at any other since that of Greenville; the incidental expenses have of course has been considerable but the value of the land which has been purchased is much greater than any that has been heretofore procured.

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[1] The *Executive Journal* gives this under date of August 8.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect Sir your Humble Servant

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honorable WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esq. *Secretary of War*

Sept. 30, 1809

American State Papers, Indian Affairs I, 761

A TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE TRIBES OF INDIANS CALLED THE DELAWARES, PATTAWATAMIES, MIAMIES, AND EEL RIVER MIAMIES

James Madison, President of the United States, by William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana territory, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States, for treating with the said Indian tribes, and the sachems, head-men, and warriors, of the Delaware, Pottawatamy, Miami, and Eel river tribes of Indians, have agreed and concluded upon the following treaty, which, when ratified by the said President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on said parties:

Article 1. The Miami and Eel river tribes, and the Delawares and Pattawatamies, as their allies, agree to cede to the United States, all that tract of country which shall be included between the boundary line, established by the treaty of fort Wayne, the Wabash, and a line [the Ten-o-Clock line] to be drawn from the mouth of a creek called Racoon creek, emptying into the Wabash, on the southeast side, about twelve miles below the mouth of the Vermillion river, so as to strike the boundary line established by the treaty of Grouseland, at such a distance from its commencement, at the northeast corner of the Vincennes tract, as will leave the tract now ceded, thirty miles wide at the narrowest place; and also, all that tract which shall be included between the following boundaries, viz: Beginning at fort Recovery; thence, southwardly along the general boundary line, established by the treaty of Greenville, to its intersection with the boundary line established by the treaty of Grouseland; thence, along said line, to a point from which a line drawn parallel to the first mentioned line will be twelve miles distant from the same, and along the said parallel line to its intersection with a line to be drawn from fort Recovery, parallel to the line established by the said treaty of Grouseland.

Art. 2. The Miamies explicitly acknowledge the equal right of the Delawares, with themselves, to the country watered by the White river; but it is also to be clearly understood that neither party shall have the right of disposing of the same, without the consent of the other; and any improvements which shall be made on the said land by the Delawares, or their friends the Mohicans, shall be theirs forever.

Art. 3. The compensation to be given for the cession made in the first article, shall be as follows, viz. To the Delawares, a permanent annuity of five hundred dollars; to the Miamies, a like annuity of five hundred dollars; to the Eel river tribe, a like annuity of two hundred and fifty dollars; and to the Pattawatamies, a like annuity of five hundred dollars.

Art. 4. All the stipulations made in the treaty of Greenville, relatively to the manner of paying the annuities, and the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land, shall apply to the annuities granted and the land ceded by the present treaty.

Art. 5. The consent of the Wea tribe shall be necessary to complete the title to the first tract of land here ceded. A separate convention shall be entered into between them and the United States, and a reasonable allowance of goods given them in hand, and a permanent annuity, which shall not be less than three hundred dollars, settled upon them.

Art. 6. The annuities promised by the third article, and the goods now delivered, to the amount of five thousand two hundred dollars, shall be considered as a full compensation for the cession made in the first article.

Art. 7. The tribes who are parties to this treaty, being desirous of putting an end to the depredations which are committed by abandoned individuals of their own color, upon the cattle, horses, &c. of the more industrious and careful, agree to adopt the following regulations *viz:* When any theft or other depredation shall be committed by any individual or individuals of one of the tribes, above mentioned, upon the property of any individual or individuals of another tribe, the chiefs of the party injured shall make application to the agent of the United States, who is charged with the delivery of the annuities of the tribe to which the offending party belongs, whose duty it shall be to hear the proofs and allegations on either side, and determine between them; and the amount of his award shall be immediately deducted from the annuity of the tribe to which the offending party belongs, and given to the person injured, or the chief of his village, for his use.

Art. 8. The United States agree to relinquish their right to the reserve at the old Ouiatanon towns, made by the treaty of Greenville, so far, at least, as to make no further use of it than for the establishment of a military post.

Art. 9. The tribes who are parties to this treaty, being desirous to shew their attachment to their brothers, the Kickapoos, agree to cede to the United States, the lands on the northwest side of the Wabash, from the Vincennes tract, to a northwardly extension of the line running from the mouth of the aforesaid Racoon creek, and fifteen miles in width from the Wabash, on condition that the United States, shall allow them an annuity of four hundred dollars; but this article is to have no effect, unless the Kickapoos will agree to it.

In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the sachems and war chiefs of the before mentioned tribes, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals, at Fort Wayne, this thirtieth of September, one thousand eight hundred and nine.

William Henry Harrison. (L. S.)

(Signed also by certain chiefs and warriors of the nations enumerated in the title.)

Sept. 30, 1809

A separate Article, entered into at Fort Wayne, on the 30th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine, between William Henry Harrison, Commissioner Plenipotentary of the United States for treating with the Indian tribes, and the sachems and chief warriors of the Miami and Eel river tribes of Indians, which is to be considered as forming part of the treaty this day concluded, between the United States and the said tribes, and their allies, the Delawares and the Pattawatamies.

As the greater part of the lands ceded to the United States by the treaty, this day concluded, was the exclusive property of the Miami nation, and guarantied to them by the treaty of Grouseland, it is considered by the said commissioner, just and reasonable that their request to be allowed some further and additional compensation should be complied with: It is, therefore, agreed, that the United States shall deliver, for their use, in the course of the next spring, at fort Wayne, domestic animals to the amount of five hundred dollars, and the like number for the two following years; and that an armorer shall be also maintained at fort Wayne, for the use of the Indians, as heretofore: It is also agreed that, if the Kickapoos confirm the ninth article of the treaty to which this is a supplement, the United States will allow to the Miamies a further permanent annuity of two hundred dollars, and to the Wea and Eel river tribes, a further annuity of one hundred dollars each.

In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the sachems and war chiefs of the said tribes, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals, the day and place above mentioned.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON. (L. S.)

(Signed also by certain chiefs and warriors of said tribes of Indians.)

JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS at the Indian Treaty at Fort Wayne and Vincennes September 1 to October 27, 1809

On Friday the 1st of September Governor Harrison as Commissioner for Treating with the Indian Tribes set out from Vincennes for Fort Wayne accompanied by his secretary Peter Jones one Interpreter [Joseph Barron] a French Man as a guide a Servant of the Governor & two Indians. After leaving the Settlement of Knox County our route was along the road newly cut out by the orders of the Government in the direction of the North Bend to its termination, & then along the frontier of the County of Dearborn to Fort Wayne, at which place we arrived on the fifteenth [September]. Directions had been given to Mr. John Johnston the Indian Agent to assemble the Indians, against that time. The deliware Tribe (with their

Interpreter) Mr. John Conner reached Fort Wayne at the very moment of our arrival. Two principal Chiefs Hockingpomscon and the Beaver were however absent on a visit to Detroit.

16th. Part of the Putawatimies arrived under their Chief Winnemack.

The Governor learned with regret that the head Chief Tipinipe [Topenebe] of the Putawatimies & Five Medals [Onoxa] were not returned from Detroit but authorized their son & nephew to act for them. In the evening the Eel River Tribe arrived & more of the Putawatimies. 17th. The Miami Chief Peccan, Owl, Osage and some inferior ones arrived. A messenger was sent for the little Turtle who returned for answer that he would come in on the 19th Inst. A mischievous report was circulated amongst the Indians that a Detachment of American Troops were marching against them. Some of the young men were much frightened but the Chiefs treated it with the ridicule it deserved. The Putawatimies waited on the Governor & requested a little liquor which was refused. The Governor observed that he was determined to shut up the liquor casks until all the business was finished. 18th. An express was dispatched to Detroit to hasten the arrival of the Deliware & Putawatimie Chiefs who had gone to that place & whose presence was very much desired by the Governor. Mr. [Joseph] Barron the Interpreter was also sent to the Miami Towns sixty miles distant to bring Richardville the Principal Chief of that Tribe who had excused himself under pretence of real or pretended sickness from comeing in with the other Chiefs.

The Governor had a conference with a Deputation from the Deliwares who reside west of the Mississippi who came for the purpose of prevailing on those of that Tribe who reside in this Territory to join their brethren in Louisiana. A reciprocal promise was made by the Governor to promote the above object as much as possible and by the Chiefs to aid his views in respect to the proposed Treaty. Measures were taken also to explain the wishes of the Government to the Putawatamies & to engage their cooperation. More of the Putawatamies & Miamies arived the whole number on the ground this day was eight hundred and ninety-two.

19th. The Turtle arrived this day with a number of Miamies & Putawatamies. The Governor visited the Putawatimies in their Camp as he had previously done the Deliwares. Measures were also taken to sound several of the most influential Chiefs on the subject of the proposed Treaty. Captain Hendricks the Mohecan Chief informed the Governor that the British Agent of Indian Affairs had advised all the Indian Tribes never to listen to any proposition to sell their lands to the United States. Pinnewa a Putawatimie Chief arrived with one hundred Indians of his Tribe.

20th. The Governor had a conference with all the Miami & Eel River Chiefs & explained to them at great length the object of his visit to this place and the great advantage which they would derive from causeing the Weas to move from the neighborhood of our Settlements and join their brethren the Miamies & Eel River Tribes (these three tribes are all properly speaking Miamies—see the Treaty of Grouseland) Their Nation would then become much more respectable and they would be enabled greatly to increase their annuity by selling a tract of land which was exhausted of game and which was no longer useful to them. They were desired to take the Governor's proposal into consideration & Coolly & deliberately to weigh all the arguments he had used to adopt his advice. Mr. [William] Wells remained with them at their conference and in the evening reported to the Governor that they had determined on no account ever to part from another foot of their lands. There is some reason to believe however that this was a mere finesse to enhance the price of their land. This evening Mr. Barron returned from the Mississinway & reported that the Chief Richardville was confined to his Bed & observed that it was impossible for him to attend at present but he requested the Governor to be informed that he would come up in a few days if he should find himself able & that he had advised the other Chiefs by all means to comply with Governor's wishes. 21st. The Governor had determined not to assemble the Chiefs in a General Council until the arrival of the Five Medals, the Putawatimie Chief, but finding that his object had been very much misrepresented to them, he commenced on this day both to the Deliwares & Putawatimies the wishes of the Government in relation to a further cession of Lands.

In the eveening the Putawatamie Chiefs sent a message to the Governor to inform him that they had determined that the other Tribes should agree to make the proposed cession.

22nd. In Council present, Governor Harrison as Commissioner plenipotentiary on the part of the United States and a full representation of the Deliware, Miami, Eel River & Putawatamie Tribes of Indians by their Chiefs & Head Men.

William Wells, Joseph Barron, John Conner, and Abraham Ash were sworn Interpreters. The Governor addressed the Chiefs in a speech of considerable length showing the propriety of their agreeing to his proposition to sell a tract of Country binding on the Wabash the Vincennes tract and the boundary established by the Treaty of Grouseland and another bounded by the latter on the South & the old boundary line running from Mouth of Kentucky River on the East. He urged the vast benefit which they derived from their annuities without which they would not be able to cloathe their woman & children. The great advance in the price of Goods and the depression of the value of their peltries from the troubles in Europe to which their was no probability of a speedy termination. The little game which remained in their country particularly in that part of it which he proposed to purchase. The usurpation of it by a Banditti of Muscoes [Muscogees] & other Tribes that the sale of it would not prevent them from hunting upon it as long as any game remained. But that it was absolutely necessary that they should adopt some other plan for their support. That the raising of Cattle & Hogs required little labor and would be the surest resourse as a substitute for the wild animals which they had so unfortunately destroyed for the sake of their skins. Their fondness for hunting might still be gratified if they would prevent their young men from hunting at improper season of the year. But to do this effectually it will be necessary that they should find a certain support in their Villages in the summer season. That the proposed addition to their annuities would enable them to procure the Domestic Animals necessary to commence raising them on a large scale. He observed also that they were too apt to impute their poverty and the scarcity of Game to the encroachments of the White Settlers. But this is not the true cause. It is owing to their own improvidence & the advice of the British Traders by whom they were stimulated to kill the wild animals for the skins alone when the flesh was not wanted. That this was the cause of their scarcity is evident from their being found in much greater quantity on the south than on the north side of the Wabash where no white man but traders were ever seen.

The remnant of the Weas who inhabit the Tract of Country which was wanted were from the vicinity to the Whites poor & miserable all the proceeds of their hunts & the part of their annuities expended in Whiskey. The Miami Nation would be much more respectable & formidable if its scattered members were all assembled in the center of their Country.

A rough sketch of the Country in which the two tracts which were wanted were particularly delineated was shewn to them, after which the Owl a Miami Chief addressed the Governor.

Father we are very happy to hear your address. We shall take what you have said into consideration & will return you an answer.

23rd. The Chiefs met in Council at the Deliware Camp to consider the Governor's proposition it was understood that the Putawatimies declared unequivocally in favour of the sale and were seconded by the Deliwares. The miamies remained silent. The Governor had a private interview with the Turtle who expressed some solicitude to know whether the dismission of Mr. Wells from his employment as Agent would effect his standing with the Government. The Governor assured him that he should be treated in all respect as he had heretofore so long as he conducted himself with propriety. He then assured the Governor unequivocally that he would exert himself to the utmost of his power to effect the proposed Treaty, but that many difficulties were to be encountered before it could be accomplished. That great complaints were made by the Indians on account of the compensation formerly allowed. That those who were in favour of the Treaty were decidedly of opinion that they aught to be allowed for the larger tribes at least a further annuity of $1000 & for the smaller ones $500 besides a considerable sum in hand. In the evening the Miami chiefs waited on the Governor at his lodgings and spent the evening with him. They requested to have a little liquor for their young men. Two Gallons were given to each Tribe. A Potawatomie Chief Winemack waited on the Governor late in the evening and told him that he came to make him sleep well by communicating the agreeable information that his proposition would be acceeded to by the Indians.

24th. The Indians met in Council to determine upon the answer to be given to the Governor. When the Miamies declared their determination not to sell a foot of Land. Observing that it was time to put a stop to the encroachments of the whites who were eternally purchasing their lands for less than the real value of them. That they had also heard that the Governor had no instructions from the President to make the purchase but that he was making it upon his own authority to please the White people whom he governed. The Putawatimies vehemently urged the sale & reproached the Miamies in the most bitter terms. That the Putawatimies had taken the Miamies under their protection when they were in danger of being exterminated & saved them. That they had always agreed to the sale of lands for the benefit of the Miamies and they were now determined that the Miamies should sell for their benefit.

The Delawares would take no active part on either side.

25th. All the Tribes were assembled in Council and the Governor addressed them as follows

MY CHILDREN

My Heart is oppressed. If I could have believed that I should have experienced half of the mortification and disappointment which I now feel, I would have entreated your Father the President to have chosen some other Representative to have made known his wishes to you. The proposition which I have made you, I fondly hoped would have been acceptable to all, because I knew it would be beneficial to all. When then this disagreement amongst you. Is there some evil spirit amongst us? That has set Brothers against Brothers & the Children against the Father? The Wind I hear has blown from the North, no good has every yet come from that quarter. If we who inhabit this great Island, who were born here, are not friends to each other, who will be our Friends.

Believe my Children the people upon the other side of the big water would desire nothing better than to set us once more to cut each others throats. Glad enough would they be to see us contending against each other in battle provided they were secured behind the Walls of a strong fort. Miamies be not offended with your brothers the Putawatimies. If they have discovered too much eagerness to comply with the wishes of their Father, look at their Woman & Children see them exposed to the winds & the rain as they will be in a short time to the snows of the Winter. Putawatimies do not suffer your love for your Father and your own distresses to make you angry with your brothers the Miamies. I know that they are attached to you. I am sure that everything will yet be fixed to your satisfaction.

Chiefs & Warriors of the Deliware. I have put confidence in you and you have not deceived me, you have united with your Children the Puttawatimies to accomplish the wishes of your Father, he will remember you for it. The proceedings of this Council written by the Secretary will be sent to him, his eyes will see it & whenever you take him by the hand you will know that his heart is yours. Your brothers on the Mississippi shall also feel the good effects of your fathers affection for you.

I promise you that the Osages shall not molest you in your hunting grounds.

My Children the Miamies, what disconcerts You? Have you not always received justice from the hands of your father? What is it he asks of you? Nothin but what you can spare. Will not your situation be made better by agreeing to his proposal? I know that you have long desired to have your brothers the Weas alongside of you. It will add to your strength—at present they are of no use to you—bring your scattered members together & you will be strong, besides there is danger that this distant member may fall off it is already weakened by the excessive use of liquor. My Children your father will never be the cause of breaking the chain of friendship that connects you with each other.

Puttawatimies & Miamies look upon each other as brothers and at the same time look upon your grand fathers the Delwares. I love to see you all united. I wish a strong chain to bind you all together in the bonds of friendship. I wish to hear you speak with one voice the dictates of your Heart. All must go together. The consent of all is necessary.

Deliwares and Putawatimies, I told you that I would do nothing with the Miamies without your consent. Miamies I now tell you that nothing can be done without your consent. The consent of the whole is necessary. This is the first reguest your new Father (President Madison) has ever made you it will be the last, he wants no more of your land agree to the proposition which I now make you & send on some of your wise men to take him by the hand. He will set your Heart at ease. He will tell you that he will never make another proposition to you to sell your lands.

My Children the Miamies will not listen to the recommendation of your grand fathers the Deliwares & your brothers the Puttawatimies. Consult together once more if any ill will remain in your breasts against each other banish it, throw it away, and return a favorable answer to this last request of your Father.

The Turtle a Miami Chief then spoke as follows

We have listened to what our Father has said. Putawatimies and Deliwares we have hard him say that you were united for the purpose of complying with his wishes I am sorry that he has met with so much difficulty. It is true that we the Miamies are not united with the Deliwares and Putawatimies in opinion. Father it appears that the thing is now left with the Miamies, they will withdraw and consult together and after they have made up their minds you shall hear our answer.

In the evening the Miami Chiefs from two Villages met with the Eel River Chiefs under the auspices of the Turtle & agreed to meet the Governor's wishes.

26th. A meeting of the several Tribes took place. The Putawatimies urged an immediate compliance to the proposal of the United States. The Miamies from Mississinway took the lead in the debate & declared that they would no longer consider them as Brothers but that they would loose the chain which had united them with the Tomahawk & setting up a shout of Defiance which was echoed by all the warriors proceeded immediately to the Council House to inform the Governor of what they had done, the Governor blamed them for their rashness & made them promise not to offer the Miamies any further insult to put their cause in his hands.

It appeard that such of the Miamies as had determined in favour of the Treaty were intimidated by the vehemence of the Chiefs of the Mississinway Village & remained silent. During the whole of this day and the preceding one, parties of young men of the Miami Tribe were constantly ariving loaded with goods from the British Agents at Malden and charged also with strong remonstrances against the proposed Treaty.

In the evening the Governor had the greater part of the Miami Chiefs at his lodgings and in a conversation of some hours exposed profidious conduct of the British towards them from the commencement of the Revolutionary War until the present moment. "To them all their misfortunes were to be attributed & their present kindness to them proceeded from no other cause but a wish to embroil them with the United States. In case of a War with the latter, the English know that they are unable to defend Canada with their own force, they are therefore desirous of interposing the Indians between them and danger." A complimentary answer was returned by the Head Chief Paccon & they returned about ten o'clock a little melowed with Wine.

27th. The Miami Chiefs were this day debating on the proposed Treaty, the Chief Silver heels particularly distinguished himself in favour of the Treaty. They came however to no decision. In the evening the Governor recommended to the Putawatimies to accommodate their difference with the Miamies they immediately assented & a proper belt of Wampon was prepared for the purpose.

28th. The Putawatimies & Miamies met & the bad words spoken by the former on the 26th being recalled they shook hands and became again friends. The proposed Treaty was again taken under consideration and various objections were started by the Miamies amongst other things it was insisted that they ought to sell their lands by the acre & that they should receive two Dollars for it. In the evening the Governor was informed that they had agreed to sell the small tract near Fort Recovery only, and none on the Wabash.

29th. In Council present the Governor and the Deliware, Putawatimies, Miamies & Eel River Miamies.

The OWL a Miami Chief

Said That it had pleased the great Spirit to unite again all who were present in the bands of friendship. Yesterday the friendship was all afloat today it is made firm. You the people of the United States have assembled us all here, our Chiefs, &c. You remember the time when we first took each other by the hand at Greenville. You there told us where the line would be between us. You told us to love our woman & children and take care of our lands, you told us that the Spanish had a great deal of money the English & some of your people likewise, but that we should not sell our lands to any of them. In consequence of which last fall we all put our hands upon our lands & determined not to sell our lands.

We all love our lands. After this determination you sent for us at the end of one year but we did not expect to hear from you what we have heard, but we yesterday determined to give you an answer. You have told us not to let any person have our lands but consider well before we sell them. This was good advice, you know when things are scarce they are dear, you know the price of lands. We are willing to sell you some for the price that it sells for amongst yourselves. The land you want on the Wabash we have nothing to say to at present as the Weas are not here. If people have anything that they do not want they will part from it easily. We yet find game on this land. When there is none. We will let you know it. Father you know the Miamies, you know that when they do business with any other Indians no respect is paid to what they say. Father at this Council you have told the Miamies to speak. We therefore expect that you will be governed by what they say. When you spoke to us you wished that we should comply. We now wish that you would comply with what we wish. The land we propose selling to you will be measured and when it is we wish to be present. Father the land you mentioned to us on the Wabash we have nothing to say about. We do not wish you to go home unsuccessful. We will let you have some land near Fort Recovery, the land on the Wabash our younger Brothers occupy. Dont be dissatisfied. This is our determination. We have disputed about your proposal but our disputes were fortunately settled yesterday. Father you know everything, you will immediately understand what I now say—we wish to keep our people and yours as far as possible from the White people, we know that when your Horses are lost you blame the Indians, we wish to keep our people and yours as separate as possible. This is the sentiments of your Children here present. We have nothing more to say. Our Chiefs, Warriors, Woman & Children salute you, the former annuity due to us by the United States we have come to receive and wish them delivered as soon as possible.

The Governor then addressed them in a speech of two hours in which he gave a History of the Conduct of the United States towards the red people contrasted with that of Great Britain. "The loss of the country from Pittsburgh to the Miami was entirely to be attributed to the latter who urged the Indians to commence all those Wars, which had terminated so fatally to them. If all the lands which had been taken from them in those Wars which they had engaged in by the advice of the British had been sold on the same terms as those ceded since the Treaty of Greenville their Annuity would now have been equal to all their wantes nor would they have to lament the numerous warriors who had fallen in fighting the battles of the English. How different was the conduct of the United States? Consious of their ability to punish their enemies they had never asked the assistance of their red children but have always advised them to remain at peace in their Cabbins & suffer the white people to fight their own battles." The Governor explained to them the nature of a Treaty "No other power but the United States' had ever Treated with them. Other Civilized Nations considered the lands of the Indians as their own and appropriated them to their own use whenever they pleased. A Treaty was considered by white people as a most solemn thing and those which were made by the United States with the Indian Tribes were considered as binding as those which were made with the most powerful Kings on the other side of the Big Water. They were all concluded with the same forms and printed in the same Book so that all the world might see them and brand with infamy the party which violated them. The United States would always adhere to their engagements. To do otherwise would be offensive to the great spirit and all the world would look upon them as a faithless people. With respect to your selling the land by the acre it is entirely out of the question. But if the United States were to agree to it, you have no one that could survey it for you or who could tell whether it was accurately done or not. If it was sold by the acre we would only take what was good and leave the rest upon your hands. When it is bought in the large quantity you are paid for good and bad together and you all know that in every tract that is purchased that there is a great portion of bad land not fit for our purpose. This idea must have been suggested to you by some person who is as much your enemy as the enemy of the United States." The Governor then told them that he was tired of waiting and that on the next day he would submit to them the form of a Treaty which he wished them to sign and if they would not agree to it he would extinguish the council fire.

WINEMACK a Putawatimie Chief then addressed the Governor as follows

FATHER

All the Putawatimies address you, listen to what they say, which come from them all. Father the Putawatimies are of the same opinion that they have ever been, that your proposition is right and just. We all know that our Father never deceived us., We therefore agree to his proposal. All the Chiefs & Warriors have heard you say that they may go and see their great Father the President and that he would tell them as you have done.

You have now heard the sentiments of all the Putawatimies. Father after we conclude the Treaty some of our young men would be glad to go and see their Father. Father your Children have listened to you with attention all that you have said is good, you have asked for land, we will give it to you. We have heard you say that the piece of land at Wea Towns which we had formerly given, you were willing to restore this has made us happy we have always heard from you and our Father Jefferson nothing but good. We wish to concur with all the nations who are present. We your children consider the land as belonging to us all not to one nation alone, we know that everything you have said to us is true. You have also recommended to us to be moderate & friendly to each other.

A Deliware Chief then arose and observed that the Deliwares had always kept fast hold of the chain of friendship which united them to the seventeen fires at the Treaty of Greenville. That they had always listened to the voice of their Father and were now willing to agree to his proposals.

As soon as the Putawatimie Chief began to speak all the Mississinway Miamies left the Council House.

30th. It was now the opinion of all the Gentlemen about the Fort that the Missisinway Miamies could never be brought to sign the Treaty and all the attempts which the Governor had made through the Interpreters and some confidential Chiefs to find out the real cause of their obstinacy had hitherto failed. He therefore determined to make them a visit to their camp in person for the purpose of ascertaining whether their opposition proceeded from a fixed determination (as they had asserted) not to sell any more lands unless they could get two Dollars pr. Acre, or some other cause which he might be enabled to remove. He accordingly went to their camp about sun rise attended only by his Interpreter Mr. Barron in whose integrity he had the utmost confidence. He was received by all the Chiefs with the utmost complacency and having collected them all in the Tent of the principal he told them "that he had paid them that visit not as the Representative of the President but as an old friend with whom they had been many years acquainted and who always endeavored to promote their happiness by every means in their power. That he plainly saw that there was something in their hearts which was not consistent with the attachment which they ought to bear to their great Father and he was afraid that they had listened to bad birds. That he had come there for the purpose of hearing every cause of complaint against the United States and he would not leave them untill they laid open everything that oppressed their Hearts. He knew that they could have no solid objection to the proposed Treaty for they were all men of sense and reflection and well knew that they would be much benefited by it." The Governor requested all the Chiefs present would speak in their turn, and calling upon the principal Chief of the Eel River Tribe who was an old friend of his that had served with him in General Waynes Army he demanded what his objections were to the Treaty. He drew out the Treaty of Grouseland. "Father—Here are your own words, in this paper you promised that you would consider the Miamies as the owners of the land on the Wabash why then are you about to purchase it from others? The Governor assured them that it never was his intention to purchase the land from the other Tribes that he had always said and was ready now to confess that the land belonged to the Miamies and to no other Tribe that if the other Tribes had been invited to the Treaty it was at their particular request (The Miamies). The Putawatimies had indeed taken higher ground than either the Governor or the Miamies expected they claimed an equal right to the lands in question with the Miamies, but what of this their claiming it gave them no right and it was not the intention of the Governor to put anything in the Treaty which would in the least alter their claim to their lands on the Wabash, as established by the Treaty of Grouseland unless they chose to satisfy the Deliwares with respect to their claim to the Country Watered by the White River. That even the whole compensation proposed to be given for the land would be given to the Miamies if they insisted upon it but that they knew the offence which this would give to the other Tribes and that it was always Governor's intention so to draw up the Treaty that the Putawatimies & Deliwares would be considered as participating in the advantages of the Treaty as allies of the Miamies not as having any right to the land." Every countenance brightened at this declaration, the other Chiefs spoke in their turn, each had some grievance to complain of. They had been told that justice should be done to them in their disputes with the White People, the Principal War Chief complained that he had been cheated by a Mr. [Peter] Audrain in connection of Mr. Wells out of seventy Dollars that he had in vain applied to Wells for redress, the old story of the Spirits seized by Wells was again brought forward and a very strong antipathy both to Wells and the Turtle was manifested by all. The Governor had no alternative but to promise immediate satisfaction for these claims and to assure them that he perfectly understood and admitted that they the (Mississinway Chiefs) were the real Representatives of the Miami Nation and that he should always consider them as such. Some attempts were then made to induce the Governor to alter his determination with respect to the quantum of compensation to be given for the land but finding that the Governor was immovable as to this point they gave it up and after dissultory conversation upon the Governor's demanding whether they were entirely satisfied Pacan the principal Chief told the Governor he might go to the Fort and they would shortly wait upon him with good news. The Treaty was immediately prepared and in full council at which all the Warriors attended, the Treaty was signed without a single objection excepting on the part of the Turtle who objected to the article which gives the Mohecans the right to settle on the White River. The Other Miami Chiefs however declared in favour of it and the Turtle gave it up.

The separate article with the Miamies had been agreed on before upon their consenting to the Article in the original Treaty which embraces the Kickappos.

October the *first, second* and *third* the Governor was employed in delivering the annuities for the present year. The Goods promised by the late Treaty and arranging the claims of certain Citizens against the Indians & those of the Indians against the Citizens for Horses stolen and other depredations all which were amicably adjusted. When the Goods for the Putawatamies were laid out Viz: fifteen hundred Dollars from the public store & five hundred Dollars of their annuity which had been sent to Fort Wayne seeing that their pile was so much less than the Miamies they refused to take them alledging that their numbers were greater than all the other Tribes present put together & that they had less goods than any. As soon as the Governor was informed of this he assembled all the Chiefs & Warriors in the Council House and explained to them the reason of their having but five hundred Dollars of their present years annuity part having been sent to Detroit & part to Chicago. After some consultation they agreed to take the Goods but as the Governor discovered that they were not satisfied he agreed to advance them five hundred Dollars in anticipation of their next years annuity.

4th. We set out on our return to Vincennes through the Indian Country on the morning of the 5th passed the Camp of Pacan the principal Miami Chief & found one of his men mortally wounded in a drunken frolick the preceding night. The Chiefs informed the Governor that they had not discovered the murderer. The Governor recommended to them by all means to punish him when discovered if it should appear to have proceeded from previous malice, but if it should appear to be altogether accident to let him know it and he would assist to make up the matter with the friends of the deceased.

Passing through the Indian Villages at the Forks of the Wabash we arrived at Mississinway on the 6th where we were hospitably received by Richardville the Grand Sachem of the Miamies who expressed his entire satisfaction at the conclusion of the Treaty. At the Eel River Village on the Raviere [Petit] we met with some of the Wea Tribe whom the Governor sent to collect the Wea Chiefs & conduct them to Vincennes at which place we arrived on the 12th October.

The whole number of Indians present the day the Treaty was signed was thirteen hundred and ninety.

On the fifteenth of October Lapoussier the principal Chief of the Weas arrived [at Vincennes] with fifteen of his Tribe.

The Little Eyes & some others on the 18th, Shawnee and others on the 19th & the Negro legs on the 22d. In all on that day there were sixty-one.

24th. The Governor assembled in the evening at his own house all the Indians and informed them "that he wished to see them to discover whether they were in a situation to understand the important business which He had to lay before them. He had shut up the liquor casks, but he was sory to see that some bad white men had disregarded his Proclamation & secretly furnished them with the means of intoxication. He was glad however to find that they were then all sober & he hoped that they would not drink any more until the business on which he assembled them was finished. On the morrow he would explain to them the proceedings of the Council at Fort Wayne."

25th. The Wea Chiefs being all assembled the Governor produced the Treaty lately made at Fort Wayne and explained it to them. He then represented to them "the advantages they would derive from removeing from the neighborhood of Vincennes and settling higher up the Country with their older brothers the Miamies and the great assistance that they would derive from the proposed addition to their annuity & the Goods which they were to receive in hand and which would be the same as larger Tribes received in consequence of the inconvenience they would suffer by removing from their present habitations.

26th. The Chiefs of the Weas all assembled & after some explanations with respect to the Treaty & a most urgent appeal from the Negro legs to the Governor's feelings on the subject of the injury done to the Indians by the sale of Whisky by the White people for which they received in payment Articles indispencible to the subsistance of the former & those which would cover their nakedness. The Treaty was chearfully signed by every Chief & head Warrior present.

27th. The Goods were delivered and on the 29th the chiefs again met the Governor & expressed their satisfaction at what had been done & most earnestly entreated "that some means might be fallen on to put a stop to the sale of Ardent Spirits to the Indians—Which prevented the Annuity granted them by the United States from affording them that benefit which their father wished & caused the young men to be so disobedient to their Chiefs that it is impossible to restrain them."

The above is a true statement of the proceedings at the Treaties concluded with the several Indian Tribes at Fort Wayne on the 30th September last and with the Weas at Vincennes on the 26th Ultimo.[1]

PETER JONES, *Secretary to Governor*
HARRISON Commissioner of the United States

ANNUAL MESSAGE THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY

October 17, 1809

Vincennes *Western Sun, October 21, 1809*

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:[1]

The happy change which has been effected in our constitution by the act of Congress, which gives to the people the choice of the members of the Legislative Council and the Delegate to Congress, is a subject of felicitation to every friend to the happiness and prosperity of the Territory. This act is alone sufficient to prove the parental care of our National Government, and shews also, if other proofs were wanting, that the unfortunate division of our late Territory could only have been effected by a total misrepresentation of the interests and wishes of four fifths of our citizens.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

The proclamation which convened you at this time was not issued without some doubts of its propriety, arising from the different constructions which might be given to a clause in the act of Congress for extending the right of sufrage in this Territory and for other purposes. By the act creating the Indiana Territory, the apportionment of the representatives amongst the several counties (which was not to exceed nine, nor be less than seven) was committed to the Governor. Before the act of division took effect the House of Representatives was composed of seven members, but four of whom by the line of demarcation were left in this Territory. I thought it proper, therefore, to issue a proclamation on the 4th of April, giving to each of the old counties an additional member, and to the new county of Harrison one also. After the proclamation had been signed, but before it had left the office of the secretary, I received the first intimation that a law was about to be passed by Congress, which amongst other provisions transferred the apportionment of the Representatives from the Governor to the Legislature, and increased the number of members necessary to form a house from seven to nine. The proclamation being in all respects completed, and considering the allowance of additional members in the nature of a grant, and the law under which I acted giving me no power to abrogate an act of this kind when once done, I did not think myself authorized to countermand the elections which had been ordered. Nor indeed did there appear to be any necessity for doing so upon an accurate examination of the law itself, which soon after reached me. The fourth section of the act does indeed give to the General Assembly the apportionment of the Representatives, and declares also that there shall not be less than nine; but how was this to be done by the General Assembly unless they were convened, and how could a General Assembly be formed, even under the old law, without an increase of the House of Representatives, which by the division was reduced to four members? By the old law, nine was to be the greatest number allowed to the House of Representatives, and seven only had actually been apportioned. Now, it is impossible to believe that Congress had acted under the impression that, after having lopped off what was considered one-third part of the Territory, there would remain seven members in Indiana. Documents sufficient to shew the number of members which would remain were also at hand, as the proceedings of the Governor in his executive capacity are bi-annually transmitted to the President. From all this it appears to have been the intention of Congress that a General Assembly should be convened under the old law, previously to the organization directed by the new. No other construction can be given to the section without rendering it altogether a nullity. The power given to the Governor in the third section, to apportion the members of the Council, is also a strong circumstance in favor of this construction. Under the authority of the old law he could not organize a House of Representatives; but as Congress determined to destroy the former Council, and as there could be no General Assembly without a Council, it was necessary to invest him with this power, or their intentions with regard to the subsequent organization of the House of Representatives could not have been effected, and the Territory left without a Legislature. These are my views of the subject, gentlemen; but should you differ from me in opinion, I would recommend that the laws you may pass should not be permitted to go into operation until application can be made to Congress to confirm them.

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[1] The *Journal* was published in 1910 by J. L. Heineman of Connersville, Ind. to whom full credit is hereby given.

[1] The members of the Council were, Solomon Manwaring, Thomas Downs, Harvy Heath, William Prince and Luke Decker; of the House were Richard Rue and Ephraim Overman of Dearborn, James Beggs and John Work of Clark, Moses Hoggatt of Harrison, General W. Johnston, John Johnson and John Hadden of Knox. The territory had been divided Feb. 8, 1809; a new election was held May 22. The election was irregular and the legislature was dissolved at its own request Oct. 21, 1809.

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

The division of the Territory has devolved on you the unpleasant task of providing for a considerable defalcation of the revenue. But before any additional burthens are laid upon your constituents, every possible retrenchment should be made in the expenditures of the public money. If your labours to this effect should be insufficient to reduce the demands upon the Treasury to a level with the receipts, we have no other resource than that of increasing the tax on lands. A further tax upon any species of improvement would be highly impolitic, and the odious capitation tax (that appropriate emblem of an aristocratical government) ought on no account to be again resorted to. As the wealth of our citizens consists almost exclusively of lands, no tax can be more equal and just than that which is levied on this species of property. It ought indeed, in my opinion, to be the source from which, with some trifling exceptions, we should draw the whole of our revenue. It is impossible to make the tax upon horses an equal one, because the expenses of valuation would nearly absorb the whole amount, and reason and justice revolt at the idea of taxing the low priced animal, whose labour provides the food for the family of the indigent citizen, as high as the pampered steed of the man of pleasure, or the costly courser of the sportsman. Notwithstanding the present embarrassment of our treasury, gentlemen, the prospect before us is far from being discouraging. The sales of the lands of the United States are daily adding to the mass from which we derive our revenue; and a late extinguishment of Indian title [See Oct. 1, above] to a large and fertile body of land has laid the foundation for a great increase of wealth and population.[2]

The organization and discipline of our militia has, for a considerable time, engaged my unremitted attention; but the progress, altho' considerable, has fallen far short of my wishes and that state which promises effectual security to our exposed settlements. The law upon this subject is indeed extremely deficient; and although my recommendations for amendments have been as urgent and frequent as my respect for the two houses would allow, every attempt to procure them has hitherto failed. I cannot suppose that those unfounded jealousies of the accumulation of power in the hands of the Executive, which have been propagated amongst the people with so much industry and so little success, have ever found admittance within these walls. Although not well informed of their source, it is not impossible to believe that they have a common origin [British] with those unremitted exertions to excite our Indian neighbors to hostilities against us. That infamous policy which would kindle the fury of the blood-thirsty savages, and direct it against an unoffending people, would not be too delicate to attempt by any means to paralyze the force which would defeat their machinations. It is the duty of every republican to keep a watchful eye upon those who are entrusted with the reins of government; but it is no less his duty to give to them that confidence and support which is so essentially necessary to the prompt discharge of their duties. No trouble or expense should be spared to procure the removal of a bad officer, but every citizen should be prepared to support the constituted authorities of his country in every legal exercise of his functions. The Territorial form of government possesses some traits which are not altogether reconcilable with republican principles, and the commission with which I am honored is independent of the people. I am, however, so perfectly convinced that their confidence and support are essentially necessary to the proper discharge of many important duties, as to be unalterably determined that the moment which brings a conviction that their confidence has been withdrawn shall terminate my commission by a voluntary resignation. Such is the nature, gentlemen, of military affairs, that a great sacrifice of that liberty which is the boast of every

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[2] This purchase at Fort Wayne, Sept. 30, 1809 extended the boundary to the ten-o-clock line running approximately from Brownstown to Montezuma in Parke county.

American becomes necessary even in the temporary assumption of the military habit which our laws require of every able-bodied citizen. The powers given to the commander-in-chief, and other superior officers, should be commensurate to the great object of the militia institutions—that of forming, by discipline and frequent trainings, a body of citizen soldiers which shall be equal to the defence of our country against every invader. By urging this subject upon you, gentlemen, I wish it not to be understood that I have the least reason to complain of the want of military ardor amongst our citizens. The very reverse is the case. Spurning at the base suggestions of faction or treachery, which would divide them from their government, I have ever found the sons of Indiana ready to rally 'round their chief, and obey the voice of their country, conveyed to them by his orders, at the expense of every personal consideration. I could, indeed, relate instances of sacrifices in this way which would gladden the heart of every patriot. But in a country of laws everything which is susceptible of it should be regulated by law, and as little as possible left to construction and implication. The codes of the several States will furnish you, gentlemen, with well digested militia systems. Let these be your guides. Do not subject your constituents to more rigid rules than these prescribe. But the powers given to the commanders-in-chief in the States are necessary to be given here, or I cannot be answerable that the discipline of the militia shall be such as the general government looks for, and our exposed situation requires.

I have frequently called the attention of your predecessors, gentlemen, to the situation of the Court of Chancery. My sentiments upon the subject will be found in my communication to the last General Assembly.[3] The recent termination [October 4] of a long and fatiguing journey into the Indian country [to Fort Wayne] has put it out of my power to notice some other matters of importance; they shall form the subjects of special communications. I am particularly charged by the President of the United States to recommend to you the passage of a law to prohibit the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians. The forcible and affecting language of the late President Jefferson will best explain to you the wishes of the government upon this subject. I will cause his letter to be laid before you. But it may be proper in me to observe, that the experience of nine years has left a perfect conviction upon my mind that the humane and benevolent intentions of the government in relation to the aborigines can never be accomplished as long as the means of indulgence in this fatal liquor is so easily obtained. By it is our progress arrested at every step, whether our exertions are directed to teach them such of the arts of civilized life as are adapted to their situation, or to introduce amongst them the light of the gospel and humanize their fierce souls by the mild precepts of christianity. To use a figure of one of their orators, it "resembles a mighty conflagration, which spreads death and destruction through their villages, which none but the power that kindled is able to extinguish." It depends in a great measure on you, gentlemen, whether the future historian shall exempt republican America from the just odium of having contributed her full share towards that destruction of the human species, which has hitherto marked the settlements of all the civilized nations amongst those whom they call savages. Whether the Indian villages in our neighborhood shall exhibit to the traveller a scene of savage fury, of misery and superstition, or the delightful spectacle of man in a state of progressive improvement in morals, the arts of civilized life, and, above all, worshiping his Creator in the manner which he has himself prescribed. The State of Ohio, gentlemen, has on this subject set you an example of obedience to the national government which, I am persuaded, you will not hesitate to follow.

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[3] See Esarey, *Courts and Lawyers, I, ch. 2.*

Permit me to recommend to you, gentlemen, the cultivation of harmony and a spirit of conciliation towards each other. Avoid local politicks and local prejudices. Let it be the object of all to promote the interest of all. We have all the same interests and are, I trust, in pursuit of the same object—that of taking upon ourselves as soon as possible the habit of manhood, and assuming our station in the national councils. Permit me to assure you of my hearty co-operation in any measure which may have this tendency, or which may otherwise promote the interest and happiness of your constituents.

William Henry Harrison

SPECIAL MESSAGE: LEGALITY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

October 19, 1809

Vincennes *Western Sun, December 16, 1809*

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

If there still exists doubts in your minds upon the propriety of proceeding to legislate, it will certainly meet my entire approbation that such a course should be pursued as would remove them in the mode the most easy, the most appropriate, and the best calculated to secure the rights of your constituents.

I think it, however, proper to observe that, as the representative of the United States, I am free to declare that your powers to legislate are as complete as they can make them.[1]

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

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[1] The following petition had been presented to Congress November 28, 1809. The difficulty was solved by an act of Congress, December 15, 1809 *(Statutes at Large, Eleventh Congress, Second Session, Ch ii)* giving the governor full power to constitute a new Assembly after which the power of apportionment should be assumed by it. "Your petitioners state that, in the year 1805, there was a legislature organized under" a "law, dividing the territory northwest of the river Ohio; that, on the 26th day of October, 1808, the governor dissolved the said legislature. On the 3d of February, 1809, the law of congress passed, dividing the Indiana territory; and that on the 4th day of April, 1809, the governor of the territory issued his proclamation for the election of the additional members of the house of representatives. Also, on the 27th of February, 1809, the law passed, extending the right of suffrage to the citizens of Indiana, and declaring how the legislature shall be formed after the passage of the said law; that is, the General Assembly should apportion the members of the House of Representatives, to consist of not less than nine nor more than twelve. This law was evidently predicated upon the principle that a legislature was in existence at the time of its passage, or that a legislature might be convened under the authority of the governor's proclamation; but the fact was different, for the old legislature was doubly dissolved, (if this expression may be allowed;) first, by the governor, as above stated; secondly, by the division of the territory, which struck off three members of the House of Representatives, and two of the Legislative Council. Thus, there was no legislature in being to make the apportionment agreeably to the said act of Congress. Now, the principal doubt that exists in the minds of your petitioners is, how the old legislature (is) to be brought into being, so as to organize the new legislature under the act of congress, as above stated. On the first Monday of April, 1809, the governor, by his proclamation, directed an election to be held for members of the House of Representatives, at which election there were four members elected—to-wit: two in the county of Knox; one in the county of Dearborn; and one in the county of Clark. On the 4th of April, 1809, (six days before the above law of congress arrived here,) the governor issued his writs of election, for an election to be held on the 22d of May, for five councilors and four more representatives, having himself made the apportionment. He gave an additional member to the county of Knox; one to the county of Dearborn; one to the county of Clark; and one to the new county of Harrison—making, in the whole, only eight members in the House of Representatives. Under these dubious circumstances, the governor issued his proclamation, convening, on the 16th of the present month, the members of the Legislative Council, elected as above stated; and the members elected as aforesaid, to serve in the House of Representatives. Agreeably to the aforesaid proclamation, the Legislative Council and the members elected to the House of Representatives convened; and the minority of the

SPECIAL MESSAGE DISSOLVING LEGISLATURE

October 21, 1809

Dillon, *Indiana, 437*

I have considered your request for a dissolution of the present Legislature with all the attention the importance of the subject demands and the shortness of the time allowed to form an opinion would permit. It has ever been my wish to assimilate, as far as possible, the government of the Territory to those which prevail in the States; to conceal those rougher features of our constitution which are so justly offensive to republican delicacy, and which nothing but the infancy of our political state renders tolerable. Of this description is the power given to the Governor to prorogue and dissolve the Legislature at pleasure. An application of the people themselves, or their representatives, forms one of the few occasions on which I would consent to use this power; and, although the propriety of the measure at this time is not altogether apparent to my mind, yet in compliance with your wishes I have thought proper to determine, and do now declare, that this present Legislature is, from this moment, dissolved, and the powers delegated to it by the people again revert to them.

RESOLUTIONS REAPPOINTMENT OF HARRISON

October 28, 1809

Western Sun, November 4, 1809

At a meeting of the officers of the militia for the county of Knox, held at Vincennes, in the Indiana territory, on the 28th day of October 1809. Colonel [Francis] Vigo was appointed president, and captain David Robb, secretary.

House of Representatives, not conceiving themselves authorized to go on to legislative business, the legislature agreed to postpone doing any business, in a legislative capacity, except apportioning an additional member to make up the number nine, agreeably to the said act of congress, extending the right of suffrage to the citizens of this territory. From this view of the subject, your petitioners humbly pray, that a law may be passed legalizing the above apportionment; so that a legislature may be organized under the present law of congress, extending the right of suffrage to Indiana, so soon as the governor of this territory may be officially informed of the same. Or, if congress doubt of their authority to legalize the above proceedings, upon the ground of the laws having an *ex post facto* operation, then to pass a law authorizing, expressly, the governor to organize a legislature upon any plan which, to them, may seem proper." Dillon, *History of Indiana*, 436 *seq.*

On motion of major [Ephraim] Jordan[1]—ordered, that a committee be appointed to draft a resolution, expressive of the confidence this meeting have in the conduct of Governor Harrison, and praying that he may be re-appointed to the government of this territory. Whereupon, major Jordan captains [Walter] Wilson,[2] Purcell,[3] [Peter] Jones, and [William] Bruce,[4] were appointed that committee, who returned after a short time, and reported the following which were unanimously concurred in.

Resolved, That from the exposed situation of the territory, surrounded by numerous and warlike tribes of Indians, it is of the utmost importance to the safety and prosperity of the country, that the governor thereof, who is ex-officio commander in chief of the militia, should be a man of military talents, and information.

Resolved, That the attention paid to, and the unremitted exertions used by William Henry Harrison, to organize and discipline, by frequent trainings, the militia of the territory, and the masterly skill and great military talents displayed in such, his exertions, together with the anxious solicitude with which he has ever watched over the peace and happiness of the territory, to which may be added, the confidence reposed in him, the ease with which he manages their affairs, induced this meeting to have the utmost confidence in him, as evidently qualified to govern the territory, not only because of his superior military talents, but also his integrity, patriotism, and firm attachment to the general government.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that they have herein expressed the sentiments of the regiment they command. Therefore,

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[1] Ephraim Jordan was a member of the Vincennes militia in 1790 to whom the government gave 100 acres of land. For many years after 1800 he was a justice of the peace. Feb. 3, 1801 he was made justice of the common pleas; July 20, 1802 he was appointed a captain; May 5, 1810 he became Lieut. Col.; June 1, 1812 a colonel. During the Tippecanoe campaign he served under Dubois as a scout.

[2] Walter Wilson was appointed a Lieut. in the Knox Co. militia Oct. 3, 1806; a captain, Sept. 4, 1807. He was also a justice for many years. In June 1811 he carried a message from Harrison to the Prophet. He served as a captain in Luke Decker's battalion at Tippecanoe.

[3] The Purcell family was among the earliest American settlers in Knox Co. Jonathan Purcell, the pioneer, came to Knox Co. from Va. and about 1800 located near Bruceville. Noah and Andrew Purcell were both captains in the Knox county militia at this time. Noah was a major at Tippecanoe, Andrew, James, Jonathan and William served as privates.

[4] William Bruce was born in Penn. 1776. Came to Louisville while a young man. married sister of Judge Wm. Polke. Came to Vincennes in 1805. Located at Bruceville 1806; he had 33 children. Died 1858. Commanded a company of rangers during Indian wars. Was a scout with Dubois at Tippecanoe.

Resolved, That the President be requested to re-appoint, William Henry Harrison, to the Government of the Territory.

Resolved, That the proceedings be signed by the president of this meeting, and countersigned by the secretary, and transmitted to the President of the United States.

F. VIGO *Colonel Knox County Militia*
DAVID ROBB, *Captain, Secretary to the Board*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

November, 1809
Dawson, *Harrison, 173*

It has indeed occurred to me that the surest means of securing good behaviour from this conspicuous personage and his brother, would be to make them prisoners, but at this time more particularly, it is desirable, that peace with all the Indian tribes should be preserved, and I am instructed by the President to express to your excellency his expectations and confidence that in all your arrangements, this may be considered (as I am confident it ever has been) a primary object with you.[1] (extract)

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 3d Novr. 1809
Har. Pa. 266-273

SIR:

I have now the honor to enclose herewith the treaty concluded at Fort Wayne in the 30th September, [see supra] with the Miami, Eel River, Delaware, and Potawatomie Tribes. The additional article entered into with the Miamis and Eel River tribe on the same day, and the treaty concluded with the Weas at this place on the twenty-sixth ultimo, conformably to the fifth article of the first mentioned treaty. The Potawatomies and Delawares were admitted as parties to the

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[1] In the month of November the governor received instructions to defer making the military establishment up the Wabash which he had proposed in his letter to the government Oct. 10. It was expected to accomplish this in the spring. Two companies —Captains Posey and Cross—were to winter at Vincennes.

Dawson, *Harrison, 173*

Treaty in conformity with your instructions "that the chiefs of all those tribes who have or pretend a right to these lands should be present", and the Potawatomies and Delawares being present there was no alternative but to make them parties in some shape or other. Indeed I am convinced that had the treaty been made with the Miamis alone the consequences to them would have been extremely unpleasant, if not fatal. The refusal of the Miamis to acknowledge the right of the Delawares to the country watered by the White River, at the Treaty of Grouseland, has from that time continued to rankle in the minds of the latter and to produce a disposition which bordered on actual hostility. The poverty and wretchedness of the Potawatomies made them extremely desirous of a treaty at which they expected to have their most pressing wants relieved. To have excluded either would have been extremely unpolitic on our part, as it would have entirely alienated the minds of those Tribes from us—nor do I believe that the Miamis would have dared to conclude the Treaty without them—as it is the arrangement which has been made is just to all and is therefore I believe, satisfactory to all. The Delawares, besides a considerable addition to their annuity, have had their equal right with the Miamis to the lands on White river confirmed. The Potawatomies have been gratified with considerable present in goods which they much wanted, and a further addition to their annuity. This will create another tie to bind this numerous and warlike Tribe to the United States. They were not however as perfectly satisfied with the Miamis when they left Fort Wayne as could have been wished—there were so great a number present that the goods, when divided amongst them, were found greatly below their necessities, and indeed some of them went off without a single article. Every opportunity which the shortness of my stay, after the signing of the Treaty, would allow, was employed to convince them of the justice and generosity with which they had been treated. If any ill blood yet remains, a little attention to the influential cheifs will soon remove it. The Treaty as it now stands is nearly what the Miamis wished—the other Tribes have been admitted to it only as their allies, and their title to the lands on the Wabash left in *statu quo.* Their argument to the article in favour of the Delaware claim to the lands on White River was prompt candid and unequivocal. This arrangement will facilitate the acquirement of this valuable country by the United States, as the Delawares have had for a long time a desire to remove to the west of the Missisipi. The compensation given for this cession of lands, altho' somewhat higher than what has been heretofore given in any Treaty I have made with the Indians, is as low as it could possibly be made. Great pains have been taken by the British Indian Department of Upper Canada by their agents in this country and by some of our own citizens to dissuade them from selling any more of their land or to demand a price for it which they know would not be given. The manner in which the United States sell their lands has been particularly explained to them; and hence their demand to have what they should sell, surveyed on their account, and two dollars per acre allowed for it. There tenaciousness in adhering to this idea was astonishing, and it required no little pains to get them to abandon it.

I think however upon the whole that the bargain is a better one for the United States than any that has been made by me for lands south of the Wabash. The Tract along the Boundary line south from Fort Recovery, is almost altogether of the very first rate. The County of Dearborn in this territory adjoining it is settled up to the very line; and the farms are thicker than in any part of the western country that I have seen, the neighbourhood of Lexington excepted. I am informed by the Register of the Land Office at Cincinnati and other respectable persons that it is their opinion, that there will be several hundred families upon this Tract as soon as the Treaty is ratified and an office opened for the sale of it. The Tract adjoining on the Vincennes Tract is not so uniformly good, but it contains much more good land than either the Tract ceded by the Treaty of Grouseland or that of Vincennes with the Delawares and Piankeshaws.

I sounded the Chiefs on the subject of taking a sum in gross or by instalments in lieu of annuities as compensation for the land ceded; but I soon found that there was no possibility of succeeding. It is indeed the nature of savages to provide for the wants of today at every sacrifice of future prospects, to cut down the tree to obtain the fruit, and to destroy the teeming animal for a present meal whose progeny would increase their riches and add to their enjoyments. But *our* Indians have taken one decisive step towards civilization, they begin to look to futurity; and to those comfortable refreshments which they yearly receive in the shape of annuities has taught them to set a proper value on this kind of payment. Our Government too have greatly contributed to their acquirement of this knowledge and Mr. Jefferson has personally told them that he considered it the duty of the U. States to purchase their lands in this manner, when they wished to sell even if they (the U. States) had no immediate use for them. I am fully persuaded that no sum in hand would have induced the Miamis and Delawares to part from their lands. The Potawatomies are not so far advanced in putting off the savage notions, and it is probable that they could be induced to give up their permanent annuity for a larger one for a term of years; but then, a proposition of this kind would contradict the principles which we have been for years endeavouring to teach them.

I expect the Kickapoo Chiefs here about the tenth Inst. They are very much under the influence of the Prophet, and it is possible that they may refuse to give up their claim to the lands northwest of the Wabash, but I will pledge myself to obtain it in the course of eight or ten months, as the Miamis who are the real owners of the land have surrendered their claim, we can wait a favourable opportunity to obtain the reliquishment of their (the Kickpaoo) title derived only from present occupancy.

I have employed a gentleman to make a sketch of the two Tracts lately purchased, from the best information we can obtain, which will be transmitted herewith if it is finished in time, if not it will be sent on by the succeeding mail.

A mischievous story had been circulated amongst the Indians at Fort Wayne, that the President did not want the lands I proposed to purchase, and that I wished to procure them for my own use and that of the people of Vincennes. To obviate this I told them that I should have no objection to permit some of their chiefs to go on to the seat of Government this fall, and that they would hear from the President's own lips the pleasure he derived from their compliance with his wishes respecting the late cession of lands. When I came from Fort Wayne they had not determined whether they would go or not. Knowing the inconvenience of expense to which these visits subject the Government I endeavoured to get them to relinquish the idea. I have lately however received a messenger from the Delawares requesting that three of their

Chiefs may be allowed to go on to take their new father by the hand. I could not refuse their request without violating my promise; but have consented to it only upon condition that the Miami and Potawatomi chiefs are also willing to go on at this time. The former told me that they could not make it convenient to go this winter; and I have also instructed Mr. [John] Conner and Mr. Shaw[1] to endeavour to dissuade them from going, so that I believe there is little danger of your being plagued with them this winter. But lest they should, contrary to my expectations and wishes, insist on going on, I have appointed Mr. John Conner, the Delaware interpreter to accompany them, and have this day drawn upon you in favour of Mr. Shaw, the Assistant Indian Agent at Fort Wayne for $1000 in ten separate drafts to provide horses and bear the expenses of the journey to Washington. If this trip should be abandoned I have directed the drafts to be returned to me.

With great respect and consideration I have the honor to be Sir Your obt. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secy. at War*

REAPPOINTMENT OF HARRISON

November 4, 1809

Western Sun, November 4, 1809

The following resolution has been sent on the general government by our legislature, on the subject of Governor HARRISON'S reappointment. It passed the house of representatives unanimously, and the council, three to one.

Whereas, from the collision of laws, and other circumstances, doubts are entertained by the minority of the legislature on the constitutionality of its organization, and the majority from a spirit of conciliation, having thought it most prudent, not to proceed to any other act of legislation than the apportionment of their members under the last act of congress—but from a knowledge of the wishes of their constituents by petitions, as well as from other sources of information, and from a wish to express their own sentiments on the crisis in their government, which is now approaching, *viz:* the appointment of governor of our territory, whilst they are anxious to avoid the appearance of inconsistency, by doing any act which might bear the shadow of a legislative act, they cannot forbear from recommending to, and requesting of the President and senate, most earnestly, in their names and in the names of their constituents, the re-appointment of their present Governor, William Henry Harrison;

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[1] Shaw was sub-Indian agent at Fort Wayne and in special charge of the Pottawattomies. He seems to have acted as a scout for Harrison at least from 1809 to 1812.

because, they are sensible he possesses the good wishes and affection of a great majority of his fellow citizens;

because they believe him sincerely attached to the union, the prosperity of the United States, and the administration of its government;

because they believe him in a superior degree capable of promoting the interest of our territory, from long experience, and laborious attention to our general concerns—from his influence over the Indians, and his wise and disinterested management of that department—and

because they have confidence in his virtues, talents, and republicanism. Therefore, they earnestly request the concurrence of the members of the council to this recommendation.

Resolved, That three copies of the above recommendation be made out by the clerk, which shall be signed by the speaker of this house, and by the president of the legislative council, one whereof, shall be by the speaker, forwarded to the President of the United States, another to the president of the senate of the United States, and the other to our delegate in congress.[2]

GENERAL W. JOHNSTON
Speaker of the House of Representatives
Signed, THOMAS DOWNS[1]
President of the Council, Pro Tem.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 15th Nov. 1809

Heineman, *Journal of the Proceedings Indian Treaty, 1809, p. 9*

SIR

I have now the honor to enclose the sketch of the lands lately ceded by the Indians to the United States and the

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[2] Those who are in the habit of magnifying political differences into great contests will note that scarcely a man in this legislature was a special friend of the governor.

[1] Thomas Downs was appointed a judge in Clark Co. Feb. 4, 1801, and treasurer of the county. He was a judge for 10 years.

Journal kept by Captain [Peter] Jones the Secretary. There appears to be much more land in these tracts than I expected being upwards of 2,900,000 acres. I believe there are two or three excellent salt springs on the tract near this. General William Clarke[1] who is now at Washington can give you some information on this subject. The one marked in the sketch has been visited since the Treaty by some of our citizens who say that it promises well. [See Oct. 1, above]

The sketch is principally intended to show the advantages which would arise from opening a Road to Dayton in the State of Ohio. It would bring us 120 miles nearer the seat of Government. I believe that the Indians would consent to have the road opened through that part of their country which it must necessarily pass through.

I have Honor to be with great Respect Sir your Humble Servant

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Honorable WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esq. *Sec. of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

Vincennes 3d Decr. 1809

Har. Pa. 274-277

SIR:

I did myself the honor to write to you from Fort Wayne in favour of William Wells the late Indian Agent at that place and upon reflection I have thought it proper to give you a concise history of his past and present conduct, that his merits and demerits may be fairly before you. Wells served in the army of General Wayne as a Captain of Spies or Scouts and in that capacity he rendered the most important services. His activity, enterprise and bravery were manifested throughout the campaign, and his knowledge of the country, of the Indian habits and mode of warfare were indispensable to the success of our operations. After the Treaty of Greenville he was retained as an Interpreter and in a year or two promoted to the post of Indian Agent. In this situation also his services were highly useful uniting to his knowledge of the Indian languages and character great zeal and industry in the discharge of his duties. With them, however, were unfortunately blended a disposition for intrigue and for the accumulation of property which perhaps was not always under the government of the most rigid rules of justice. In the year 1805 in conjunction of the Little Turtle he concluded an intrigue against me which was discovered and exposed by General Dearborn and his dismission would have been the consequence if I had not solicited his pardon. This I did from a belief that his promises of future good conduct would be observed and from a persuasion also that the qualifications he possessed for the appointment of Indian Agent could not be found in any other Individual. I have had no reason to complain of him from that time. But I have heard that the late Secy. of War [Henry Dearborn] became convinced that his expenditure of the public money was not always made for the public benefit and that this was the cause of his dismission. I was not however officially informed of this, nor was I consulted on the subject of his dismission. I received the first intimation of it from Wells himself who solicited my interferance in his behalf and tendered me his aid in accomplishing the treaty which was contemplated. This was accepted because I knew that if he was not employed both himself and the Turtle would do everything in their power to defeat it. As it was, they both exerted themselves in favour of the treaty, but their subsequent conduct has been so highly improper as to do away with all the favourable impressions which their zeal for the Treaty had created. I refer you to Mr. [John] Johnston for particulars. It remains to be considered whether it would be proper to employ Wells again in any situation and I really know not what to advise. He is certainly capable of rendering very important service and if he is not employed and remains where he is every measure of the Government will be opposed and thwarted by himself and the Turtle. As it is their influence is very limited, but they possess such talents for intrigue and are so well acquainted with the Indian character as to be able to do a great deal of mischief by working on the suspicious prejudices and superstitious disposition of those even who dislike them most. A subordinate situation where he would not have the disposal of money is the only one for which I would recommend him. There is no danger of his refusing the appointment even of an interpreter. Whilst I am on this subject permit me to call your attention to the situation of Mr. [Joseph] Barron[1] my Interpreter at this place. He is the only one I have ever had here as he speaks the languages of all the Tribes residing within this territory, a qualification that is possessed by no other individual that I know of. He is besides the only interpreter I ever knew who was solely devoted to the interests of the United States, to the exclusion of every sympathy for the Indians which would interfere with his duty. Nine tenths of them preferring the interests of the Indians to that of their employers. His compensation was fixed by me when I first came to the Territory and is no higher than what is allowed to the most ignorant and useless of his class. I think his long and faithful services merit some attention from the Government and I should be much gratified to be allowed to raise his pay from 30 to 40 dollars per month. This can be done with more propriety at present as I shall dismiss Mr. [Michael] Brouillett on his arrival here unless there should appear to be a greater necessity for his continuance than I at present apprehend.

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[1] William Clark was commissioned a captain of the militia at Clarksville Ind. Jan. 8, 1790 by Winthrop Sargent. He was a lieutenant under Wayne and intimately acquainted with Harrison. He had doubtless hunted over a large part of the land of this purchase. He was a brother of George R. Clark and the companion of Colonel Lewis on the trip to the Pacific.

Elliott Coues, *Lewis and Clark*, I, Intro.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect respect Sir
Your Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. W. EUSTIS Esq. *Secy. of War*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT Dec. 7th 1809
Har. Pa. 6

Your Excellency's letters of the 29th Augt. and of the 3d & 15th ult. with the Treaties, Plat and Journal have been duly received. The explanations relative to the Treaties, are satisfactory. As soon as they are ratified and the appropriations made your Excellency will be advised.

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[1] Joseph Barron was the most trusted scout Harrison ever employed. His name is attached to every treaty of importance negotiated by Harrison. In the delicate affair with the prophet Barron was always in evidence. He accompanied Harrison to Tippecanoe and, all told, spent 18 years in the service. He was a native of Detroit but spent nearly all his life on the Wabash, where he died, in Logansport, at the home of his son, July 31, 1843. The painter Geo. Winter, painted his portrait. The Indians lost confidence in him after Tippecanoe. Lossing, *War of 1812, 191*

I am, very respectfully, &c. &c. &c.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 10th Decr. 1809

Har. Pa. 278-280

SIR:

The Kickapoo Chiefs having arrived at this place a few days ago and the late Treaty at fort Wayne having been carefully explained to them their consent has been obtained to the cession north west of the Wabash and also a further extinguishment of Title as high up as the Vermilion River. I was extremely anxious that the cession should have been extended to the river by the Treaty of Fort Wayne, but it was objected to because it would include a Kickapoo Village. This small tract (of about 20 miles square) is one of the most beautiful that can be conceived, is moreover believed to contain a very rich copper mine. I have myself frequently seen specimens of the copper one of which I sent to Mr. Jefferson in 1802. The Indians were extremely jealous of any search being made for this mine that the Traders were always cautioned not to approach the hills which are supposed to contain the mine. I observe that copper mines are not reserved by the law of Congress regulating the sales of the land of the United States but it ought to be done at this cession if it is supposed to be an object worth attending to. As I know that there are individuals who have turned their attention towards this mine and will probably prevail upon the Indians to show them the mine and for a large reward conceal it from the knowledge of the Government or those whom they might employ to search for it. The Treaty [Dec. 9, 1809] is herewith inclosed and I hope it will prove satisfactory. I shall immediately dispatch a speech to the Miamies to communicate the new cession to them. I am greatly obliged by the payment of my draft of the 18th February last in favour of George Wallace Jur. for $189.55. I have this day drawn upon in favour of Peter Jones and Company for fifty dollars on account of my last services in negotiating the late Treaties but I shall take care to leave a sufficiency due me on that account to cover the aforesaid advance of $189.55. But in the mean time I must beg you to defer your final decision against that article of the General account rendered last Winter which charged for furnishing a room for Conference Treaty and with the Indians. As I am persuaded I have it in my power to convince you of the reasonableness and justice of the charge.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect
Sir, your humble Servt

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esq. *Secretary of War*

Dec. 9. 1809

A Treaty between the United States of America and the Kickapoo tribe of Indians.

William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana territory, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States for treating with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, and the sachems and war chiefs of the Kickapoo tribe, on the part of the said tribe, have agreed to the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, shall be binding on said parties.

Article 1. The ninth article of the treaty concluded at fort Wayne, on the thirtieth of September last, and the cession it contains, is, hereby, agreed to by the Kickapoos, and a permanent additional annuity of four hundred dollars, and goods to the amount of eight hundred dollars, now delivered, is to be considered as a full compensation for the said cession.

Art. 2. The said tribe further agrees to cede to the United States, all that tract of land which lies between the tract above ceded, the Wabash, the Vermillion river, and a line to be drawn from the north corner of the said ceded tract, so as to strike the Vermillion river at the distance of twenty miles, in a direct line from its mouth. For this cession, a further annuity of one hundred dollars, and the sum of seven hundred dollars, in goods, now delivered, is considered as a full compensation. But, if the Miamies should not be willing to sanction the latter cession, and the United States should not think proper to take possession of the land without their consent, they shall be released from the obligation to pay the additional annuity of one hundred dollars.

Art. 3. The stipulations contained in the treaty of Greenville, relatively to the manner of paying the annuity, and of the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land, shall apply to the annuity granted and the land ceded by the present treaty.

In testimony whereof, the said WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON and the sachems and head-war chiefs of the said tribe, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals, this ninth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and nine.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (L. S.)

(Signed also by a number of Indians.)

SECRETARY OF STATE TO HARRISON

DEPT. OF STATE, Decr. 21, 1809

Har. Pa. 113

Governor HARRISON, *Indiana Territory*

SIR:

I am sorry to inform you, that there being no appropriation at the disposition of this Department out of which your Draft on me for 17 dollars could be regularly paid, it was, on being recently presented necessarily protested. As some of the Governors of other Territories have fallen into the like errors, and their drafts have met the same fate, it is proper that I should inform you, in order to prevent similar occurrences, that the appropriation which is annually made for the contingent expenses of that and all other Territories, being alone applicable to such expences no allowance therefor can be made from any appropriation committed to this Department.

I have the Honor etc.

R. SMITH

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES Febry. 20th 1810

Har. Pa. 284, 285

SIR:

A circumstance occurred here some time since, which has been the occasion of great alarm to the Wea Tribe. For some years past a band of the Muscoe Tribe of Creeks have resided in this Territory, generally in the neighbourhood of the Ohio and Mississippi. Their numbers have fluctuated from 20 to 40 or 50. These fellows have occasionally greatly annoyed the white settlers and have formed the subject of several communications to the late Secretary.[1] About Christmass last a party of them being in this town to trade, two of them were killed in a drunken frolic, by two young men of the Wea Tribe. The rest went off vowing vengeance against the Weas. The latter were so much frightened that they employed my interference. I accordingly brought about a meeting between the head men on each side and procured a suspension of hostilities until a general meeting shall take place in the spring. In the mean time the Weas have requested me to advance to the Muscoes fifty dollars to be charged to their annuity for this year, as an earnest of their disposition to cover up the blood which has been spilt.

Which I have accordingly done and have this day drawn on you for that amount in favor of George Wallace, Jun. I have the honor be with great respect Sir,

Your Humble Servt.

William Henry Harrison

The Honble. William Eustis Esq. *Secy. of War*

Proclamation: Apportionment and Election

February 21, 1810

Vincennes *Western Sun, March 3, 1810*

BY William Henry Harrison,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Indiana Territory

A PROCLAMATION:

Whereas, by a law of Congress passed on the 15th of December, 1809, the Governor of the Indiana Territory was empowered to apportion the members to the House of Representatives of the said Territory, and to cause an election to be held for the same—also to cause an election for members of the Legislative Council, in case of vacancy; And *whereas*, the late Legislature of the Territory was at the request of the two houses dissolved by the Governor on the 21st day of October last: Now therefore, I, William Henry Harrison, Governor of said Territory, do declare and make known that the House of Representatives of the said Territory shall consist of nine members—of which the county of Dearborn, shall furnish three; the county of Clark, two; the county of Harrison, one; and the county of Knox, three. And I do moreover appoint Monday, the second day of April next, for an election to be held in each of the counties aforesaid for the Representatives herein assigned, and also for five members to the Legislative Council, agreeably to the apportionment made by my proclamation of the 4th of April last, viz: one from each of the counties of Dearborn, Clark, and Harrison, and one from each of the districts of the county of Knox. And the sheriffs of the said counties respectively are hereby directed to cause the said election to be held on the said second day of April next, at such places in each township as may have been assigned by the courts of common pleas respectively. And the proceedings at said election, and the mode of making the returns, to be such as the laws in force direct.

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[1] April 29, 1811 the governor called a special session of the territorial court to try Lawrent Bazadone for killing a Muscoe Indian.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Territory, at Vincennes, this twenty-first day of February, one thousand eight hundred and ten, and of the Independence of the United States the thirty fourth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

HARRISON TO SCOTT

March 10, 1810

Western Sun, August 11, 1810

Thoughts on the subject of the Discipline of the Militia of the United States in a letter from Governor Harrison of the Indiana Territory, to Governor Scott of Kentucky.

DEAR SIR: Since it appears probable that our government will not be able much longer to pursue that system of forbearance and accomodation towards the belligerents of Europe from which it has derived so much honor, and the people so much prosperity, it is not surprising that more than common solicitude should be manifested to effect a more perfect organization and discipline of the militia. I have accordingly observed that in all the communications which have been lately made by the executives of the States and

Territories to their respective Legislatures, the subject has been pressed with more than usual earnestness.

The manner in which you noticed it in your address to the General Assembly of Kentucky particularly engaged my attention; because I always calculated that the weight of your character and influence, added to the authority of chief magistrate, would do much towards the removal of those errors which unfortunately pervade all our militia systems; and that under your auspices and guidance the hardy sons of Kentucky would afford an example of military discipline (as they frequently have of military ardour) which would produce the most beneficial effects to our country. I knew, indeed, that ignorance, obstinacy, and deep-rooted prejudice were to be overcome; but I flattered myself that your fellow citizens would listen to the advice of an old and faithful friend, whose military experience had been gained in many a bloody field, and whose patriotism and disinterestedness had been manifested through a long life devoted to their service. In the list of acts passed at the last session of your Legislature, I observe one "to amend the militia laws." I am not informed in what these amendments consist, but to answer any valuable purpose they must be such as to leave few features of your former system.

I have never seen any of the militia laws of the eastern States. But those of the Southern, Middle, and Western states, so nearly resemble each other that the objections I shall make will apply equally to all. And that these are radically defective, one melancholy fact sufficiently demonstrates. With the exception of the large towns (where there are voluntary military associations entirely independent of the militia laws), is there a single brigade from the St. Marys to the Hudson, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, so well disciplined as to perform the commonest evolutions which the laws direct them to be taught, with sufficient precision to satisfy a military man? If such a one there is, it has escaped my observations and enquiry. And what, my dear sir, is the fact with regard to our own section of the Union? Our able-bodied men have been enrolled and formed into companies, battalions, regiments, brigades, and divisions, and the proper number and grades of officers appointed to command them. But after making allowance for the great increase of numbers, do they form a better defence for the country than they possessed fifteen or twenty years ago, when there was scarcely any organization at all? From a knowledge of the ardent patriotism which pervades the Western country, I am persuaded that an army of volunteers might be raised whenever the government may call for one; but would it be composed of men better disciplined, or better calculated for immediate service, than those who composed the various expeditions undertaken in the course of the Indian war, when no attempt to train them to regular discipline had been made? No one who is in the least acquainted with what the militia were, and what they are now, can answer this question affirmatively.

It follows, then, that our militia laws have been of no use, and that the time that has been spent by our citizens in attending the days of muster is just so much lost to themselves and the community,—or rather worse than lost, for it is too well known that they are generally devoted to riot and intemperance. I have never met with a single individual who would affirm that he derived any benefit from attending the militia musters. The industrious man and the good citizen attend them because the laws direct him to do so, and to save his fine; but he makes his escape as soon as possible, with the conviction that he has lost a day which might have been usefully employed at home, without having benefitted his country. It is the lazy and intemperate alone who rejoice at the approach of a muster day, because it affords an opportunity of gratifying their vicious propensities. These observations apply more particularly to the company musters, where I believe, in nineteen out of twenty instances, little else is done that relates to military duty than barely calling the rolls. At the battalion and regimental musters there are generally, indeed, some awkard attempts made to perform the manual exercise, and some few of the evolutions, directed by the Baron de Steuben. In the few instances where these happen to be commanded by old Revolutionary officers, or others who have in some degree attended to their duty, the progress that they might make in discipline is entirely prevented by the great length of time which intervenes between the days of training. Our laws generally prescribe a battalion muster in the spring and one of the regiments in the fall. It rarely happens that more than one of these takes place. But in the few instances where more punctuality is observed, and where the commanding officer is capable and really attempts to instruct his men, it must be evident that the lesson given in the spring will be totally obliterated by the fall, and of that which is given in the latter season not a trace will remain at the expiration of the seven months which brings about the vernal meeting. How it could be supposed that the science of war could be learnt in this manner is most surprising.

And yet, bad as it is, this is the best side of the picture. For it is very certain that, throughout the Western country, of those who command the various militia corps, and on whom the task of instruction is devolved, there are very few who are better informed than the men whom they attempt to teach. Our legislatures appear to be well apprised of the importance of a well disciplined militia—the preamble to many of the laws express this conviction. But they seem to have supposed that nothing [more] was necessary to effect their wishes than to cause the men to be enrolled and formed into companies, regiments, etc., and occasionally to meet together. They did not recollect that, to make men soldiers instructors were necessary; and that to procure these, sufficient encouragement should be offered to induce persons to qualify themselves for the task. This is not so easily attained as is generally supposed. To form a complete disciplinarian upon the system of modern tactics, requires as much preparation and as much knowledge and science, as for either of those professions to which the appellation of "learned" has been generally applied. Nor is the skill necessary for manoeuvring a regiment or brigade to be acquired without considerable attention and practical instruction; it is impossible to acquire it by reading alone. A man may, indeed, make himself acquainted with the manner of performing certain manoeuvres in this way; but the grace, the harmony, and precision of movement, which is so necessary in all military evolutions, can only be acquired by practice.

If our legislatures are really desirous to have the militia so well disciplined as to form an effectual defence to our country against every invader, if they wish to bring it to that state of perfection as entirely to supersede the necessity of a standing army, the system heretofore in use must be entirely changed. Instead of the few days now appropriated to the purposes of training, and the very few hours of those days actually employed, some weeks at least must be devoted to the purpose, and the men must be taught in camps of discipline those duties which, representing a faithful image of actual war, forms the best school in which it can be taught. For the accomplishment of an object so desirable and necessary, no pains or expense should be spared. Able officers should be sought after and employed, and every stimulus should be used to engage our youth to enter with ardor on a course of discipline which is to qualify them to defend their country. Occasional military orations should teach them the necessity of subordination and obedience, and by placing before them the illustrious examples of military virtue with which the history of the Grecian and Roman republics abound, impress on their minds that the temporary sacrifice of personal liberty which the military life imposes have been cheerfully submitted to by the purest patriots and the most zealous republicans. At the frequent reviews which should take place, particularly that by the commander-in-chief, everything that is facinating in military array—the "whole pomp of war"—should be introduced, to keep up the ardor of the youth, and excite the emulation of the several corps; nor aught rewards and distinctions to be withheld from those which excel, the latter to be such only as accords with republican institutions, and however trifling might be the intrinsic value of the former, opinion would soon render them as precious to the receiver, as the oak or laurel crowns which were formerly the reward of successful skill or valor. By steady pursuit of this plan for a few years, our militia would become formidable to any European army which should land on our shores; for it is very certain that it is discipline alone, or the facility of performing evolutions with rapidity and precision, which makes one body of troops superior to another.

Of this, innumerable instances might be adduced, from modern as well as ancient history. The Thebans were indebted for their victories over the (till then) unconquered Spartans, as much to some new manœuvres which had been introduced into their tactics, and which they had practiced with unwearied assiduity, as to the great abilities of their generals Epaminondas and Pelopidas. That unexpected and rapid movement which decided the battle of Leuctra could never have been executed in the face of such an enemy, if it had not been familiar to them from long previous practice. And at that of Mantinea, although their operations were directed by a perfect master of the art of war, who did everything that depended on him by putting the left wing of the enemy composed of Athenians in the air, and bringing his Thebans to act hand to hand with the Spartans, the event must still have depended upon superior valor or superior discipline. Valor was nowhere more predominant than in the Spartan infantry, and their evolutions were as well understood by the soldiers as the general. But the superior compactness of the military wedge, composed of the proverbially stupid Bœotians, the scorn of Greece, which practice had enabled them to preserve, triumphed over the descendants of Leonidas and the pupils of Agesilaus. The troops with which the great Frederick commenced the Silesian war had never heard the report of a hostile gun, but in the battles of Mollwitz, of Prague, of Rossbach and Leuthen, they practiced those lessons which they had been taught in the peaceful fields of Berlin and Potsdam. When he was preparing for his first campaign, the Austrian minister wished to dissuade him from the enterprise, by inspiring with fears for a contest where his parade battalions would have to encounter the veteran troops of his mistress, whose valor and discipline had been proved in fields of actual danger. "Your majesty's troops are very fine," said he, "but you must recollect that ours have seen the wolf." "You think my troops are fine," said Frederick; "I will convince you that they are good." The succeeding battle of Mollwitz shewed that troops that can manoeuvre well, though they may never have seen an enemy, are able to cope with veterans, and to conquer in spite of the blunder of their generals: the king had committed a mistake in his dispositions, which could not have been rectified by marshal Schwerin if the discipline of the troops had not been perfect.

I have recommended camps of discipline to instruct those who are already capable of bearing arms; but the career of military instruction for our youth should commence as soon as their mental and bodily powers have acquired sufficient strength. Professorships of tactics should be established in all our seminaries, and even the amusements of the children should resemble those of the ancient gymnasia, that they may grow up in the practice of those exercises which will enable them to bear with ease the duty of the camp and labors of the field.

It will no doubt be urged as a reason for continuing the old plan that the poorer class of our citizens cannot spare five or six weeks in a year from their farms to learn military duty. I know that they cannot, without being paid; but is not our government able to pay them? If it is not, they ought to make themselves so by laying additional taxes. But I am persuaded that the money that is devoted to other objects may be more usefully, and certainly more consistently, appropriated to this purpose. Under our present circumstances the 6,000 regular troops we have are very proper; but I think that 100,000 disciplined militia would be better, and that the money which is spent on the former would soon effect the discipline of the latter.

I am far from thinking a fleet unnecessary, and there is no man who attaches more importance to the improvement of our country by canals and roads. I do not think, however, that these should be the first objects on which our revenue should be expended; and I recollect that every man in Rome was a soldier before they had a fleet or an Appian or Flaminian way. The defence of every despotic government is a standing army. Despots, therefore, very properly make it the first object of their care and expense. The safety of a republic entirely depends on the discipline of its militia, and we very inconsistently make it the last object of our attention. The general government have lately turned their thoughts to the militia, and have resolved to arm the whole of them. You, my dear sir, need not be told that a system of instruction should be commenced as soon as the arms are delivered; and that even with this system, the arms should only be occasionally put into the hands of the men, until they had learnt to value them and to take care of them. Unless this precaution is used, the millions of dollars which the arms will cost had much better be expended upon the gunboats, on which the eloquent author [John Randolph] of the attempt to "arm the whole of the militia" has lavished so much bitter invective and sarcasm. It would certainly be better to apply the money that is intended to "arm the whole" to discipline and arm a part of the militia. And it ought to have occured to Mr. Randolph, than whom no man is better acquainted with history, that Carthage possessed arms as well as Rome, but not, like the latter, a disciplined militia. Rome therefore survived the slaughter of Trebia, of Thressamene, and Cannae, whilst the fate of Carthage was determined by the single defeat of Zama. The loss of men compared with her population was nothing, men in abundance were left, but no soldiers. Let her militia be disciplined, and the independence of America would be preserved against a world united. The loss of her capital, and a succession of defeats, might distress but would not ruin her. As long as she had men enough to form an army, liberty would have a temple. In Greece (as long as Greece was free) every man was a soldier. Hence it happened that those small republics could be conquered only by extirpation. In the disastrous Sicilian expedition, a third of the citizens of Athens perished; and yet she survived to reap new laurels, whilst the proud empire of Carthage was humbled in the dust by a single defeat. The immortal victories of Marathon, Salamis, and Platea were achieved by a disciplined militia; and the Roman legions which conquered the world were nothing more. Amongst these hardy republicans, nothing would be thought more disgraceful than to be ignorant of the tactics then in practice, or to be unable to manage with dexterity the sword, the spear, and the shield. Our youth practice with no other arms but the pistol, and learn no other warfare but such as is to serve them in a contest with their fellow citizens. With these principles, and this sort of education, they will possess only the courage of ostentation, and will brave death in what is called the field of honor, "but fly at the sight of the enemy".

Being called to a distant part of the Territory, I must conclude this long letter without having finished all the observations which I intended to make. The subject shall be resumed on my return, and the particular motive communicated which induced me to address myself particularly to you.

I have the honor to be, dear sir,
Your friend and humble servant,
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

HIS EXCELLENCY, CHARLES SCOTT, *Governor of Kentucky*

HARRISON TO SCOTT

VINCENNES, 17th April, 1810

Western Sun, August 18, 1810

DEAR SIR:

Circumstances of a domestic nature have prevented my completeing until now the observations on the discipline of the militia of the United States, which I promised in my letter of March 10. There is no political axiom more generally diffused amongst the people of the United States than that which declares militia to be the only proper defence of a republic. Standing armies are universally reprobated; and yet, with this just view of the kind of force which they aught to cherish, and that which they aught to avoid, it is astonishing that they should so neglect the former as to make the employment of the latter a matter of absolute necessity upon every appearance of danger. We have, indeed, no militia. That term is properly applied only to citizens who are disciplined, or trained for war. The placing a man's name on a muster-roll, or including him in a return, will no more constitute him a militia man than the enregistering his name on a list of attorneys or physicians would authorize him to assume either of those appellations without the previous study and preparation by which a knowledge of law and physic is only to be acquired. It is to this mistake of the materials to form a force for that force itself which is, I apprehend, the cause of our supineness and confidence. We look at the returns from the Department of War, and find that 680,000 men are enrolled; but we forget that not a fiftieth part of them are soldiers. We might, with nearly the same propriety, exult in our ability to cope with the fleet of Britain upon the ocean because we possess the materials for forming one equal to hers, as to rest our defence upon an army which possessed no other claims to the appellation than what it would derive from the law which called it into service.

Another cause of the neglect of discipline is, our great distance from any formidable power and the peculiar circumstances of the two great rival potentates of Europe—the one commanding the ocean, but with a land force scarcely equal to the defence of their own territories; and the other possessing an immense army, without a fleet. Our security is supposed to lie in the inability of either to attack us, and the rivalship and national hatred which exists between them preventing a coalition for that purpose. If there were not so many instances of despots suspending their rage against each other and uniting their efforts whenever by such union an extension of their dominions could be accomplished, I should nevertheless distrust them; because the history of all such governments sufficiently proves that force is their only law, and that republics particularly have nothing to expect from their justice or moderation. At any rate I had much rather owe our safety to our own strength than to their jealousy of each other; for however strong and deep-rooted this may be, it may be overcome by the temptation of great aggrandizement, and the desire of overturning a government which is founded upon principles so opposite to theirs and from which their subjects may receive lessons that may once more cause the thrones of the earth to totter to their foundation. I have no idea, however, that England and France united could conquer America. But in our present situation, if 50,000 of their best disciplined troops were landed in one of the Southern States, we should find it a work of time and difficulty to get rid of them; and the loss we should sustain from their depredations, added to the expenses of our own army, would amount to a larger sum than would be sufficient to put our militia in such a state of discipline as would deter every enemy from our shores.

One of the greatest modern discoveries in the military art consists in the formation and application of light troops. The various denominations of these form nearly a moiety of an army organized upon the plan of the French tactics, and one of the effects of this improvement is to destroy every hope of an undisciplined army acting against one of a contrary description. If our Western militia should ever encounter an European army, they would be astonished to find themselves opposed by a body of men using the same arms with equal dexterity to themselves; making their attacks with the same unexpected velocity, and eluding their enemy with all the celerity and address, which distinguishes our backwoods riflemen. They would find, however, this essential difference in favor of their opponents: whilst their own operations would be directed by no fixed plan, but such as might be formed on the moment by their leader, their attacks desultory, uncombined, ill supported, and their retreats disorderly,—their enemy would manoeuver with all the dexterity which discipline alone can give, uniting the consistency and combined movements of troops of the line with the alertness of partisan corps: such is the effect of "science in war." America and France, in their respective revolutions, found themselves attacked by well disciplined armies to which they had nothing to oppose but new levies, possessing indeed native bravery and all the ardor and zeal which are characteristic of freemen fighting for their liberties, but without any knowledge of those evolutions which gave such a decided superiority to their enemies in every close encounter. Another mode of warfare was therefore to be pursued; not new, indeed, for the same plan had set bounds to the Roman conquests on the side of Persia; had baffled the legions in the zenith of their discipline under Crassus and Mark Anthony, and at a later period a most formidable army conducted by the great abilities of Julian. The outlines of this plan are: to avoid pitched battles and regular engagements, to act by detachments on the flanks and rear of the enemy, and by cutting off his convoys and incessantly harrassing him to prevent his advance in front. A system so sage and so well adapted to the nature and character of the troops employed was crowned with complete success; America was saved, and France was snatched from the grasp of the kings who had combined against her. Results so different from those which had been calculated on naturally led to the investigation of the causes which had produced them. Veteran armies had been overthrown by irregular and undisciplined troops. But their success could not be imputed to the want of discipline; it could be accounted for upon no principles but to the celerity of their movements and the manner of their attack. These qualities could be as well communicated to regular troops, and were possessed indeed by the light corps which, in greater or less numbers, were attached to every army. The secret, then, consisted in the great multiplication of these, and, from the subordinate duties of scouts and convoys, to bring them to enact a more distinguished part on the military theatre. A great revolution was thus produced in tactics; celerity of movement was the great desideratum, and light infantry, light or horse artillery, and tirailleurs, or rifle men, became the order of the day, and at present form no inconsiderable portion of the armies of Europe. An improvement in tactics which gives a greater superiority to the professed soldier who fights for conquest over the citizen who bears arms only in the defence of his country, is perhaps to be regretted; and no alternative is left to the latter but to perfect themselves in the same arts and discipline.

But the defence of our country against a foreign enemy does not constitute the only motive for our citizens to perfect themselves in the military art. The safety of a republic depends as much upon the equality of arms and discipline amongst its citizens as upon the equality of rights. We must become a nation of warriors, or a nation of Quakers; we must proscribe every attempt at military improvement, or its study must become universal. Whenever a knowledge of that art is confined to a minority of the people, that minority will govern. So true is this maxim that no instance can be produced of a free people preserving their liberties who suffered the military spirit to decline amongst them, nor of any losing them as long as this spirit pervaded the body of the nation. It was not until the amusements of the theatre, the baths, and the public gardens had superseded the exercises of the Campus Martius, that a Roman army dared to revolt against its country. In the ages of Papirius, of Fabricius, of Fabius, and Scipio, the information of the revolt of one of their armies would have given rise to no other sentiment than indignation in the Roman Senate. What had the republic to fear from 40 or 50,000 of its misguided sons, when she possessed within her bosom six times the number, equally brave, equally skilled in the use of arms, and inured by early habit to all the duties of war? Such however was not the case when the daring ambition of Caesar had raised the standard of rebellion, and at the head of the army of Gaul approached the capitol. The successors of that Senate which after a series of terrible defeats had derided the efforts of the great Pyrrhus, and the still greater Hannibal,—who with all the deliberation which conscious security inspires, had dispatched a reinforcement to their army in Spain, when their most formidable enemy was encamped under their walls,—trembled at the approach of Caesar, abandoned their country to an usurper, and condescended to seek in the distant provinces that succor for Rome which Rome itself no longer afforded. Still had she to boast of a large list of patriots, and at no former period was the art of war so well understood. But it had become a distinct profession; martial exercises were neglected by the body of the people. No longer in every Roman citizen was to be found a Roman soldier. That distinguished appellation was not, indeed, as at a later period, exclusively enjoyed by mercenaries, alike strangers to the laws, the manners, and the language of Rome. The army was chiefly composed of citizens, but of citizens who in the habits of warfare and pillage had forgotten the sacred duties which that character imposes, and were as willing to turn their arms against their country, upon the command of their chief, as the enemy whom they were raised to oppose. Such will ever be the case with men who make war a profession; and the fate of Rome will be the fate of America, and of every other republic, which does not take effectual means to inspire its citizens with a military spirit, and train them to the use of arms.

It is much to be regretted that a disposition adverse to improvement in the military art should exist amongst the people of the Western country; and it is the more surprising as it does not arise from the want of military spirit, but from a belief that discipline is unnecessary, and that the untutored rifleman is the most formidable of all warriors. Certain events in the history of the Western country have given strength to this opinion. "The regular and disciplined armies," say its advocates, "of Braddock and St. Clair, were defeated by the savages, as these have frequently been by undisciplined militia; therefore undisciplined militia armed with rifles, are superior to regular troops, armed with the musket and bayonet." There is so much plausibility in this reasoning, and so much mischief in the opinion it supports, that too much pains cannot be taken to shew the fallacy of the one, and entirely to eradicate the other. It is not difficult to conceive that an army in the highest state of discipline may be placed in such a situation by the unskilfulness of its leader as to make it an easy prey to the rudest savages. The destruction of the Roman legions in Germany under Varus, and the army of Braddock in America, are two out of many instances of this kind with which history will furnish us. But this same history will also inform us that, notwithstanding a battle may be gained, or even a campaign successfully terminated, by undisciplined valor acting against veteran troops, it has never happened that a nation which cultivated the military art has been subdued by one which set no value on its attainment. The subversion of the Roman empire by barbarians forms no exception to this opinion; for those barbarians were superior to the then Romans, in every martial, and almost in every civil, virtue. Of those legions which had conquered the world, feeble skeletons only remained; distinguished indeed by the ensigns which had once directed the skillful evolutions of a brave and free people, but which had become disgraced by the protection of effeminate slaves, who were as much unable to bear the arms and perform the exercise of Roman soldiers as to comprehend the fire of patriotism and liberty which animated the armies of Marcellus and Scipio. But although discipline and valor were no longer the characteristics of a Roman army, the tactics of the earlier ages were not entirely forgotten, a few individuals still read the immortal works of Caesar and Polybius, and the small remains of military science were sufficient to sustain for many ages the tottering fabrick of the empire, assailed on all sides by immense swarms of warlike barbarians. Never were the effects of generalship more conspicuous than in the achievements of Aëtius and Boniface, of Belisarius and Narses. These great men, placed at the head of armies which were little better than bands of undisciplined plunderers, were enabled by a series of artful manoeuvres to render useless the great superiority of their enemies in numbers and valor.

But hundreds of instances are to be found in the Roman and Grecian histories to shew the great inferiority of mere courage, with the advantage of numbers and even of skill in the soldier in the management of his arms, when opposed to troops who can manoeuvre well, and are commanded by generals possessing genius and science. What has been said above of the success of raw troops in the American and French revolutions is not incompatible with this opinion, but rather tends to confirm it. The advantage of talents in the generals was certainly on the side of America and France, and they very wisely adapted their operations to the kind of troops they commanded. The alertness and activity of these troops enabled them to perform great marches with facility. They were therefore employed in a desultory warfare—to harrass the enemy and cut off his convoys; and by this means time was gained to form an army capable of meeting him in an equal field. It was in this kind of warfare that the great efficacy of the rifle was first discovered; and altho' scarcely known in the European armies at the commencement of the American revolution, it has now become a favorite weapon, to be employed as a *corps avance,* or upon the wings and rear of an enemy; but no general has ever thought of making it a substitute for the musket and bayonet. No species of troops are more to be dreaded than a good rifle corps, when acting under the cover of fences, hedges, or forests. But in an open country, when opposed either to cavalry or infantry, the rifle is the most contemptible of all arms. The musket and bayonet are adapted to all situations.

The volunteers who served under you, my dear General, in the campaign of 1794, acknowledged, I think, that no number of riflemen could have resisted the charge of General Wayne's army on the 20th of August of that year. Nothing can shew more clearly than the result of this action does that the defeat of Braddock is not to be attributed to the kind of arms which were in the hands of his men, nor to their want of valor, but to the deficiency of the general in the talents to adapt his manoeuvres to the nature of the country and the enemy he had to encounter. Close order and platoon firing will not answer in a forest. Philip of Macedon conquered Greece, and his son Alexander the empire of Persia, by the strength of the phalanx. But this formidable body could not operate in broken or uneven ground; and whenever it was opposed by a general who had the talents to take advantage of this circumstance, and commanded by one who would suffer himself to be drawn into a situation unfavorable to its operations, its destruction was certain. If General Wayne had marched his army in close columns instead of those long flexible columns in files which enabled him to penetrate the woods with facility and to present a very extended front to the enemy on every point of attack, if he had neglected to reconnoiter the country in every direction as he advanced to prevent an attack from the enemy before he completed his disposition to receive them, or if, instead of putting them up with the bayonet and keeping up the charge until they were entirely broken and dispersed, he had permitted them to exercise their skill in distant shooting from behind trees,—the 20th of August, 1794, would now have produced as melancholy recollections as the 4th of November, 1791.

But I am persuaded that, from a particular examination of the campaigns and battles which took place in the course of the war between the people of the Western country and the Indians, it would appear that whenever the former have been successful, a considerable portion of that success is to be attributed to the military knowledge of their leaders; and that when this was wanting, their valor and great accuracy in shooting the rifle did not always secure them from defeat.

Your own, and the campaigns of Clark and Wilkinson, are instances of the former; as the defeats of Crawford, Loughery, and the Blue Licks, are of the latter. I have examined the ground which was the scene of the defeat at the Blue Licks; and if I was correctly informed as to the disposition of the two armies, it appears to me that nothing could have been more easy than to entrap the Indians in the very toils which they had prepared for their adversaries. The ambuscade was well arranged to ensnare a rash and imprudent enemy, but the smallest degree of military skill upon the part of the Kentucky commander would have been sufficient to put the Indians in the very *cul du sac* which proved so fatal to himself and his men. I am far from thinking so unfavorably of the rifle as our valued friend the late General Wayne. The *couvert* fighting which that arm requires was so contrary to the ardor of his disposition, which was for deciding everything with the bayonet, that he always declared that the use of the rifle would make cowards of the bravest troops. Instead of wishing to see the rifle banished from our armies, considering the nature of our country and the great predilection of the people of the Western States in its favor, I would recommend that at least two-thirds of the militia of this section of the Union should be armed with it. The prejudices which have been nourished by long habit are very difficult to remove. Our backwoodsmen could not easily be induced to give up their favorite arm, nor indeed does there appear any necessity for it. If the Western States were to form a separate nation, it would be proper so to organize its force so as to have all the various descriptions of troops which compose a modern army; but as the tie which unites us to the Atlantic states is, I hope, indissoluble, the whole militia of the Union should be considered as one great army; and in the distribution of the several corps particular regard should be had to the manners, the habits, and even the prejudices of the people. This circumstance has been attended to with great advantage by every military nation, and in every age.

A Roman army was thought to be most formidable when the strength of the legions was supported by the *velites* or light troops of the neighboring allies—the Numidian horse (the hussars of the ancients), the cavalry of Thessaly, and the slingers of the Ballearean isles. Even in the formation of the present European armies, the habits of the people are particularly regarded in their military destinations. Neither the emperors of Germany or France, or the king of England, would think of recruiting their cavalry in the mountains of the Tyrol, the cantons of Switzerland, or the highlands of Scotland. Nor would the former of these princes find his account in reducing to infantry battalions those fine bodies of hussars with which his Hungarian and Polish provinces supply him. The people of the latter countries have been accustomed for ages to make war on horseback. They make the finest light cavalry in the world, but contemptible infantry. In the formation of a grand army of the Union, the militia of the Western country might compose the *corps avance*, consisting of mounted and dismounted riflemen, and all the various descriptions of light cavalry. The Eastern and Middle States would furnish the artillery and infantry of the line, and those of the South the cavalry of the line and light infantry. No cavalry in the world would excel those, my dear General, which our native State could produce. For fleetness and fire the horses are equal to those of the ancient Capadocia or Thessaly; and for grace and dexterity in the management of them, the natives are unrivalled. Possessing as we do, then, the materials for forming a national militia which shall unite all the desirable qualities of the best appointed European army, why do we not give them that polish of which they are so eminently susceptible? It is admitted by all that the times are portentous. The storm which has so long desolated the old world, has never presented to us an aspect more threatning. Its violence has yet reached that only [our commerce], which to lose is not death. Shall we bewail the loss of our commerce, when competency and liberty remain? But the latter can be preserved only by the arms and discipline which obtained it. Why then is there so much indifference manifested upon this all-important subject? Why is year after year suffered to roll away without the adoption of some efficient plan? If there is difficulty in the thing, is not that difficulty constantly increasing as the devouring hand of time constantly deprives us of those from whom we could derive instruction? The heroes of the Revolution are fast sinking in the grave. Shall we not seize the moment when enough are left to animate us, by their precept and example, to the attainment of those military accomplishments which are so necessary for the defence of our country? Will a nation of freemen suffer themselves to be outdone in any honorable pursuit by the vile instruments of ambition and tyranny, which compose the armies of Europe —"a band of mercenaries whose only hope is that of pay, whose only fear is that of punishment"?

It is to obtain your protest, my dear sir, against the inefficient and ridiculous systems of discipline with which the people have been so long and so uselessly harrassed which has induced me to trouble you with the forgoing observations.

Your State possesses an advantage which is scarcely left to any other in the Union,—of three distinguished revolutionary officers to direct the efforts of its citizens in the attainment of military information. The exertions of a Scott, a Hopkins, and a Posey, might be sufficient to put into operation a system that would soon pervade the continent, which would vindicate the American character for having neglected that to which Rome and Athens were indebted for their glory, and without which no republic can long exist—a disciplined militia.

That you may be amongst the last of those who may be called to enjoy in another world the happiness you have deserved for contributing to emancipate a nation in this, is the sincere prayer of, dear sir,

Your friend

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

HIS EXCELLENCY, CHARLES SCOTT, *Governor of Kentucky*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES April 25th 1810

Har. Pa. 286-288

SIR:

I have lately received information from sources which leave no room to doubt its correctness, that the Shawnee Prophet is again exciting the Indians to Hostilities against the United States. A Trader [Michael Brouillette] who is entirely to be depended on, and who has lately returned from the residence of the Prophet, assures me that he has at least 1000 Souls under his immediate control (perhaps 350 or 400 men) principally composed of Kickapoos and Winebagos, but with a considerable number of Potawatimies and Shawanees and a few Chippewas and Ottowas.

The friends of the French Traders amongst the Indians have advised them to separate themselves from the Americans in this town lest they should suffer in the attack, which they meditate against the latter.

I have no doubt that the present hostile disposition of the Prophet and his Votaries has been produced by British interference. It is certain that they have received a considerable supply of ammunition from that source.[1] They refused to buy that which was offered them by the Traders alleging that they had as much as they wanted, and when it was expended they could get more without paying for it and the former appeared to the traders to be the fact, from the abundance the Indians seemed to possess.

I have before done myself the honor to describe to you the exposed situation of this Town [Vincennes] and how susceptible it is of surprise by a very small force. The Militia in the country are so scattered that they could not be collected in time enough to be of any service in repelling an attack. There are not more than a full company of American Militia in the town, and the French for any military purpose are worth nothing.

I think it probable that the British agents in Canada have anticipated the orders of their government in their endeavours to set the Indians upon us, and that the first account of a favorable change of disposition towards America in that Government will induce them to countermand the orders, which have been given to their Indian allies.

But in the mean time, the report of the Indians having meditated hostilities will do us great injury by retarding the settlement of the country. We lost several hundred families last spring in consequence of the hostile appearances they exhibited and I am persuaded that similar consequences will flow from those which are now manifested. And it will probably

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[1] As an example see *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. Pub. XXIII, 70* for a "Requisition for an extra quantity of goods to supply his Majesty's Indian stores with presents in case of a war with the U. S. for 1809." Among the items are

Gunpowder	180,000 lbs.
Flints	24,000
Lead bars	1,000 lbs.

The total distribution at this time amounted to over $150,000. In an official dispatch of Lord Castleriegh to Sir James Craig, of Canada is this paragraph:

"Under an undefined relation with the U. S. I entirely concur in your position, that attention must be kept up to conciliate the Indian tribes upon the following principle that if in a contest they are not to be employed to act with us, they will be engaged to act against us, and that we are not to consider so much their use as allies as their destructiveness as enemies."

be normally the case unless the rascally prophet is driven from his present position or a fort built somewhere on the Wabash, about the upper boundary of the late purchase. I beg leave to recommend this measure most earnestly to the President. It is one from which the greatest advantages would arise both to the Territory and to the United States.

Under cover of this Fort the new purchase and this will settle rapidly and a Militia force be collected on the Wabash, that would be able to cope with all the Indians in the neighborhood.

The public arms in my possession are much in want of cleaning. Shall I be authorized to employ a person to do it?

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir

Yr. Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLM. EUSTIS, Esq. *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES, 2nd May 1810

Har. Pa. 289

SIR:

Since my letter was written which I sent by the last mail I have heard nothing new on the subject of Indian hostilities. The French Traders are however more alarmed than I have ever seen them In consequence of which I have deemed it expedient to send up Mr. [Michael] Brouillette (the person previously employed) to the Prophets Town to watch his movements and to assure the fidelity of the neighbouring bands of Potawatomies. He set out this day and as there is a considerable degree of danger in the undertaking (from private assassination) I have employed another Frenchman [Touissant Dubois] at 12 dollars per month to go with him. This was the more necessary as all the French traders have left the Prophet's village.

I have taken the liberty of enclosing you a letter to Genl. [James] Wilkinson containing a document he wrote to me for and which he thinks necessary to the vindication of his character. [This letter has not been found]

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Sir your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esq. *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 15th May 1810

Har. Pa. 290-294

SIR:

A Potawatimie squaw, who is the wife of Mr. Johnson's Interpreter at Fort Wayne arrived at this place a few days ago. On her way she stayed several days at the Prophets Town. The information she brings, entirely corroborates that which I had received of the hostile intentions of the Prophet and his followers. Several of her relations told her, that the Indians of that quarter had determined to go to war with the white people and from the conversations which she overheard she is convinced that such is the fact. She particularly states, that having retired to rest in a cabin, but not being asleep, she heard their warriors conversing on the subject as a matter absolutely determined on. One of them observed that he was apprehensive of the want of ammunition; but was answered by another that the chiefs would certainly take care of that matter and they could no doubt obtain more from the same source that had already furnished them with a supply. She thinks (and of that opinion also is an intelligent trader here) that the ammunition alluded to had been furnished by a British subject now there who pretends to be a Clerk for the Macanac Company.

I cannot think the plans of the Prophet are so well matured as they are supposed to be, and I rather suppose that the thing is to be finally settled at a great council now about to be holden some where between the Wabash and Lake Michigan, most probably at the St. Joseph of the latter. I have confidence in Winemac, a Potawatomi chief who is now with the Prophet, and I am certain that his utmost exertions will be used, in the first place, to prevent hostilities or if he should be unsuccessful in this to give me information of their designs.

He sent me word by the woman above-mentioned that he would come to me as soon as the council was over; but she added that his attachment to the U. States was so well known, that he was closely watched. It was more than possible that he was not admitted to their secret councils and that it was also more than probable that he would be assassinated. The Prophets force at present consists in the part of his own Tribe which has always been attached to him; nearly all the Kickapoos, a number of winebagoes, some Hurons from Detrot who have lately joined him, a number of Potawatomies, 20 or 30 Muskoes or Creeks and some straglers from the Ottawas, Chippeways and other tribes in all perhaps from 6 to 800. If the disaffection extends to all the Tribes between the Illinois River and Lake Michigan, the number will be doubled, and however contemptable this force may seem, it is capable, from the nature of our frontier settlements of spreading slaughter and devastation to an immense extent. I am still of opinion however that the Indians will not dare to commence hostilities, unless the U. States should go to war with England, or appearances be so strong in favour of its being the case, that the emisaries of that power may think themselves justifiable in urging the Indians to immediate action. Under the influence of this opinion I have taken no extraordinary means for preparing the Militia for action, because at this season of the year, any interruption to the farmers is productive of great loss and any such steps taken by me would spread an alarm, that would greatly retard the emigration to this country and perhaps induce many to move off that are already settled. I have however taken every step, which I thought likely to counteract the Prophet's designs and to obtain early information of the proceedings of the meeting which is about to take place. Mr. [John] Conner, the Delaware Interpreter, arrived a few days ago with a young Chief from the Delaware Towns. He informs me that a deputation from that tribe had been sent to the Indian Council, and that they were instructed to dissuade the other Tribes from listening to the Prophet. Conners will take up a speech from me to the Delawares, in which I have pointed out the enevitable destruction that awaits all these tribes which shall dare to take up the hatchet against their fathers, and the great danger that the friendly tribes would incur if war should be kindled, from the difficulty of discriminating friends from foes. I have desired the chiefs to send some faithful man after their deputies with fresh instructions which I have dictated and have promised to compensate the former for his trouble. I have also sent for the leading member of the Shaker Society (a religious sect of very extraordinary principles which you may have heard of) who resides about 20 miles from this place, with the intention of prevailing on him to take a speech to the Prophet. This scoundrel (the Prophet) affects to follow the Shaker principles in everything but the vow of celebacy and the above mentioned leader has assured me that he believes the Prophet to be under the same divine inspiration that he himself is (a circumstance by no means improbable) but that for reasons growing out of his situation as a savage he was still permitted, with his immediate followers, to cohabit with women.[1]

I am respectfully, Sirs, your obt. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 23d May 1810

Har. Pa. 295

SIR:

Since my letter of last week a gentleman arrived here directly from Chicago. He informs me that the Indians were all quiet in that quarter and he supposes that the Prophet was rather losing ground than otherwise amongst the Indians of the Illinois River. This information will not cause me to relax my vigilance in watching the motions of the Prophet.

I have the honor to be with great respect
Sir your Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS Esq. *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 14 June 1810

Har. Pa. 300-303

SIR:

Upon my return from an excursion to a distant part of the Territory on the 9th Instant I found the two letters which you did me the honor to write on the 10th ultimo.[1] Since my

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[1] Shakertown, sixteen miles north of Vincennes was founded by religious enthusiasts from Kentucky in 1805. It was a co-operative society, holding property in common and forbidding marriage.

Esarey, *Indiana, II, 973*

[1] These letters have not been found but Dawson, *Harrison, 139* gives the following quotation and substance from them:

"In conformity with the recommendation of the Governor respecting a detachment of men, as well as the establishment of a post on the Wabash, he received a letter from the secretary at war, of which the following is the extract which relates to the subject:

'If it shall be, in your judgment, necessary to establish a post on the Wabash, arrival I have received information from various sources which has produced an entire conviction on my mind that the prophet is organizing a most extensive combination against the United States and that his schemes are rapidly advancing to maturity. The particulars that have reached me I shall now proceed to detail.

The circumstance in this affair which has surprised me most is the defection of the Hurons or Wyandots. This Tribe although inferior in number to most of the others have always had great influence on the Indian Councils.

The other Tribes call them their Uncles and venerate them for their superior wisdom, valor and intelligence, to them the custody of the Great Belt which was the Symbol of Union between the Tribes in their late war with the United States was committed—as it was the original duplicate of the Treaty of Greenville. The Prophet knowing the great advantage he would derive from gaining over this Tribe to his interests attempted it and has succeeded. It appears that some short time since he sent to them a deputation expressing his surprise that the Wyandotts who had directed the councils of the other Tribes in the War and to whom was committed the care of the Belt which had united all the Tribes as well as the Treaty with the White people should sit still and see the property of all the Indians usurped by a pact. That he was desirous of seeing those Treaties to know what they contained. The Wyandots answered that they had preserved with care the belt which had formerly united all the Tribes as one nation that it has remained so long in their hands without an inquiry being made after it that they had supposed it was forgotten. They were glad however that it was at length

and within the late purchase, I shall confide in the knowledge of the country, of the objects to be embraced, and of service, peculiar to Governor Harrison, to give such instructions to the commanding officer as ay be necessary.' In another letter, of the same date, he informs him that 'Captain Posey had been directed to move with a company, as full as the detachment at Newport, Ky. would admit, and, on his arrival at Vincennes, to report himself to the Governor.' And in a subsequent letter, July 5, he was informed that 120 men, under the command of Captain Cross, were also descending the Ohio from Pittsburgh. Their destination had been Bellefontaine, near St. Louis; but they had orders to halt at Newport, and were put at the disposal of the Governor, provided he might think their presence necessary at Vincennes. It was also stated, that a part of the Sixth regiment would be ordered to Pittsburgh, to be reinforced as circumstances might require; and that it was expected an accommodation would be effected between the government of the United States and that of Great Britain, as far as that hostilities were not to be apprehended. Captain Floyd was ordered to Vincennes, to take command of the troops on their arrival; he being represented, by the secretary at war, as 'a brave and capable officer'." [See July 7, below]
Dawson, *Harrison*, 139

called for, for their own parts they were tired of their situation that they had nothing nearer their hearts than to see all the various tribes united again as one man. They looked upon everything that had been done since the Treaty of Greenville between the white people and Indians as good for nothing and that they would unite their exertions to the Prophet's to bring together all the Tribes and to get them to unite to put a stop to the encroachments of the white people and endeavour to recover what had been unjustly taken from them. That they had been driven back until they could go no further and that they had as well die where they were as to be driven upon other Indians who would probably attack them. This appears to have been the substance of the answer sent to the Prophet and which was immediately circulated through all the Tribes. The effect has been that those who were before indifferent or inimical to the view of the Prophet are now hastening to him from every direction. The Wyandots passed through the Miami village of Mississineway 10 or 12 days ago on their way to the Prophet. At a conference with the Miami chiefs they produced the great Belt before spoken of and reproached the Miamis with having deserted their Indian Friends and united themselves with the White people. The Miamis were so intimidated that they consented to attend the meeting at the Prophets Town and have sent for the Weas to join them at Mississineway from whence they will proceed together to the Tippecanoe. A chief of the Weas has been just sent to me for the purpose of communicating to me the object of their intended journey. It is from this chief who is entirely to be depended upon and two other persons of the Wea Tribe that the principal part of the above information is derived.

A few nights ago an Indian [Grosble] of the Piankeshaw Tribe came to the House of Mr. [Touissant] Dubois (a French Gentleman who lives about a mile above the Town) after the family had retired to bed and told him that he had something of importance to communicate to him which was by all means to remove from his present residence and retire over the Mississippi as he might soon expect troublesome times if he remained where he was.

The old Piankeshaw chief Grosbles who is particularly attached to the United States and personally to myself came to me yesterday and asked my permission to remove over the Mississippi alledging that he heard amongst the Indians nothing but the news of War and as he intended to take no part in it he wished to be out of danger. Today he has informed me that the Prophet had actually formed a plan to surprise this Town. He intends in the guise of friendship to come here with a large body of men that 4 or 5 would be assigned to each house and himself with 12 or 15 would enter mine and having destroyed one a signal would be given by a person posted for that purpose to commence the Massacre in the town. This fellow has boasted that he would follow the footsteps of the Great Pontiac.

Brouillette is still at the Prophets Town the information that he has given me is that there are as far as he can ascertain about 3,000 men within 30 miles of the Prophets Town, that they are constantly councilling but that they are very secret in their proceedings. He has however been informed by his friends that it is determined at least to prevent the surveyors from surveying lines west of the Wabash.

I am still of opinion that the British are the real authors of these movements on the part of the Indians and I think it probable that if our differences are speedily arranged with that power (an event which appears from the last papers received here as remote as ever) that we shall have no Indian War. But I think it not impossible for the purpose of increasing our difficulties and embarrassments that corrupt Government may have urged the Indians to commence hostilities altho they have no intention of going to War themselves. It is very certain that a large party amongst the Indians are ripe for it and many others only restrained by fear. I anticipate here a question from you Sir, "As the United States have upon all occasions manifested the strictest justice in their transactions with the Indians how then does it happen that they are not sensible of this and that they should be governed by a power which has so often deceived them and from whose intrigues, and bad advice they have formerly suffered as much?" My answer is that there is nothing about which nations are more divided than the causes of their misfortunes. We frequently find them attributed to causes the most opposite. The Indians of this country are in fact miserable. The game which was formerly so abundant is now so scarce as barely to afford subsistance to the most active hunters. The greater part of each tribe are half the year in a state of starvation and astonishing as it may seem these remote savages have felt their full share of the misfortunes which the trouble in Europe have brought upon the greater part of the world. The exclusion of the English from the continent of Europe where they were accustomed to dispose of the greater part of the peltries imported from Canada has reduced the price of those articles almost to nothing. The Indian can scarcely procure for them the necessary ammunition and they are often induced to forego the purchase of this necessary article to gratify their passion for whisky. Finding themselves thus destitute and miserable is it surprising that their misfortunes were produced by the extension of the American settlements? A portion of the enlightened American people have been taught to believe by the emisaries of the same government that the embarrassments we labour under have grown out of the measures of our own Government rather than the unjust and inequitous decrees of their master. Is it wonderful then that ignorant half starved savages have been seduced by men who so well understand the arts of deception?

Har. Pa. 296-299 incl.

June 15th. A boat which I sent up the Wabash with the annuity salt for the Indians returned this day. The person who had charge of her reports to me that the Prophet and the Kickapoos who are with him refused to receive that which he was directed to deliver to them. On his way up he was directed by the Prophet to leave the salt on the bank of the River as he could not determine whether he would receive it or not until his Brother the War Chief whom he had sent to Detroit and whom he daily expected should arrive. Upon the return of the boat the master was directed to take the salt on board as they had determined to have nothing to do with it. Whilst the hands were rolling in the barrels the brother of the Prophet seized the master and several others by the hair and shook them violently asking whether they were Americans. They were all young Frenchmen. They insulted Mr. Brouillette at the same time calling him an American Dog and a Young Putawatomie Chief directed some of his men to plunder his house which they immediately did of all his provisions, tobacco etc. Brouillette is not known as an agent of mine by the Indians. He keeps a few articles of trade to disguise his real character.[2] The boatmen inform me that the conduct of the above mentioned Potawatomi was highly displeasing to the greater part of his Tribe and that the chief Winamac[3] is an open and avowed friend of the United States. He is now on his way to this place. I have an entire confidence in his integrity and attachment and will take care to encourage it.

This day a party of Iowas twenty in number arrived here—they parted between this and the Illinois River with a large number of Sac's, Foxes and Winebagos amounting they say to eleven hundred—all going to the Prophet and to the British, they say also that the Marpack [or Main Poc] the Potawatomie chief of the Illinois River has taken the same direction with his people.

Notwithstanding the above strong symptoms of hostile disposition upon the part of the Indians I think it yet possible to bring the council about to be held at the Prophet's town to a favorable result and you may rely upon it Sir that I shall leave no means untried which my knowledge of the Indian Character and of the Individual Chiefs shall suggests as having that tendency. I know that all the chiefs of the Miamis, Delawares, Weas and a majority of the Potawatomies are as inimical to the Prophet and his projects as they are friendly to the United States. But as it is much easier to persuade a savage to do mischief than to dissuade him from it, I fear that the bold and popular eloquence of that artful scoundrel promising them a rich harvest of blood and plunder from our defenceless frontiers may seduce the young men from their duty to their chiefs and that the latter seeing opposition fruitless may be induced to swim with the current. Knowing that in a case of this kind savages are only operated upon by their fears I shall use with them a very decisive language pointing out the advantages of peace and the inevitable destruction which war with the United States will bring upon them.

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[2] The Prophet contended to Dubois that he was not unfriendly to the Americans but that he was continually misrepresented by drunken Indians at Vincennes. In further conversation he declared the Indians had been robbed of all their lands, and that no land cession was valid unless approved by all the tribe; that he had been directed by the great spirit to settle at the mouth of the Tippecanoe, and there collect all the Indians.

Dillon, *Indiana*, *440*

[3] Winamac was a Potawattomie chief. There seems to have been two of the same name, one friendly to and the other hostile to the United States. The one hostile, was killed by Logan, Nov. 22, 1812; the other died in 1821. It is from the latter the town of Winamac takes its name.

Col. [Francis] Vigo a French Gentleman who has resided in this country upwards of thirty years and whom I have before advantageously employed in missions of this kind will set out immediately for the Miami Village of Mississineawy where there will be a meeting of the three Tribes which bear the General appelation of Miamis previously to their going to the Prophet. The object is to ascertain what impression has been made upon them by the Wyandots in favor of the Prophet's schemes and to strengthen their fidelity towards the United States. As soon as I hear that the Indians have generally collected at the Prophets I shall send them a speech such as I think calculated to reassure our friends and intimidate those that are hostile. In the mean time I shall spare no pains or reasonable expense to gain correct information.

June 19th. The greater part of the information contained above has hitherto been communicated to two or three confidential persons only as I was extremely averse to create any alarm until the necessity for it should appear unequivocal, but since the return of the salt boat the report of the crew of the number of Indians collected around the Prophet and the insolence of their conduct has created so much apprehension upon the part of the citizens that I deemed it advisable to assemble the public officers the merchants and other respectable citizens to take their advice upon the subject of putting the country in a state of defence. To these gentlemen the danger appeared so imminent that they unanimously urged and advised me to call two companies into actual service and to put all the rest of the Militia upon the alert—this has accordingly been done and alarm posts established and such other measures adopted as the occasion called for and my means would allow. The inconvenience to the men of calling them out at the season of approaching harvest will be considered and the consideration and the expense which will attend the measure would have prevented me from adopting it if I had the least room to doubt the correctness of the information I have received of the hostile designs of the Prophet and particularly his having marked out the place as the first object of his attack. And it is by no means improbable that some display of Military preparation here would have no inconsiderable effect upon the proceedings of the council at Tepaconoe. Altho no people are more brave than the Indians when in actual danger like all undisciplined warriors collected together in large bodies they are subject to unaccountable paroxysms of terror the effect of which no reason or argument can control whilst increasing their determination to receive or reject the propositions of the Prophet a sensation of this sort ought to be easily executed by a simultaneous feint of the militia from some points on the Ohio and the Great Miami and from this place which would very probably break up the meeting. I have it not in my power to make those movements but I will contrive to have a report circulated at a proper moment that troops are actually assembling at those points and it may perhaps produce as much effect as if it were actually the case.

Perhaps Sir from the station I occupy it may be expected from me that I should give some opinion of the steps proper to be taken if war with the Indians should actually take place. It appears to me all important then to act with the utmost vigor in the commencement of such war when the first act of hostility takes place. I am persuaded that several of the Tribes and a number of individuals of those who are actually engaged in it will be opposed to it and many more will be politic enough to keep in the back ground for a while to observe its progress. Any extraordinary success on the part of the hostile Indians would have the certain effect of strengthening their party and discouraging our friends and a confederacy which in the commencement would be feeble and discordant would become cemented and extended to a degree that would make it a work of time and difficulty for us to crush. The Militia of the Western country acting on Horseback might in the course of a very few weeks sweep the whole hostile district from the Wabash to the Illinois River and Lake Michigan of every enemy. I say on horseback, for celerity of movement is essentially necessary to their success. The Militia of this section of the Union are entirely without discipline and vastly inferior to what they were at the close of the late Indian war. In an encounter with the Indians they would inevitably be beaten unless *greatly* superior in numbers but from our vicinity to the Indian towns and our intimate knowledge of the country the former might be easily surprised by mounted infantry.

Capt. Posey[4] has not yet arrived nor have I indeed heard of his leaving Cincinnati. An Eastern mail arrives at Louisville Kentucky twice a week to this place but once a week. Should anything very interesting occur in two or three days I will send a special express to Louisville to deposit a letter which shall contain it, in the office at that place.

I have the honor to be with greatest respect
Sir your Humbl Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS Esq. *Secy. of War*

JOHNSON TO HARRISON

FORT WAYNE, June 24, 1810

Dawson, *Harrison*, 143

DEAR SIR,

A person just arrived who, it appears, has lost himself on his route to Vincennes, affords me an opportunity of announcing to you my return to this post. I was delayed on my journey, in attendting to the transportation of the public goods; and on my arrival in the state of Ohio, I had learned that the prophet's brother had lately been at work among the Shawanese on the Au-glaize, and, among other things, had burned your letter delivered to the chiefs at this place last fall. I accordingly took Wapaghkonetta [Ohio] in my route home, assembled the chiefs, and demanded the reason why they had suffered such an improper act to be committed at their door. They disavowed all agency in the transaction; and their entire disapprobation of the prophet's conduct, and concurring circumstances, satisfied me that they were sincere. The white persons at the town, informed me that not one of the chiefs would go into council with the prophet's brother, and that it was a preacher, named Riddle, who took the letter, to have it interpreted, and that the brother of the prophet took it from his hand, and threw it into the fire; declaring, that if Governor Harrison was there, he would serve him so. He told the Indians that the white people and the Government were deceiving them, and that, for his part, he never would believe them, or put any confidence in them—that he never would be quiet until he effected his purpose, and that, if he was dead, the cause would not die with him. He urged the Indians to move off to the Mississippi with him, and that there he would assemble his forces. All his arguments seemed to be bottomed on the prospect of hostilities against our people. He made no impression on the Shawanese, and went away much dissatisfied at their not coming into his views. I consider them among our best friends. I indirectly encouraged their emigration westward, and told them that their annuity should follow them. They appear determined to remain, and are much attached to the town and the improvements, which are considerable.

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[4] Major Thornton Posey was a member of the Posey family of Va. He enlisted in the regular army from Ky., in May 1808 and served till the end of the war of 1812. He arrived at Vincennes, July 5, 1810.

I am very sorry that I was not here when Mr. O'Neille passed. I agree, from all the information I can collect, that the prophet is endeavoring to form a combination among the Indians hostile to us. I shall be on the alert, and will take special care to apprise you of everything that may be material, until the crisis passes away. The Indians, in any numbers, you know, cannot subsist long in one place. We may, therefore, calculate on hearing of their dispersing soon, or doing something worse. Hendricks [a Delaware chief] writes that a deputation from White river is gone to the prophet, and he thinks it will have the desired effect. I hope to hear the result soon. If this incendiary is not silenced in an amicable manner, I think forbearance on our part is no longer prudent. It is not for me to say what steps ought to be taken; but one thing is certain; if he is not put down soon, some district of our country will receive a blow. The information contained in the enclosed paper, procured from my interpreter's wife [Mrs. Abraham Ash], although it is in some respects improbable, taken in connection with the prophet's conduct, deserves some consideration. It is sent to you as we received it. There is no possible inducement with the woman to contrive a falsehood.

I have read your communication on the subject of the Indians going to the seat of government, and shall pay particular attention to it. I have seen none of the chiefs since my return, but I learn that many of them intend coming in when they understand I am here. I have sent for the Turtle, but he is unwell. I believe no difficulties exist with the Miamis, on the subject of the treaty with the Kickapoos, except with the Turtle; and that originated, like all other mischiefs of the kind, with——[Wells]. I will converse with the Turtle on the subject, and ascertain his objections. I do not apprehend much difficulty with him; I have money to pay him [his annuity]. I will be answerable, that not another soul of the Miamis makes a single objection, if——[Wells] lets them alone. I shall, in future, cherish the Mississinaway chiefs; for there is our strong hold. The Turtle is contemptible, beyond description, in the eyes of the Indians. I shall not suffer him to go to the President, nor the Five Medals either. They have been there too often already. If the deputation goes at all, it must late in the season, as the President during the warm weather, will be at his seat in Virginia, and the secretary of war probably in Massachusetts. I will have time enough to write you again on this subject.

I think you will have to give up all idea of taking up——[Wells] again. He is too unprincipled to be employed any where, except as an interpreter, and under your own eye, where you might watch him. I could detail to you a thousand instances of his total disregard of every thing that is held sacred by honest and honorable men. Admitting he was restored here again (which in my opinion never can take place) he would be useless to you and the government; for the latter never would put any confidence in his representations, and the public interest would thereby suffer. He has so long travelled in the crooked, miry paths of intrigue and deception, that he never could be made to retrace his steps, and pursue a straight, fair, and honorable course, such as might be creditable to himself and useful to his country. My opinion of him is made up from a long residence at this post, and an intimate knowledge of his character, both public and private. I think I know him as well as any man can know him, and it is my decided opinion, that he will never suit your purposes here; and the sooner all hope of his re-establishment is at an end, it will be the better; for he is becoming a pest here, and will move off if he finds he cannot be reinstated.

I have the honor to remain, with very great respect, your excellency's most obedient servant.

JOHN JOHNSON

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 26th June 1810

Har. Pa. 304-310

SIR:

Since my letter by the last mail was written a deputation of Potawatomies headed by the chief Winamac arrived here, being sent to inform me of the decision of a council lately held [at Parc-au-Vache] near St. Joseph of Lake Michigan which was attended by all the Indians of that quarter and by the deputies of the Delaware Tribe; the object of whose mission I mentioned to you in my letter of the 15th ultimo. It appears that the last mentioned tribe have faithfully performed their duty to the United States and their promises to me. At the council above mentioned they made the most forcible representations against the schemes of the Prophet and succeeded entirely in detaching them from his interest. They do not deny their hostile intentions and acknowledge that they had received the Tomahawk but that they had bury'd it on the 28th ultimo never more to be taken up. Winamac was also directed to inform me of all they knew of the Prophets plan. Detroit, Fort Wayne Chicago, St. Louis and this place were to have been surprised and every exertion made to engage all the Tribes upon the Mississippi to join in the confederacy. I cannot hear that any principal chiefs of the Potawatomies (sachems or village chiefs) have given any countenance to the Prophet—his supporters are generally confined (amongst all the Tribes) to the war chiefs, or those who are heads of small bands. I cannot Sir give you a better idea of the character of this man (the Prophet) than the following anecdote will convey, and which I am assured by Winamac is strictly true. He proposed not long since to the young men to murder the principal chiefs of all the Tribes, observing that their hands would never be united, until this was effected; that these were the men who sold their lands, and who would prevent them from opposing the encroachments of the white people. I am at a loss which most to admire the consummate villany of the scheme or its extreme artfulness. If a few of the old chiefs such as the Prophet could select were taken from each Tribe, the rest could easily be persuaded to undertake any enterprise which that consummate scoundrel could suggest. An Iowa Indian (now here) informs me that two years ago this summer, an agent from the British, arrived at the Prophets Town and in his presence delivered the message, with which he was charged—the substance of it was to urge the Prophet to unite as many Tribes as he could, against the United States, but not to commence hostilities, until they gave the signal—from this man and others of his nation, I learn that the Prophet has been constantly soliciting their own and others Tribes of the Mississippi to join him against the United States. He represented to them, that the white peoples had been constantly encroaching upon the Indians, continually driving them back that those who had suffered most were determined to make a stand and go no farther, and that the distant tribes who had not yet lost their lands, ought to assist those who had, or they would shortly experience a similar fate—that he was commissioned by the Great Spirit of the Indians (who was himself an Indian and different from the Great Spirit of the Whites) to tell them this and to tell them, that he would destroy them unless they listened to him. Winamac passed through the Prophets Town, on his way hither; the latter was very much enraged at the decision of the council near St. Josephs and made an attempt to get Winamac assassinated—he declared too that altho' he was abandoned by so many of his followers, he had still enough left to carry his designs into execution, but that it would take a longer time to effect them.

I have dispatch'd Col. [Francis] Vigo to the Miamis and a Mr. [Touissant] Dubois another french gentleman to the Prophet—the latter will I expect with his usual address deny all hostile intentions. His declaration to Winamac I take to be one of those ebullitions of passion in which I know he frequently indulges himself. Winamac says that he will now endeavour to raise the southern Indians, the Choctaws and Creeks, particularly (the Prophet's mother was a Creek), and so strong does he suppose his grounds for this opinion to be, that he has declared that if the Prophet does not go to southward sometime this summer, that I may then consider him (Winamac) as a man of no truth. I was Sir for a long time unable to persuade myself that there was any probability of a war between the United States and the Indian Tribes on this frontier. I supposed that the latter had suffer'd too severely in their former attempts, to be again willing to measure their strength with a people, whose numbers were so immensely superior to their own and who had it in their power to deprive them of the supply of arms and ammunition, and of many other articles, which habit had render'd in a great measure necessary. I am now however perfectly convinced that war was not only thought of, but that it would have been actually commenced, but for the active interposition of the Delaware Tribe, which having suffer'd more than any other in the former wars, were better able to appreciate the evils that a recommencement of hostilities will bring upon them. (I have as little doubt that the scheme originated with the British and that the Prophet is inspired by the superintendent of Indian affairs for upper Canada, rather than the Great Spirit, from whom he pretends to derive his authority.) I do not however believe that it was their intention that the Indians should commence hostilities, but in the event of war between their nation and the United States. But it is probable that having given the impulse, they have found it difficult to regulate the after movements of their tawny allies. However desperate might be the circumstances under which the Indians would commence a war with the United States, history abounds with instances of its being undertaken under auspices even more sinister and untoward. I have before had the honour to inform you that the Indians of this country were certainly more miserable than they have ever been from the difficulty of procuring provisions, that they are in fact half starved. Is it surprising that they should view their own situation with discontent, and ours with envy and jealousy, and that this should ripen into hatred. The Prophet has told them that the Great Spirit did not mean that the white and red people should live near each other, that the former poison'd the land and prevented it from producing the things necessary for their subsistance. Under that circumstance and by such artifices, savages may be induced to adopt any measures however desperate which promises to better their conditions. The situation of the Delawares and Miamis is rather better than that of other tribes.

Capt. [Thornton] Posey has not arrived but every moment expected, as he was near the mouth of the Wabash, more than a week ago, I shall for the present recommend his taking possession of the old Garrison and rendering it defensible by the erection of a blockhouse of rough timber and three lines of pickets, with the most convenient timber. These improvements will cost little, besides the labour of the men, there being now at the Garrison a waggon and two oxen.

The two companies of Militia, which I have order'd out were muster'd on the 25th Inst and are now in this place. An Ensign of 16 men will march today for Busseron, the upper settlement of this country. I do not calculate on keeping these men in service longer than the return of Mr. Dubois unless the accounts brought by him should be very different from what I expect them to be. The report of this favourable change in the disposition of some the tribes being entirely derived from Indians I do not think it proper to release any military preparation until it is confirmed by other evidence.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest respect Sir yr. Humble St.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLM. EUSTIS Esquire *Secrty of War*

BROUILLETTE TO HARRISON

June 30, 1810

Har. Pa. 315, 316

INDIANA TERRITORY
KNOX COUNTY. Sct.

Before the undersigned a Justice of the Peace in and for said County personally came Captain Michal Brouillette who being first duly sworn on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God deposeth and saith that agreeably to the instructions of the Governor he has remained at the Prophets Town since about the 12th May last [1809] until the 26th of this instant [June 26, 1810] that in that time there were almost daily councils held, the proceedings of which were kept as secret as possible, That his friends amongst the Indians frequently informed him that the Prophet was not friendly to the United States and particularly that he was very much exasperated at the cession of Lands made last winter. That they had agreed that the Tract on the N. west side of the Wabash should not be surveyed. That a Potawatomie Chief [Winamac] who was very friendly to the United States told him that the Prophet certainly intended to make a stroke on the white people and when asked where he intended to strike he pointed towards Vincennes. That several of the Indians have expressed a wish that the French people should separate from the Americans at Vincennes and settle on the opposite bank of the Wabash. That the affairs of the Prophet received a great shock at the decision of the council held the latter end of last month at Park a Vach[1] near St. Josephs of Lake Michigan where the tribes that were assembled unanimously agreed not to go to war with the United States. That another deputation arrived from the Delaware Tribe on the 23d of this instant with a long speech to the Prophet calculated to deter him from going to war, That the Prophet was much exasperated at it and told him (Brouillette) that the speech was made by that bad man at Vincennes meaning Gov. Harrison, That he is satisfied the Prophet has constant intercourse with some person or persons in or at or about Vincennes as he knows everything almost that transpires. He knew what information the Governor had received from the wife of [Abraham] Ash the Interpreter at Fort Wayne since the defection of so many of his followers he now denies that his hostility was against the United States but attributes his being charged with it to the Governor. He threatened to challenge him to fight him in single combat and that he will go on to the seat of government to get him removed. This deponant thinks that those Ideas must have been put into his head by some white man; He further says that the account of the Prophets having 3000 men under his controul which he sent to the Governor was received from the Prophet himself and probably exaggerated, that he does not suppose that he now has more than 650 warriors. That he sincerely believes that the hostile disposition of the Prophet is to the United States has not been abandoned but that he does not think he will go to war unless he can prevail on the tribes which have fallen off from him again to unite. That the principal obsticle to this is the Potawatomie chief Winimac and the Delaware Tribe that the former is in great danger of being assassinated for his attachment to the United States. That he is incessantly travelling round amongst the Indians to keep them quiet. That the Prophets people are all well armed but he thinks they were deficient in ammunition.

(sd)

MICHEL BROUILLET

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[1] Parc aux Vaches or Parkovash was the Indian name for the open vales or "Oak openings" near the south bend of the St. Joseph. It was a favorite resort of the buffaloes, especially during the hot summer time. It was also famous for the number of deer and elk that resorted there from the prairies to the west.

Sworn to and subscribed before me a justice of the peace in and for the county of Knox this 30th day of June, 1810.

(Sd) WM. PRINCE.

A True Copy.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT July 3d, 1810

Har. Pa. 7

His Excelcy. Gov. Harrison. Sir

The enclosed Letter to Doctor [Jacob Kuy] Kendall[1] is transmitted to your Excellency on the presumption that he will enter immediately on duty by attending the Garrison at Vincennes, or such other Post as may be occupied on the Wabash. Should there exist in your opinion any proper objection to its delivery, the Letter of Appointment may be returned; and on the Recommendation of your Excellency, another Gentleman will be nominated.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 4th July 1810

Har. Pa. 311-314

SIR:

Mr. [Michael] Brouillette arrived here from the Prophets town on the 1st Instant and Mr. [Touissant] Dubois yesterday. I have the honor to enclose you a copy of the dsposition of the former. [See June 30, 1810, supra] Mr. Dubois was received by the Prophet with much apparent satisfaction. He told him that he had been sent by me to know what was the reason of his hostile preparations and enmity to the United States, that his conduct had excited so much alarm that the warriors both here and in Kentucky were preparing themselves for service and that a detachment of Regular Troops were actually on their way to Vincennes, but that he was directed to tell him that these preparations were only intended for defence and that no attempt whatever would be made against him until his disposition to commit hostilities could no longer be doubted. The Prophet denies most strenuously that he intended to go to war with the white people and intimated that the Delawares and other Indians had been bribed with whisky by me to accuse him. That it was by the express order of the Great Spirit that he had fixed himself there and that he was likewise ordered to assemble as many Indians as he could collect at that spot. When pressed by Mr. Dubois to state the grounds of his complaint if he had any against the United States he said that the Indians had been cheated of their lands and that no sale was good unless made by all the Tribes. He was told that the Government would listen to any statement he would make that it would be as well for him perhaps to go to Vincennes and see the Governor. This, however, was declined alledging that he had been ill treated when there before.[1]

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[1] Dr. Jacob Kuy Kendall was of a Dutch family widely represented in the early history of the Ohio valley. Jacob Kuykendall was recommended by Harrison for the Legislative council in 1805, and later held various appointive offices. The name soon came to be written Kuykendall.

Mr. Dubois found at the Prophets Town some old friends of his of the late Kickapoo Tribe with whom he had much conversation. They appeared to him to be alarmed and to regret their having joined the Prophet. He asked them whether the Prophet really had a disposition to go to War with the United States. They said that they had long known that War was his intention but they were never informed whether he designed to attack the United States or the Osage nation. Mr. Dubois passed through the Wea and part of the Eel river Tribes. They were all under the impression that there would be a war and were apprehensive that they might be involved in it. Mr. Dubois however agrees with me in opinion that at present there is no danger, the defection of the Chippeawas and Ottawas and Potawatomies at the Council held at the Parke a Vache has for the present entirely frustrated the Prophet's designs. He thinks too as Mr. Brouillette that the Chief Winemac will be assassinated by the Prophet partly for the active part he has taken against them. However painful it may be to entertain such an opinion I am nevertheless convinced of the fact that there is a constant communication between some persons in this place and the Prophet and altho they may not have urged him to make war upon the United States they foment his discontent and encourage him to set up pretentions which the policy of our Government has always opposed and which never can be admitted without shutting the door to every future extinguishment of Title upon any terms that would be beneficial to our Treasury. The subject of allowing the Indians of this country to consider all their lands as common property has been frequently and largely discussed in my communications with your predecessor and in a personal correspondence with the late President. The Treaties made by me last fall were concluded upon principles as liberal towards the Indians as my knowledge of the views and opinions of the Government would allow. For altho great latitude of discretion has always been given me I knew that the opinion of Mr. Jefferson on the subject went so far as to assert a claim of the United States lands paramount to all extinguished or decayed Tribes to the exclusion of all recent settlers. Upon this principle the Miami nation are the only rightful claimants of all the unpurchased lands from the Ohio to the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers. But Sir the President may rest assured that the complaints of injury with regard to the sale of lands is a mere pretence suggested to the Prophet by British partisans and emisaries. The parties to the late Treaty were never better satisfied than they are at this moment, with the exception of the Kickapoos. Mr. Dubois thinks that they really repent of having made sale of the small tract above the mouth of Raccoon Creek and that a relinquishment of it would tend to alienate them from the Prophet. This is a step which I have informed him will never be taken by the Government—but there may be great propriety in suffering them to occupy it for some years. On this subject and some others which I deem important, I shall do myself the honor to make you a further communication by the next mail.

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[1] The Prophet was in Vincennes in August 1808 remaining a week, and again in the summer of 1809.

Dillon, *Indiana, 428, 430*

Captain [Thornton] Posey has not yet arrived; as soon as he comes I shall dismiss the two companies of Militia.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect Sir
Your Humble Servant

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. WILLIAM EUSTES, Esq. *Secretary of War*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 7th, 1810

Har. Pa. 8-9

Gen. W. H. HARRISON, SIR,

On the 5th instant, I had the honor to inform your Excellency that [Capt. Thornton] Posey's Company was at Louisville on the 16th of June, and that Capt. [Joseph] Cross[1] with a Detachment of one hundred and twenty men, descending the Ohio for Belle Fontaine near St. Louis, had been ordered to halt at Newport, Kentucky, and await your orders in case you should deem it necessary to employ them. Captain [George Rogers Clark] Floyd[2] who is represented to be a brave & capable Officer, has likewise been ordered to repair to Vincennes (from Louisville) & Report himself for Duty. From his character it is presumed he will be useful in the command of the Troops to which his Rank will entitle him.

A part of the 6th Regt. at Carlisle is also ordered to Pittsburg, from whence they will move as circumstances may require.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 10th July 1810

Har. Pa. 278-283

SIR:

The Invoice of Wea Annuities herewith enclosed for the year 1799 with the certificate of William Wells and Captn. [John] Whistler[1] then commandant at Fort Wayne were put into my hands a short time since by a young Wea Chief with a letter from Wells stating that the deficiency mentioned in the certificate had never been made up to the Tribe. As the circumstance occurred before the commencement of my administration I could only promise the Indians to transmit the papers to you for your decision.

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[1] Joseph Cross was born in Mass., enlisted in the artillery Feb. 16, 1801; captain Nov. 7, 1808; dropped from army May 20, 1813.

[2] George Rogers Clark Floyd was a native of Ky. Capt. Seventh Inf. May 3, 1808; major Fourth Inf. Nov. 30, 1810; Lieut. Col. Seventh Inf., Aug. 26, 1812; resigned Apr. 30, 1813.

[1] Major John Whistler was a British soldier under Burgoyne when he surrendered at Saratoga. After returning to England he eloped with a neighbor's daughter and came to Md. in 1790; served with St. Clair and Wayne; helped build Fort Wayne. In 1803 he established Fort Dearborn (Chicago); commanded at Fort Wayne 1814-1816; transferred to St. Charles, 1817.

Griswold, *Fort Wayne, 233*

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir your Humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

To the Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS Esq. *Secy of War*

FORT WAYNE June 17th 1800. We certify that the Weas is deficient in eight pairs of Roos Blankets, one piece of Striped Coating, of their annuities for the year 1799. thus left by the said nation, nine pairs of Roos Blankets dammiged also one two and half point Blanket (in charge of Capt. Wells Indian Agent) not fit to receive for the aforesaid year.

J. WHISTLER *Capt.*
W. WELLS *agent of Indian Affairs*

Invoice sundry Merchandise forwarded per John Harris Keeper of Military Supplies per Randall Wilson Waggoner, and addressed To Major Isaac Craig, Pittsburgh, to be held by him subject to the Orders of the Secretary of War, named and numbered as per margin, viz.—

PHILADELPHIA 24th April 1799

U. S. WEA ANNUITY FOR 1799

Bale No. 1—10 pieces Blue Strands, viz.—						
No. 474,	20¼ yd.					
No. 475,	21¼ yd.					
No. 476,	21 yd.	63 yd.@3/-	£9	9	0	
No. 477,	21½ yd.					
No. 478,	20½ yd.					
No. 479,	20 yd.					
No. 480,	20¼ yd.					
No. 481,	20 yd.	102½ yd.@¾	17	1	8	
No. 482,	22 yd.					
No. 483,	20¾ yd.	42¾ yd.@3/1	7	9	7	
			£34	0	3	
Advance 125			42	10	3¾	
			£76	10	6¾	$204.08
Bale No. 2—1 piece, 2½ pr. Blankets—						
17 Bkt.@9s/5½			£..	14	5½	
Advance 115 5 8 7½			10	3	1	$27.88
1 piece, 14 Blkts.			..	1	0	21.46

Postage				.06
17 pairs Rose Blankets@36/ casing				81.60
5½ yd. Wrapping@18CH, 2½th Rope@25c				1.61
				$131.81
Bale No. 3—4 pieces Grey Coating, viz.—				
No. 705, 26¼ yd.				
No. 250, 25 yd.				
No. 109, 27 yd.				
No. ..., 27 yd. 105¼ yd.@3/6	£18	8	4½	
2 pieces stripe Do., No. 1021 and 1022, 48½ yd.@3/6	8	9	9	
	26	18	1½	
Deduct 5 P. C.	1	6	10¾	
	25	11	2¾	
Advance Cent.	25	11	2¾	
	£51	2	5½	$136.33
9½ pieces Indian Chintz, 11½ yd. ea.@20 ds.				24.27
1 piece Mack pulicat Hdfs., 10 Hof.				2.62½
3¾ yd. Wrapping@18th, 1½ Hs. Rope@25c				1.05
				$164.27½
Amount Dollars				$500.16½

Errors Excepted, Jno C. Harris *Keeper Military Stores*

Secretary of War to Harrison

War Department, July 11th, 1810

Har. Pa. 10

His Excellcy. Govr. Harrison. Sir;

I have the honor to acknowledge the Receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 26th June by which it appears that the celebrated Personage, "the Prophet", will not be able to excite the Indians to acts of Hostility against the United States.

Captain [Joseph] Cross, who had orders to halt at Newport, Kentucky & to await your orders in case of emergency, will now be directed to proceed on his route to St. Louis as originally instructed. The Company under Capt. [Thornton] Posey, will remain at Vincennes until further orders.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 11th July 1810
Har. Pa. 317-321

SIR:

Since I had the honor to write you on the 4th Inst. I have received a letter from Mr. [John] Johnston the Indian agent at Fort Wayne containing information on the subject of the hostile combination of Indians against the United States which agrees almost in every particular with that which I had received at this place. Conformably to his instructions I presume that Mr. Johnston has transmitted to you a duplicate of his communication to me.

I fear however that I shall soon have to announce to you proofs of the hostility of the Prophet and his followers which will be more convincing than all that has been hitherto forwarded, even if that which I am now about to relate should not be so considered.

On this day week four canoes passed the Wea village of Terre Haute, with four or five men in each, of the Prophets followers were supposed to be coming here. A Wea chief who came down by land gave me this information. Saturday hearing nothing of them in the course of that day I dispatched a Lieut. of Militia and eight men to see what had become of them. At a settlement about sixteen miles above this [Shakertown] they learned that one canoe only had come down as low as that with four Kickapoos. That they had left their canoe there and had gone to the meeting of the Shakers on Sunday. They returned late in the evening of that day and proceeded up the Wabash about one half mile where they left their canoe cut a hole in her and in the night stole five horses. Those fellows were all completely armed had no skins to trade with nor did they profess to have any other business than to visit the Shakers. That they were spies from the larger party I have not the least doubt and the manner in which the horses were stolen is the strongest indication of a hostile disposition that they have yet discovered—far from wishing to disguise it their canoe paddles and a small fish gig were left on the shore within a short distance of the place from whence the horses were taken; four or five days before three other horses were taken from the same place.

The people in the neighborhood from whence the horses were taken are so much alarmed that they have collected together for their defence. I have forbad their pursuit of the thieves because I know that it will produce bloodshed. Indeed from the little pains which was taken to conceal the tracks of the horses I am convinced that pursuit was desired by the Indians and that a larger party was lying in ambush at some distance. I was informed some considerable time ago that this was one of the methods they intended to take to bring on the War. ic.e. to send parties to steal horses and if they were pursued to kill the persons. As long however as no blood is spilt I shall have hopes of bringing the Prophet to reason. But our people will not suffer their property to be taken and I daily expect to hear of some Indians being killed in an attempt to take off horses nor will this be the most disagreeable circumstance attending those depredations. I fear that some of the friendly Indians will suffer from the crimes of others. Indeed so difficult would it be to distinguish the tribes and so little pains will be taken by our people to do it that I have no other expectation than that of seeing all the Tribes united against us in six months after hostilities shall have commenced. I fear too that the Prophet or his friends may have discovered this mode of accomplishing his object. I expect the return of Col. [Francis] Vigo in a few days and by him some important information. Captain [Thornton] Posey arrived here on the 5th and he is now commencing the block house and lines of pickets which I have recommended him to erect. On Monday the two companies of Militia were dismissed. I am far from thinking that their services were no longer necessary but a great proportion of them being farmers and this the season of harvest they could not remain longer from home without loosing great part of their grain.

I have the Honor to be most respectfully Sir
Your Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

To the Honbe. WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES July 18th 1810
Har. Pa. 322-324

SIRS:

Col. [Francis] Vigo returned from his mission to the Miamies on the 14th Inst. He was charged with a double object of ascertaining the fidelity of that Tribe and to procure their consent to the conditional cession made by the Kickapoos to the land between the northwesterly extension of the line passing through the mouth of Raccoon creek and the Vermilion river. They didn't give a final and positive answer to the proposition on the latter subject, but both the Col. and Mr. [John] Johnson are of opinion that the council which they are about to hold upon it will result in a decision such as we could wish. I observe that Congress have appropriated absolutely the annuity for this additional tract, when the cession was contingent only, depending upon the consent of the Miamis.

The Miami Cheifs are supposed by Mr. Johnson and Col. Vigo to have preserved their fidelity to the United States—one only excepted—a very artful and sensible fellow, who (as a principal chief told Col. Vigo) had entered into all the views of the Prophet and even that of murdering all those who should stand in opposition to his measures—I shall dispatch my Interpreter tomorrow [see next *infra*] with a speech to the Prophet in which I shall propose to him to make a visit to the President with two or three of his principal men. If he agrees to this, it is probable that the knowledge which he will acquire of the strength and resources of the United States will prevent him in future from attempting hostilities against us—and at any rate it will afford an opportunity for the government to become better acquainted with his character than it could derive from any description from others.

From the Iowas, who are still here, notwithstanding my endeavours to get rid of them, I have by some management drawn the information that the Sacs and Foxes have actually received the Tomahawk and were ready to strike whenever the prophet should give the signal. A considerable number of Sacs went some time since to see the British superintendent and on the 1st inst. 50 more passed Chicago for the same destination. A Miami chief who has just returned from his annual visit to Malden, after having received the accustomed donation of goods, was thus addressed by [Matthew] Elliot[1] the British agent—"My son keep your eyes fixed on me—my tomhawk is now up—be you ready—but do not strike untill I give the signal." No horses have been stolen, that I hear of since my last but a man crossing the Wabash about 20 miles above this was shot at twice by a party of Creeks and Shawanees he does not believe they had any idea of killing him but that it was only intended as an insult.

I have the honor to be with great consideration: Sir
Your Humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

P. S. I have reason to believe that the desertion of the Wyandots mentioned by me some time since is only partial at any rate that it is confined to those of Sandusky the chief and party now with the Prophet are from the latter place.

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO THE PROPHET

July 19, 1810
Har. Pa. 342-343

Notwithstanding the improper language you have used towards me I will again endeavour to open your eyes to your true interests. Notwithstanding what bad white men have told you I am not your personal enemy you ought to know this from the manner I received and treated you on your first visit to this place.

Altho I must say that I believe you are an enemy to the 17 fires and that you have used the greatest exertions with other Tribes to lead them astray and in this you have in some measure succeeded as I hear they are ready to raise the Tomahawk against their Father.

Their father, notwithstanding his anger at their folly, is full of goodness and is ready to receive into his arms those of his Children who are willing to repent and acknowledge their fault and ask for his forgiveness.

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[1] Matthew Elliott was born in Ireland but was an Indian trader out of Pittsburg when the Revolution broke out. With his companions the Girty's McKee and others became British partisans and as such hated more than Indians by the Americans.

There is yet but very little harm done but what may easily be repaired. The chain of friendship which unites the whites with the Indians may be received and be as strong as ever—a great deal of that work depends upon you—the destiny of those who are under your direction depends upon the choice which you will make of the two roads which are before you. One is large, open and pleasant, and leads to peace security and happiness—the other on the contrary is narrow and crooked, and leads to misery, to ruin. Do not deceive yourself, do not believe that all the Indians united are able to resist the force of the 17 fires even for a Moon.

I know your Warriors are brave, ours are not less so, but what can a few brave Warriors do against the innumerable Warriors of the 17 fires. Our blue coats are more numerous than you can count, and our hunting shirts are like the leaves of the forests or the grains of sands on the Wabash. Do not think that the red coats can protect you, they are not able to protect themselves, they do not think of going to war with us, if they did in a few moons you would see our flags wave on all the Forts of Canada.

What reason have you to complain of the 17 fires, have they taken anything from you, have they ever violated the Treaties made with the red men, you say they purchased land from those who had no right to sell. Show the truth of this and the lands will instantly be restored. Show us the rightful owners of these lands which have been purchased. Let them present themselves. The Ears of your father will be open to their complaints and if lands have been purchased of those, who did not own them they will be restored to the rightful owners. I have full power to arrange this business. But if you would rather carry your complaints before your great Father you shall be indulged. I will instantly take the means to send you to the city where your father lives with three chiefs which you will choose—everything necessary shall be prepared for your journey and means taken to ensure your safe return.[1]

(Signed) WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Translated from the French Copy

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[1] "When Mr. Barron, who was the bearer of this letter, arrived at the Prophet's Town, his reception was somewhat remarkable. He was conducted, in a ceremonious manner, to the place where the Prophet, surrounded by a number of Indians of different tribes, was sitting. Here the attendants of Mr. Barron left him standing

CLARK TO SECRETARY OF WAR

ST. LOUIS, July 20th, 1810

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 799

A few weeks ago the post-rider, on his way from Vincennes to this place, was killed, and the mail lost; since that time we have had no communication with Vincennes. A part of the Sacs, and the greatest part of the Kickapoos, who reside east of the Mississippi, have been absent some time on a visit to the Indian Prophet. One hundred and fifty Sacs are on a visit to the British agent, by invitation, and a smaller party on a visit to the island of St. Joseph, in Lake Huron. (Extract)

WM. CLARK

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES July 25th 1810

Har. Pa. 325-331

SIR:

I had the honor last evening to receive your favors of the 3d 5th and 7th instant.

From the last advices from the Indian country I learn that the chiefs of the Potawatimies who are friendly to us, are actively employed in forming a combination to disperse the banditti, which the Prophet has collected at Tippecanoe. They inform me that the Delawares, Miamis, and part of the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatimis will unite for this purpose. Indeed I am told, by some young Potawatimis, who arrived here since my last that the Winebagos (who form the Prophet's principal strength) have been already warned to depart and that they had agreed to go, as soon as their corn is ripe. I received a few days ago a speech from the Delawares,

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before the Prophet, at the distance of ten or twelve feet from him. "He looked at me", said Barron, "for several minutes, without speaking or making any sign of recognition, although he knew me well. At last he spoke, apparently in anger. 'For what purpose do you come here?' said he. 'Brouillette was here: he was a spy. Dubois was here: he was a spy. Now you have come. You, too, are a spy. There is you grave!—look on it.' The Prophet then pointed to the ground near the spot where I stood." Tecumseh, at this moment, came out from one of the Indian lodges. He spoke to Mr. Barron in a cold, formal manner; told him that his life was in no danger, and requested him to state the object of his visit to the Prophet's Town. The contents of the letter of Governor Harrison were then communicated to the Prophet. Mr. Barron received no definite answer to this letter, but he was told that Tecumseh would, in the course of a few days, visit Vincennes for the purpose of holding an interview with the governor."

Dillon, *Indiana, 441-2*

in which they inform me "that they were determined to put out the Prophet's fire this fall". This scoundrel does not appear however to be intimidated but is as actively employed in poisoning the minds of the Indians as ever. On Saturday last two of his people arrived here, one of them his principal counseller. In the conference which I had with them, they attributed a disposition to go to war with the United States to the warriors alone. The Chiefs they said had never assented to it. But they insisted upon their right to collect as many Indians as they could get together upon the Wabash it being in obedience to the express orders of the Great Spirit. A young Iowa Chief has remained here after the departure of those of his nation mentioned in my former letters, with him, these Shawnees have had frequent conversations in which they discovered the most implacable enmity to the United States. The encroachment of the Whites upon their lands was still the burden of their song. Governor [Ninian] Edwards writes me that the Kaskaskias Indians were invited to the Prophet's congress and were informed that the object was to consult upon the subject of recovering their lands.

I am confident that all the Prophet's schemes for forming a general confederacy against the United States are for the present blasted, and I do not apprehend any further injury to the settlements during the present summer, but that of stealing horses. If the Winebagos return to their own country, I think it probable that they will attempt to indemnify themselves for their disappointment by taking all the horses within their reach.

I shall write by this Mail to Capt. [Joseph] Cross to remain at Newport until he receives your further instructions. This is done not from any belief that his detachment could not be more usefully employed upon the Wabash, than at Bellefontaine, but from an unwillingness to draw them so far from the route of their original destination, until you should have an opportunity of determining, upon that which I have the honor of now, submitting to you. Admitting that the designs of the Prophet are for the present rendered abortive there can be no doubt but that his disposition and that of the British agent of Indian affairs [Matthew Elliott] to do us injury remains the same. The latter is a tory refugee from the neighbourhood of Pittsburgh whose implacable enmity to his native country prompted him to take part with the Indians in the battle between them and General Wayne's army. He has ever since his appointment to the principal agency, used his utmost endeavours to encourage amongst the Indians a spirit of hostility to all our views, and the lavish hand with which he is allowed to scatter his presents amongst them, shows that his government participates in his enmity and authorizes his measures. The principal part of these presents are given to the Miamis, Delaware, Shawnees, Potawatimies, Kickapoos, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Wyandots, and I calculate that they exceed in value all the Peltries collected by the British Traders from the country inhabited by those Tribes. It cannot be then for commercial views, that these goods are given. But from a desire to retain in their influence the most warlike of the Tribes, as a kind of barrier to Canada. So true is this, that the movements of the British agents amongst the Indians, is to me a kind of political Thermometer, by which I can ascertain to a great degree of certainty the existence of any new cause of apprehension from a visitation against us in the cabinet of St. James.

As the best and cheapest mode of controling the Tribes who were most exposed to the intrigues of the British, the late President adopted the plan of forming a strong settlement on this side of the Ohio. It was for this purpose, that the extinguishment of the Indian Tribe was pushed to the extent it has been, having it also in view, so to curtail their hunting grounds as to force them to change their mode of life and thereby to render them less warlike and entirely dependent upon us, or to remove to the West side of the Mississippi. This contemplated page of their future history has not however, been so secretly kept as to escape their own or the sagacity of their British friends. And hence the opposition which has been made by the latter to every treaty and the bold stroke of collecting the remote tribes upon the Wabash for the purpose of forming a conferacy strong enough either to make open war upon us or by frequent alarms to prevent the progress of our settlements. If the first part of the plan has been defeat the latter has been more successful nor is there any certainty that the former will not be renewed as soon as a favorable opportunity presents itself. In stability and fickleness are the characteristics of the Indians, and the inattention which the great bulk of them pay to remote consequences, is truly surprising. The convenience or safety of the passing moment is all they regard. If they were certain that by undertaking a war they would at first be successful that they would take a great many scalps a great deal of plunder it would be in vain to predict future defeat and misfortune. With such dispositions it is impossible to count upon the friendships of those who are not bound to us by the tie of interest in any other way than by holding the rod of correction constantly over them. You may rely upon it, Sir, that it was the fear of being involved in the correction which they saw preparing for the Prophet that has given life to the zeal which some of the tribes now manifest against him. The bustle amongst the Militia here, the Reviews and frequent musters which I caused to be made, the arival of Capt. [Thornton] Posey's company and the report which I had circulated that the Militia of Ohio and Kentucky were also preparing themselves produced a most beneficial effect and supported my representations with the best of all possible arguments which can be used to a savage. The alarm however, has done us material injury. A few of the frontier settlers have fled and the emigration to this part of the country almost entirely suspended. It is for the purpose of reassuring those who designed to purchase the public lands in this Territory and particularly for forming an extensive settlement upon the newly acquired purchase that I take the liberty of recommending the establishment of one or two strong posts upon the Wabash within the limits of that purchase. I do not think it would be prudent to expose a single company immediately in the vicinity of so large a body of Indians, and it is for this service that I suppose Captain [Joseph] Cross could be more usefully employed than at Belle-fontaine. The occupancy of some point or points upon the Wabash above this by our troops would I am persuaded sensibly affect the sales of the public lands in all the three districts of Cincinnati, Jeffersonville and Vincennes and would be a cause of bringing into the Treasury more money than would pay the expences of the establishments. As a military position for restraining the Indians it also, in my opinion, would be of considerable importance. As far as a post can controul Indians it would have that effect upon a majority of those warlike Tribes enumerated above and these will always govern those on the Mississippi who are more ignorant less warlike and worse armed.

If this measure should be adopted by the President and

Capt. Corss's detachment ordered on this service I would recommend that they be also accompanied by one or two companies of mounted infantry. The mail being about to close, I can only add that I am with great respect Sir,

Yr. Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS Esqre.

HULL TO SECRETARY OF WAR

Detroit, July 27th, 1810

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 799

Large bodies of Indians from the westward and southward continue to visit the British post at Amherstburgh, and are supplied with provisions, arms, ammunition, etc. Much more attention is paid to them than usual.

WM. HULL

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 1st August 1810

Har. Pa. 332-334

SIR:

[Joseph] Barron the Interpreter has not yet returned from his mission to the Prophet nor have I heard anything from that quarter since my last. I have however received information from another direction of a very unpleasant nature. A number of the inhabitants of the northern frontier of the Jeffersonville district have been driven off by the Indians and much of their property destroyed. They commenced their depredations on the cattle and hogs of the settlers upon the Embarras fork of white river and threatened to kill the people unless they instantly moved off. This information was first communicated to me on Thursday last, it has since been reiterated by letters and travellers from that quarter. The accounts were however so vague that I determined to dispatch a person upon whom I could rely to know the truth of the matter and find out to what tribes the Indians belong that have done the injury. For this purpose a militia officer of rank [Col. Ephraim Jourdan] and information set out yesterday accompanied by [Michael] Brouillette the Interpreter. One of the letters I have received informs me that the hostile party consists of about 150 Potawatomies Miamis and Shawnees. Some Delawares were in the neighbourhood who behaved in a friendly manner to the settlers and advised them to be upon their guard. I do not believe that there are any Miamis with this band of depredators. I think it most probable that they are Kickapoos, Potawatomies and Shawanees and that they are sent to that quarter by the Prophet for the purpose of involving the Delawares in the quarrel with us. That country is the usual hunting ground of the latter tribe, and it is quite probable that our people may be so enraged at the loss of their property as to fall upon any Indians they may meet with. A Delaware Indian told a gentleman between this and Louisville a few days ago that he was convinced that this was the object of the Prophet. Capt. [G. R. C.] Floyd arrived last night. I have not seen him, but he informed a gentleman of my family that the alarm extended as far south as Blue River, and that the people were flying towards the Ohio from every direction. In this quarter several horses have been stolen within the last ten days. and I am told that the Indians manifest much more insolence than usual to the citizens in the country. Your letter of the 14th ultimo, I had the honor to receive last evening. I shall notwithstanding write immediately to Capt. [Joseph] Cross, to request him to remain at NewPort untill your determination upon the proposition made in my last letter, and the information conveyed in this, shall be known, and should he have left New Port before the arrival of my letter I will request him to halt at Massac for your further orders. I am persuaded that a display of force in this quarter is at this time, more necessary than anywhere else and may perhaps prevent a war.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir
Your Humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secretary of War*

Harrison to Secretary of War—Petition

Randolph, Illinois, Aug. 6, 1810

Har. Pa. 338-341

Sir:

The people inhabiting in the Prairie and adjoining thereto between the Big and Little Wabash have been very much fluctuated of late concerning a talk of an Indian War, the accation of this disturbance was owing to the discourse of an old Muscoga Indian Named Peter who told a man living here (one Jesse Bowman) that the Shawonese Indians intended to go to war with the whites this Moon and advised Bowman to provide for the safety of his Family, and requested him to tell the same to some more people whom the old Indian had a friendship for. This Indian has lived about two years with the Whites and has got the confidence of most of the people; he also said that Eleven Indian Tribes had or were going to join the Shawonese, the names we are unable to inform your Excellency; this discourse has so opperated on the Minds of the people that out of forty-two Families or more only Fifteen Families have determined to stay. Some of the remainder have moved, others making preparation to stay have proceeded to the erection of a Fort, what we request of your Excellency is to inform us by Mr. Wim. McHenry whether you think there is any such danger and should your Excellency have reason to fear there is, we shall feel grateful to be informed of the same, that we may be upon our Guard. We hope the Urgency of the case needs no Apollogy with your Excellency for the trouble we give you and beg leave to subscribe ourselves

Your Excellency's Friends and Fellow Citizens,

Henry Jones
James Garrison
Thomas Upton
Nathan Young
Ephraim Blackford
Alex Hamilton

P. TB.
Wm. McHenry
Danl. McHenry
Reuben Blackford
Peter KuyKendall
Robt. Land

Vincennes August 7th, 1810

The enclosed letter which I have this moment received shows that the knowledge of an attack upon our settlements about this time was pretty generally defined amongst the Indians.

If the Prophet has really abandoned the scheme for the present he has not had time to communicate it to his distant allies for the Sacs have actually killed four of our citizens above the Missouri about 10 days ago. Mr. [Charles] Jouet [Indian agent at Chicago] informs me that the Sacs have been soliciting the Lake Indians to join them against the United States.

Your Respectfully

WILLIAM H. HARRISON

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 6th August 1810

Har. Pa. 335-337

SIR:

Mr. [Joseph] Barron returned on Thursday last. The speech (see July 19, 1810, supra) taken by him to the Prophet was intended to convince him of the folly of his attempt to make war upon the United States, to assure him if he had any just cause of complaint against us, that we were open to conviction, and as soon as we were sensible of it, redress would immediately follow, that we held it to be a correct principle, that a purchase of lands made from a party who were not themselves the owners conveyed no title to it, and that consequently it remained for him only to prove that we had made purchases of this sort, and the land so purchased would either be immediately given up or a proper equivalent made for it. That I had authority to adjust these matters but as he seemed to think that I was prejudiced against him, he might if he pleased make a visit to the President, and lay all his complaints before him.

No particular answer was returned by Mr. Barron. It is to be brought by the brother of the Prophet who will be here in a few days. This brother is really the efficient man—the Moses of the family. I have not seen him since the treaty of Greenville and should not know him. He is however described by all as a bold, active, sensible man daring in the extreme and capable of any undertaking. Barron lodged with him and their conversation was protracted through the night, he denying having intended to make war; but declared most solemnly that it was not possible to remain friends with the United States, unless they would abandon the idea of extending their settlements further to the north and westward; and explicitly acknowledge the principle that all the lands in the western country was the common property of all the tribes. "The great spirit said he gave this great island to his red children. He placed the whites on the other side of the big water, they were not contented with their own, but came to take ours from us. They have driven us from the sea to the lakes, we can go no farther. They have taken upon themselves to say this tract belongs to the Miamis, this to the Delawares & so on. but the Great Spirit intended it as the common property of all the Tribes, nor can it be sold without the consent of all. Our father tells us that we have no business on the Wabash, the land belongs to other Tribes, but the great spirit order'd us to come here and we shall stay." He was however pleased with my speech. He had never been to see me. He only recollected me a very young man setting by the side of Genl. Wayne. He had not troubled the white people much but he would go now to Vincennes and convince me that I had listen'd to bad men, when I was told that they meditated war against the United States.

From the conversation which [Joseph] Barron had with the Kickapoos and other Indians at the Prophet's town, he thinks that they are greatly displeased with him. They were really apprehensive of an attack and were greatly alarmed at the appearance of Barron, whom they supposed had been sent in advance of an approaching army, to see what situation they were in. A Potawatomie chief [Winamac] told Barron in the presence of the Prophet, that he (the Prophet) had promised them that no man should die at his town; but that three Kickapoos had been buried in as many days. The Prophet imperfectly understanding his language, asked Barron what he had said, upon his repeating it, the Prophet observed that the Potawatomies had lied, none had died; I will not say (answered the chief with great indignation) that any have died but I know you promised that none should die and I have seen their bodies buried within three days, but they may be dogs, or persons who have long since died and been taken up to be buried over again. The Prophets brother [Tecumseh] told Mr. Barron that he would bring with him about thirty of the principal men and as he knew that the young men were fond of attending on such occasions, that there would probably be one hundred in all; but the prophet said that he might expect to see a great many more. Besides the expense which will be incurr'd by supporting such a number for 10 or 15 days it will not be very pleasant to have them here, from other considerations; I therefore immediately dispatch'd an Indian with a message to request that the chiefs only would come down, attended by a few of their young men. This day I have dispatched [Michael] Brouillet by water to inforce the necessity of their compliance.

Col. [Ephraim] Jourdan whom I sent with Brouillet to know the cause of the alarm which I mentioned to have existed amongst the settlers, upon the Embarras [Driftwood] fork of White river, returned last evening. The party which had insulted the white people were principally Creeks and straglers from other Tribes, the injury consisted in killing some hogs and cattle, taking some provisions by force out of some of the houses and threatening to scalp the men if they did not move off. Before Col. Jourdan arrived, the commanding officer of the militia of Clark county had been over with fifty mounted riflemen for the purpose of protecting the settlements, or if necessary bringing off the inhabitants; he found that the marauding party had dispersed; a few hunters of the Delawares remain'd in the neighborhood and these were so frighten'd by the appearance of the Militia and so completely spread the alarm, that Col. Jourdan was unable to discover an Indian, or the recent trace of one, for many miles round. Ten or twelve families had moved off but the rest had gotten over their fears and had sent to recall such of the runaways, as had not entirely left the Territory.

A person who has been employ'd by the Surveyor General to run the boundary line of the new purchase informs me that he has been directed to proceed on that work immediately and finish it by the first of September, by which time the surveyors who are to subdivide the tract, will be on the ground.

This gentleman came to ask my opinion upon the propriety of commencing the survey, and I have advised him to make his preparations and wait the arrival of the Wea Chiefs whom I expect in a few days, and to whom, it will be proper to propose to send some of their Tribe to see that the survey is made agreeably to the treaty. This has been usual, as well as to pay the Indians who are so employ'd.

I hope to be able to give you a compete view of Indian politics after the conference is terminated with the deputies from the Prophet and that it will be the last with which I shall trouble you for some time. In the mean time I beg leave to reiterate my recommendation of the posts upon the Wabash. Depend upon it Sir, the Treasury of the United States will be much benefited by that measure. The new purchase has been recently explored by persons from the two Carolinas who have given it a high character, and I am assured that a very large emigration from those states, may be expected immediately, if the dread of the Indians does not prevent them.

I have the honor to be very respectfully your Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WM. EUSTIS, *Sec'y. of War*

JOHNSON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

FORT WAYNE, August 7th, 1810

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 799

Since writing you on the 25th ultimo, about one hundred Sawkeys [Sacs] have returned from the British agent, who supplied them liberally with everything they stood in want of. The party received forty-seven rifles and a number of fusils, with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending firebrands into the Mississippi country, inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side, in the hope of being treated with the same liberality.

JOHN JOHNSON

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

(Enclosing Tecumseh's speeches Aug. 20, 21)

VINCENNES 22nd August 1810

Har. Pa. 350-359

SIR:

If the information which I have heretofore given you on the subject of the designs of the Prophet and his followers has been vague and in some respects contradictory the consequence of my having derived it from various sources, not always the most intelligent, that which I have now the honor to communicate has at least the advantage of authenticity, coming from the brother of the Prophet who as I have before informed you is the great man of the party. This personage, who is called Tecumseh, arrived here on the 12th Inst, and excepting the intervening Sunday and one bad day I have been constantly engaged with him untill the last evening. His speeches the two first days were sufficiently insolent and his pretensions arrogant, but that of Monday I enclose to you entire, as it was taken down by a Gentleman whom I employed for that purpose, and is as correct as could be expected, considering that the Interpreter speaks bad English and is not very remarkable for clearness of intilect, although faithfull in the highest degree and for knowledge of the Indian languages unrivalled. The facts avowed by Tecumseh in the broadest manner are: That it was the object of his brother and himself from the commencement to form a combination of all the Indian Tribes in this quarter to put a stop to the encroachments of the white people and to establish a principle that the lands should be considered common property and none sold without the consent of all. that it was their intention to put to death all the chiefs who were parties to the late Treaty, and never more to suffer any village chiefs to manage the affairs of the Indians, but that everything should be put into the hands of the warriors. That the Americans had driven them from the sea coast, and would shortly if not stopped, push them into the Lakes, that they were determined to make a stand, where they were. He still however with strange inconsistency, asserted that it was not his intention to go to war, and that the persons who had given me that information were liars. On Winemac, who was present, he poured a torrent of abuse and threatened him in such a manner that he (Winemac) expecting personal violence recharged his pistol and was prepared to stop the Shawonese insolence forever. Every instance of injustice and injury which have been committed by our citizens upon the Indians from the commencement of the revolutionary war (There are unfortunately too many of them) were brought forward and exagerated, and every thing said which was likely to inflame the minds of the Indians against us. When he finished his harangue, I began to answer him and was contrasting the conduct of the United States towards the Indians with that of the other civilized powers, showing their uniform regard to justice in their transactions with the most significant tribe, when he interrupted me before the interpreter could explain what I had said to the Potawatomies and Miamis and with the most violent jesticulations and indications of anger began to contradict what I had said in the most indecent manner. When he first rose, a number of his party, also sprung up, arm'd with war clubs, tomhawks, and spears and stood in a threatening attitude. Not understanding his language I did not know what he had said, until the Interpreter explained it to me, but the Secretary of the Territory General Gibson, who speaks the Shawonese language, and was sitting near me, apprehending some violence, requested Lieut. [Jesse] Jennings[1] to make a guard of 12 men, who were at a little distance to stand to their arms. The guard was brought up; and as soon as his speech was interpreted to me, I reproached him for his conduct and required him instantly to depart to his camp, declaring that I was determined to extinguish the council fire, and no longer to have any communication with him, that my answer to that part of his speech which related to the lands lately purchased would be communicated to the Tribes, which he said he represented, in a written message, and if he had anything further to say to me, he must send the Huron or some other chief to me when the Interpreter visited him in the morning, he earnestly requested me to give him another interview and protested that he meant no harm by his conduct the day before, and that he wished everything to be amicably settled. He also told Mr. [Joseph] Barron, that it was probable he had been deceived by white people, that he had been informed that the citizens here were equally divided, one half on my side, and the other on his; one half opposed to the purchase of lands from the Indians, and the other, with me, determined to drive the Indians to extremities; that he had been told that I purchased the lands against the consent of the Government and one half of the people, who in fact did not want the lands, as they already had more than they could occupy. This he knew to be true *as he had sent some of his men to reconnoitre the settlements* and he found that the lands towards the Ohio were not settled at all. The information which was given him came I am convinced from a small factious party here headed by a scotch tory [William McIntosh] who would not hesitate to adopt any measure that would be likely to do me an injury. Independent of his hatred to the American government and individually to myself he is very much interested to prevent the settling of the new purchase, as he is the owner of a large quantity of land, purchased for a song from the ignorant French. The person alluded to by Tecumseh as giving him the information from the Treaty of Fort Wayne is beyond all doubt Wells!! I have the honor to enclose a copy of the speech which I sent to the Prophet, to answer which his brother came here. In this I told him that if any Tribe could prove a better claim to the lands ceded by the late treaties than those who sold them had, that they would be immediately surrendered. No proof whatever has been adduced to show that any other Tribe but those who were parties to the Treaties have or ever had any right to the lands in question. The Tribes, which, he said, he represents have never given their consent, but I cannot get him to attempt to show that their consent was necessary. He says however, that they are determined to fall upon the Tribes who sold the land if it is not given up—and at the conclusion of yesterday's council I asked him to tell me whether the person who was appointed to run the boundary line would receive any injury if he should proceed, his answer as you will observe was, that the old line must be the boundary. If I had Capt. [Joseph] Cross's detachment I would direct the surveyor to proceed in his work and send a subaltern's command to guard him. If he attempts it without I am satisfied he will be compelled to return and perhaps murdered.

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[1] Jesse Jennings of Ky. Lieut. 7th infantry, Dec. 1808; killed in a duel w. Capt. Thornton Posey at Vincennes, June 24, 1811.

I have promised Tecumseh to send on the President his speech and to procure the President's answer and I should be glad to receive a speech signed by the President or yourself informing him that the land would not be given up. This will convince the Indians of the falsehood of the information they have received, that the government is willing to acknowledge the principles which the Shawonee wishes to establish and that I only am opposed to it. I have, by this mail written to Captain Cross to proceed immediately to this place with his detachment and in the mean time I have written to the surveyor General that his deputies cannot at present proceed with their work without danger. I am far from believing that an Indian war is inevitable but I believe the avoiding it will depend upon our showing an ability to punish the first aggression. Pardon me for repeating what my long knowledge of the Indians, I am induced to believe is with them, almost a general rule, viz. never to let an opportunity pass of revenging the injuries they think they have received from the whites when it can be done with impunity. I receive so many different accounts, it is impossible to tell what is the strength of the Prophet's party—whether it is increasing or decreasing, notwithstanding the strong language of Tecumseh, I believe in the latter. I believe also that the Delawares, Miamis and part of the Potawatomies will join to put him down and I rather suppose they will succeed. It will assist the cause greatly to let them see that we are ready to support our rights with the sword. How shall the Regulars here and those that are to come be employed? Shall one or more forts be established as formerly proposed? Shall the surveyors be guarded? Shall militia mounted or dismounted be employed as auxillaries and in what numbers?

Your directions on these subjects as soon as convenient will oblige me.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir
Your Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

P. S. Seventy-five fellows of this neighborhood, well mounted, have formed themselves into a Dragoon Troop, but they have no arms and can get none. If the Government would furnish them they would be returned when called for. The proper equipment of this Troop would be to us of the greatest possible advantage. In the Prairie country seventy Dragoons would be equal to thrice this number of any other species of Troops.

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS, *Secretary of War*

TECUMSEH'S SPEECH TO GOVERNOR HARRISON 20th August 1810

Brother I wish you to listen to me well—I wish to reply to you more explicity, as I think you do not clearly understand what I before said to you I shall explain it again.

When we were first discover'd it was by the French who told us that they would adopt us as their children and gave us presents without asking anything in return but our considering them as our fathers. Since we have changed our fathers we find it different.

Brother. This is the manner that the treaty was made by us with the French. They gave us many presents and treated us well. They asked us for a small piece of country to live on which they were not to leave and continue to treat us as their children after some time the British and French came to quarrel the British were victorious yet the French promised to think of us as their child and if they ever could serve us to do it. Now my red children I know I was obliged to abandon you in disagreeable circumstances, but we have never ceased to look upon you and if we could now be of service to you we would still be your friends.

The next father we found was the British who told us that they would now be our fathers and treat us in the same manner as our former fathers the French—they would occupy the same land they did and not trouble us on ours; but would look on us as their children.

Brother. We were very glad to hear the British promise to treat us our fathers the French had done they began to treat us in the same way but at last they changed their good treatment by raising the Tomahawk against the Americans and put it into our hands, by which we have suffered the loss of a great many of our young men etc.

Brother. Now we began to discover the treachery of the British they never troubled us for our lands but they have done worse by inducing us to go to war. The Hurons have particularly suffered during the war and have at length become certain of it. They have told us that we must bury the British Tomhawk entirely that if we did not they (the B.) would ere long ask us to take it up.

You ought to know that after we agreed to bury the Tomhawk at Greenvile we then found their new fathers in the Americans who told us they would treat us well, not like the British who gave us but a small piece of pork every day. I want now to remind you of the promises of the white people. You recollect that the time the Delawares lived near the white people (Americans) and satisfied with the promises of friendship and remained in security yet one of their town was surprised and the men women and children murdered.

The same promises were given to the Shawonese flags, were given to them and were told by the Americans that they were now the children of the Americans. Their flags will be as security for you if the white people intend to do you harm hold up your flags and no harm will be done you. This was at length practised and the consequence was that the person bearing the flag was murdered with others in their village. Know my Bro. after this conduct can you blame me for placing little confidence in the promises of our fathers the Americans.

Brother. Since the peace was made you have kill'd some of the Shawanese, Winebagoes Delawares and Miamies and you have taken our lands from us and I do not see how we can remain at peace with you if you continue to do so. You have given goods to the Kickapoos for the sale of their lands to you which has been the cause of many deaths amongst them. You have promised us assistance but I do not see that you have given us any.

You try to force the red people to do some injury. It is you that is pushing them on to do mischief. You endeavour to make destructions, you wish to prevent the Indians to do as we wish them to unite and let them consider their land as the common property of the whole you take tribes aside and advise them not to come into this measure and untill our design is accomplished we do not wish to accept of your invitation to go and visit the President.

The reason I tell you this is—You want by your distinctions of Indian tribes in allotting to each a particular track of land to make them to war with each other. You never see an Indian come and endeavour to make the white people do so. You are continually driving the red people when at last you will drive them into the great lake where they can't either stand or work.

Brother. You ought to know what you are doing with the Indians. Perhaps it is by direction of the President to make those distinctions. It is a very bad thing and we do not like it. Since my residence at Tippecanoe we have endeavoured to level all distinctions to destroy village chiefs by whom all mischief is done; it is they who sell our land to the Americans our object is to let all our affairs be transacted by Warriors.

Brother. This land that was sold and the goods that was given for it was only done by a few. The treaty was afterwards brought here and the Weas were induced to give their consent because of their small numbers. The treaty at Fort Wayne was made through the threats of Winamac but in future we are prepared to punish those chiefs who may come forward to propose to sell their land. If you continue to purchase of them it will produce war among the different tribes and at last I do not know what will be the consequence to the white people.

Brother. I was glad to hear your speech you said if we could show that the land was sold by persons that had no right to sell you would restore it, that that did sell did not own it it was *me.* These tribes set up a claim but the tribes with me will not agree to their claim, if the land is not restored to us you will soon see when we return to our homes how it will be settled. We shall have a great council at which all the tribes shall be present when we will show to those who sold that they had no right to sell the claim they set up and we will know what will be done with those Chiefs that did sell the land to you. I am not alone in this determination it is the determination of all the warriors and red people that listen to me.

I now wish you to listen to me. If you do not it will appear as if you wished me to kill all the chiefs that sold you this land. I tell you so because I am authorised by all the tribes to do so. I am at the head of them all. I am a Warrior and all the Warriors will meet together in two or three moons from this. Then I will call for those chiefs that sold you the land and shall know what to do with them. If you do not restore the land you will have a hand in killing them.

Brother. Do not believe that I came here to get presents from you if you offer us anything we will not take it. By taking goods from you you will hereafter say that with them you purchased another piece of land from us. If we want anything we are able to buy it, from your traders. Since the land was sold to you no traders come among us. I now wish you would clear all the roads and let the traders come among us. Then perhaps some of our young men will occasionally call upon you to get their guns repaired. This is all the assistance we ask of you.

Brother. I should now be very glad to know immediately, what is your determination about the land also of the traders I have mentioned.

Brother. It has been the object of both myself and brother from the beginning to prevent the lands being sold should you not return the land, it will occaion us to call a great council that will meet at the Huron Village where the council fire has already been lighted At which those who sold the land shall be call's and shall suffer for their conduct.

Brother. I wish you would take pity on all the red people and do what I have requested. If you will not give up the land and do cross the boundary of your present settlement it will be very hard and produce great troubles among us. How can we have confidence in the white people when Jesus Christ came upon the earth you kill'd and nail'd him on a cross, you thought he was dead but you were mistaken. You have shaken among you and you laugh and make light of their worship.

Everything I have said to you is the truth the great spirit has inspired me and I speak nothing but the truth to you. In two moons we shall assemble at the Huron Village (addressing himself to the Weas and Pottawatomies) where the great belts of all the tribes are kept and there settle our differences.

Brother. I hope you will confess that you ought not to have listened to those bad birds who bring you bad news. I have declared myself freely to you and if you want any explanation from our Town send a man who can speak to us.

If you think proper to give us any presents and we can be convinced that they are given through friendship alone we will accept them. As we intend to hold our council at the Huron village that is near the British we may probably make them a visit. Should they offer us any presents of goods we will not take them but should they offer us powder and the tomhawk we will take the powder and refuse the Tomhawk.

I wish you *Brother* to consider everything I have said is true and that it is the sentiment of all the red people who listen to me.

By your giving goods to the Kickapoos you kill'd many they were seized with the small pox by which many died.

The Governor began to answer Tecumseh and had proceeded for 15 or 20 minutes. He was explaining the justice used by the U. States towards the Indians and what he said the Interpreter explained to the Shawonese but before it was explained to the Potawatomies and Miamies Tecumseh rose up and a number of his young men with their war clubs tomhawks and spears. He spoke for some time with great vehemence and anger, which when interpreted appeared to be a contradiction of what the Govr. had said and that he had lied. The Governor told him that since he had behaved so illy he would put out the council fire and not set with him again.

August 21.

After some explanation offer'd as an apology by Tecumseh, the council this day met again, when Tecumseh address'd the Governor as follows:

Brother: There are many white people among you who are not true Americans, they are endeavouring to fill the minds of the Indians with evil towards the United States of which I shall now inform you. The person that informed me was a man of sense.

Brother: He said to us. That when you first began to bring about the last treaty you observed the greatest secrecy, after which you went to Fort Wayne and there made the treaty equally secret, declaring that you did not think it necessary to call upon us, but that you were determin'd to confine us to a small piece of land, and that you would bring all the tribes who listen to me, to abandon myself and the Prophet, and then you would know what to do with us.

Brother. This person came to our village shortly after the Treaty at Fort Wayne and said to us—Lallowachika (the Prophet) and you Tecumseh you may believe what I say to you, it is not me alone who speaks to you. I am the agent of a large party of white people who are your friends and will support you, they send me here to inform you everything that, that man the Governor at Vincennes is doing against you; but you must observe great secrecy and by no means inform him of us, or we shall be hung. I was (continues the person) at the Treaty at Fort Wayne and heard the Governor say that the Prophet was a bad man and that he would prevent traders from trading at his village (the Prophet's); or if any did go, they should sell their goods so high that the Indians could not purchase them, and consequently must suffer.

Brother. This man further represented to us that you were yet to remain in office two years and would be succeeded by a good man who was a true friend to the Indians, that you would offer us goods (annuities) but by no means to accept of them, that in order to induce us to take them you would offer us horses with saddles and bridles plated with silver, that all the goods and even the provisions that you give to the Indians is with the intention to cheat them out of their lands. That it was the intention of the United States to oppress the Shawanese before long the white people would push their settlements so near to them and oblige them to use the ax instead of the rifle—therefore recommended to us to take nothing from you.

Brother. Another American told us lately at our village, that you were about to assemble the Indians at Vincennes, for the purpose of making proposals, for more land—that you was placed here by Government to buy land when it was offer'd to you, but not to use persuasions and threats to obtain it.

Brother. This man told me that I must go to Vincennes and make my objections to the purchase of land from the Indians, and not be afraid to speak very loud to you—that when you wanted land you was very smooth with the Indians, but at length became very boistrous.

Brother. After my hearing this so often, I could not help thinking otherwise than you wished to sow discord amongst the Indians. I wish you my Bro. to let alone those distractions you have always been endeavouring to establish among the Indians. It is doing them a great injury by exciting jealousies between them. I am alone the acknowledged head of all the Indians.

Here the Governor requested Tecumseh to state explicitly whether surveyors who might be sent to survey the land would be interrupted by the Indians and if the Kickapoos would receive their annuities that were now here—upon which Tecumseh replied.

Brother. When you speak to me of annuities I look at the land, and pity the women and children. I am authorized to say that they will not receive them.

Brother. they want to save that piece of land, we do not wish you to take it. It is small enough for our purposes. If you do take it you must blame yourself as the cause of trouble between us and the Tribes who sold it to you. I want the present boundary line to continue, should you cross it. I assure you it will be productive of bad consequences.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 28th August 1810

Har. Pa. 360-362

SIR:

In my letter of last week, I did not mention to you that the Wea Tribe was present at all my conferences with the prophet's brother [Tecumseh]. The principal chief had several times informed me that it was his intention to tell the Shawnese in my presence that neither himself nor any of those tribes which are united with him had any right to interfere with the sales of land which the native Tribes of the Wabash might make to the United States. When the day arrived however on which he was to speak he declined saying anything. This alteration in his determination was produced either by the fear of the Shawnese or the intrigues of the infamous faction mentioned in my last. The latter is the more probable as the Wea chief informed me that since his arrival here he had received a message from the Miami Chiefs, requiring him to attend a council at Mississineway for the purpose of considering a speech which had lately been sent from the President through Mr. [John] Johnston of Fort. Wayne. The purpose of which was a request from the President to be informed whether the Treaties made the last fall were entered into by them voluntarily or not and a declaration that they were made without his knowledge or consent.

I mention this circumstance to show how easily the Indians are imposed upon and what villainous artifices are practised upon them by unprincipled and designing white men. I believe that Wells is in close correspondence with the faction here, and that the above story will be traced to him. The Weas have given me the names of four persons here, who have advised them to unite with the Prophet and insist upon the late cession of land being relinquished to them. Indian testimony is not however sufficient to punish them if indeed our laws provided any punishment for a crime of this nature.

A young Iaowa chief, whom I employed to go to the Prophets town for the purpose of gaining information, has just returned. He is related to an old Winebago Chief, now with the Prophet. By him he was informed, that the great belt which had been sent round to all the Tribes for the purpose of uniting them had been returned, and he mentions a great number that had acceded to the confederacy, the object of which was "to confine the great water and prevent it from overflowing them". That the Belt, since its return, had been sent to [Matthew] Elliot, the British agent, who danced for joy upon seeing that so many tribes had united against the United States—that the prophet had lately sent a speech to his confederates not to be discouraged at the apparent defection of some of the Tribes near him—that it was all a sham, intended to deceive the white people that these Tribes hated the 17 fires and that altho "they gave them sweet words, they were like grass plucked up by the roots, they would soon wither and come to nothing". The Iaowa thinks that there is no danger of immediate hostilities, it will take them some time to get ready against us. The old Winebago chief told him, with many tears, that himself and all the village chiefs had been divested of their authority and that everything was managed by the warriors, who breathed nothing but war against the United States.

There is no man, who has a greater respect than I have for the Political talents of Mr. Jefferson or a deeper sense of the eminent services he has rendered his country. I should be guilty of the blackest ingratitude if I did not feel for him all the respect and veneration which a recollection of the important benefits I have received at his hands and the friendship and confidence with which he honored me are capable of inspiring in the heart of an honest man. But I think it my duty to oserve that the integrity of his principles seduced him to commit a political error when he caused his agents to effect a peace and enjoined them to preserve concord and friendship between the various tribes of Indians which inhabit the frontier. The mind of a savage is so constructed that he cannot be at rest, he cannot be happy unless it is acted upon by some strong stimulus that which is produced by war is the only one that is sufficiently powerful to fill up the intervals of the chase if he hunts in the winter he must go to war in the summer, and you may rest assured Sir, that the establishment of tranquility between the neighbouring tribes will always be a sure indication of war against us.

I have the honor to be with great consideration Sir
Your humble servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

P. S. I have this moment signed the abstract of provisions issued to the Indians for the last three months, the amount is much greater than I had calculated upon but I beg you to believe that it was not well to be avoided. I have had nearly the whole Wea and Piankeshaw Tribes with me since the 12th Instant besides the Prophets party a number of Straglers and the Well affected Potawatomies under Winimac and I was unable to get rid of them until today, when their annuities were delivered.

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS, *Secy. of War*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, Sept. 5th, 1810

Har. Pa. 11, 12

His Excellcy. WM. HY. HARRISON. SIR:

Your Excellency's Letters of the 4th, 11th, 18th, 25th of July & of the 1st, 6th, & 8th ult. have been duly received and communicated to the Secretary of War who is now absent at the Eastward. I am instructed by him to inform your Excellency that Captain [Joseph] Cross's Detachment, or such part thereof as you may judge necessary, remains at Newport subject to your orders; and that the Detachment at Pittsburg under Lt. Col. [Joseph] Constant[1] will have orders to move down the Ohio whenever their service may be required by your Excellency.

I have the honor to be &c. &c. &c.

(signed) JNO. SMITH, C. C.

CLARK TO SECRETARY OF WAR

ST. LOUIS, September 12th, 1810

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 800

On the night of the 20th of July, four white men, who reside near the Missouri, about one hundred miles from this place, who had been in pursuit of horses which had been stolen from them, were killed in their camp, and one wounded, by the Indians.

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[1] Joseph Constant was born in N. Y.; became Lt. Col. in 6th Inf. Oct. 7, 1808; Col. 5 Inf. Sept. 3, 1810; Col of 3d Inf. Apr. 24, 1812. Resigned Aug. 15, 1815.

Heitman Register, 322

Gomo, the principal chief of the Pattawatamies,[1] assured me, that the portion of the Pottawatamies under his authority did not commit the murder. He blames the Prophet, with whom he disclaims any connection.

WM CLARK

HARRISON PROCLAMATION CONVENING LEGISLATURE

Sept. 20 1810

Western Sun, September 29, 1810

By WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory

A Proclamation

Whereas the circumstances of the Territory require that the Legislature should be convened, I have therefore thought proper to appoint and do by these presents appoint Monday the 12th day of November next, for the Meeting of the same, and the Members of the Legislative Council and of the house of Representatives and Each and Every of them are hereby Required to give their attendance on that day in the Town of Vincennes accordingly.[1]

Given under my hand and the Seal of the Territory at Vincennes this 20th day of September 1810, and of the Independance of the United States of America, the Thirty fifth year.

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[1] Gomo's village was on Peoria lake. "The most daring of these was committed at Portage du Sioux, on July 19th, and created excitement at the time. It appears, from the correspondence which it occasioned, that on the night in question a party of Sacs stole from William T. Cole, Cornelius Gooch and James Moredough a number of horses and other articles. They were immediately pursued by Stephen Cole, James Moredough, W. T. Cole and Sarshal Brown, who came up with the band on the next day. They were first seen across a prairie, four or five miles ahead. Finding themselves discovered the Indians kept changing their course, which prevented their pursuers from overtaking them. In their rapid march, however, the Indians left behind them a quantity of their plunder, consisting of a valuable pack-saddle, seven or eight deer-skins, two sides of leather, and some dried venison, the property of Mr. Brown, which was recovered. Night coming on, and their horses becoming very fatigued, the pursuers concluded to follow no further, and pitched their camp near a small branch, arranging that the next day they should continue on to the house of Victor Lagotiere, where they would leave the recovered property, and get him (who was known to have great influence with the Indian tribes) to intercede for the recovery of the horses. But about two o'clock in the morning, while sleeping around their watch fire they were fired upon by the Indians and four of the party, consisting of C. Gooch, Abraham Patten, W. T. Cole and Sarshal Brown, instantly killed. Stephen Cole was wounded in two places and also tomahawked, but he recovered from his wounds. It was not, however, till the 22d that he and James Moredough (the other survivor, who escaped by hiding in the thicket) were able to get back to the settlement and give the news of the massacre."
Edwards, *History of Illinois, 37*

[1] This is given in the *Executive Journal* under September 28. There is evidence in many places that the *Journal* was frequently written from memory.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

By the Governor JNO. GIBSON *Secrety*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 5 October 1810

Har. Pa. 363-365

SIR:

Since the visit of the Prophet's brother [Tecumseh] to this place, all the information that I have received from the Indian country (until yesterday) corroborates the opinion I had formed of the declining influence of the Prophets party. The Winebagoes have murdered some of the Kickapoos and Sacs and these Tribes, it is said, are determined to revenge themselves. There are also other causes of jealousy between the Prophets followers which I will hope completely dissolve the confederacy he had formed. Yesterday, however, the son of a Wea chief arrived here, being sent by his father to inform me that he had heard from an Indian just from the Prophets Town that he (the Prophet) absolutely meditated an immediate attack upon us. I am convinced that not the least credit is due to this tale. If the Prophet really has such an intention, he has adopted it as a desperate last resort to keep together his force which he sees upon the point of being dissolved by the causes I have mentioned. The plunging them into a war with us might perhaps have that effect, but I think it a stroke of policy rather too deep for his talents.

Captain [Joseph] Cross' detachment will reach this place today or tomorrow. The letter of Mr. [John] Smith, your chief clerk, of the 5th ultimo did not reach me untill this morning, from some irregularity in the mail. I hope and believe that the force under Col. [Joseph] Constant will not be necessary here, unless it should be deemed inexpedient to employ any militia to accompany the regular force that is now here to the upper part of a new purchase.

My plan was if I had received authority from you by this mail for so doing, to have called out 150 or 200 militia and with these and the regular troops to have immediately proceeded up the Wabash and upon some convenient site (as near the upper line of the purchase as such a one could be found) to have erected a strong picketed work and as soon as it was put beyond the reach of an assault from the Indians or sufficiently supplied with provisions to return with the rest of the regulars to this place. The conviction which I formerly expressed of the great advantages which would flow from the establishment of such a post remains as strong as ever. Indeed I think it all important that it should be immediately executed.

With respect to the Militia I should prefer to have them mounted, apart at least should be so. The additional expense for the short time they would be employed would not I suppose be an object.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect Sir
Your Humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 10th Oct. 1810
Har. Pa. 366, 367

SIR:

The letter of Mr. [John] Smith the chief Clerk of your Department reached me last Eve. Cap. [Joseph] Cross's detachment arrived on the 3rd Instant and are now encamped near the Fort. The barracks not being sufficient to receive them. No preparation has been made to enlarge the barracks as it will be altogether unnecessary if the contemplated Fort is erected higher up the Wabash. I have four companies of militia in readiness to attend the Regular Troops upon this Expedition and intended to have commenced the march in a few days. I shall however wait the arrival of further instructions, conformably to Mr. Smith's letter altho the season being so far advanced and [Thornton] Posey's detachment and the militia being altogether unprovided with tents I am almost tempted to take upon myself to do that which I am convinced the President would order to be done if he were on the spot.

The tale mentioned in my last respecting the immediate hostile designs of the Prophet appears (as I supposed) to be entirely a fabrication. I should not apprehend the least danger in sending up the Regular Troops alone to build the fort, but I think that the appearance of a tolerably respectable force in their neighbourhood would much accellerate the dispersion of the prophets party and the breaking up of his conspiracy.

One thousand or 1500 men employed in this way for ten or twelve days would I am persuaded produce highly beneficial and lasting effects. But the 4 companies of Militia and the regulars (which will not exceed 120 or 130 effectives) will be quite sufficient for safety and may answer every other purpose.

I have sent up [Michael] Buouillette to the Prophets Town ostensibly to inform him that the President's absence from the seat of Government is the cause of the answer to his speech being delayed but in reality to see what is going forward amongst them.

I have the honor to be with great consideration Sir
your Humble Servt.

William Henry Harrison

The Honble. William Eustis, Esq. *Secy. of War*

Johnson to Harrison

Fort Wayne, Octr. 14th 1810

Har. Pa. 375-379

Sir:

I have at length got rid of the Indians after a very protracted meeting occasioned by the conduct of the manners, particularly those of the Massasinnay all the Tribes belonging to this agency were invited in the usual manner, by Runners, The Delawares, Shawanees, and Potawatamies Minded punctually, the Miamies hung back under various frivolous pretences. I was anxious that the whole should be present as I had much to communicate to them. I therefore sent a second time to the Massasinnway people, but not one would come until they found the Delawares were on the return home. They then made their appearance. I was previously obliged to dismiss the Delawares, Potawatamies and Shawanoes which I did perfectly I believe to their satisfaction. After coming forward there appeared to be great reluctance on the part of the Miamies to come into Council. I soon found out from confidential friends among them that there was mischief going on among them, they at length came forward and I met them with as much good will as I could. I was not cordially disposed to them, but I shifted my feelings. I recounted to them everything that passed at Vincennes between your Excellency and the Brother of the Prophet. I also made them acquainted with the proceedings of the late council at Brownstown from the beginning to the inclusion, without naming Wells. I introduced the subject that had been agitated among them of petitioning for your removal, and endeavoured to show them the impropriety of their interfering in such a business and the total impracticability of their succeeding in such a measure, I told them that whoever advised them to it was a wicked bad man and was not their friend. I told them that Governor Harrisson enjoyed the confidence of their great Father in an eminent degree and that there was no Chief in this country but what he would remove sooner than him, that it was all a falsehood about your purchasing their land without the President's consent, that I never had received any messages of the kind alluded to from the President or any other person, that if any such persons went to speak to them without authority from you not to listen to them, for their words were false; in short I said every thing that I conceived calculated to remove the existing bad impressions that has been made on their minds, after I had done speaking they informed that they would speak the ensuing day. Accordingly the next day they attended, the Pacan was their speaker; he began by allusions to the treaty last fall and the subsequent one with the Kickapoos. He said they were informed that the Weas were not satisfied at the Treaty and that there was not room enough for them on this side of the new line that they the Miamies were forced to agree to the sale of the Land, that the Tomahawk was hung over their necks, that they would not agree to the Treaty, that it must be broke that for their part they would not receive any part of the annuity due under the Treaty of last Fall, that this was the determination of the whole nation. I told them in reply that the cause of their now not coming on was now ascertained, that they dare not speak in the manner they had done before the other Indians, that it was fear of the Prophet and his party that was the cause of their present conduct that in the place of meeting our friends the Miamies, I was greatly dissapointed at meeting a band of the Prophet's followers, in fact every sentiment they uttered was in unison with those of the Prophet. I told them that their Father's patience had been exhausted with the insolence of the Prophet, that he did not wish to use force in defence of his own rights, but that this conduct of theirs would be the very cause of his sending his warriors up the Wabash, that they never would get a foot of the land back again, that the Treaty was a fair Treaty and that we should proceed to survey the land and settle it as soon as it suited our convenience, the Pacan here replied and said, if we held the land we must build a bridge across it. I told him if it became necessary we would build a bridge of warriors with rifles in their hands, that we had lost Genl. Wayne but that our country furnished many Genl. Waynes. I endeavoured to show the foolishness of their conduct for I had paid part of their money away agreeably to the order of their chiefs. I had paid Wells the $350 in cash due the Eel Rivers under the Treaty of last fall on an order signed by the Chief Charley and the Earth in presence of two of the officers of the garrison, however it has appeared since that Wells cheated them out of this sum, as they did not know it was an order for their money they were signing at the time. The next day I found that all the Miamies except the Massasineway Chiefs and Charley were willing to receive their annuity. I accordingly gave out that I would deliver them to those who would come forward and receive them as I was determined not to yield to the opposition of a few, finding that the thing was by no means general as I had at first expected when the Massassinway chiefs found themselves deserted by all the others Charley excepted, they set off to Detroit with about thirty of their men. Immediately after their departure I delivered out the annuities to the Chiefs and sent them home perfectly satisfied. I suppose the Massasinnway people has been corrupted by the Prophet's council and wished to follow the example of the Weas in refusing their goods, if they had been indulged the contagion would have spread and would have been followed by the other Tribes. I therefore thought it the soundest policy to check and oppose the thing the first moment of its appearance in this quarter. I trust my conduct will meet your approbation, not having the least doubt but it will have a good effect with these rascalls hereafter, for they have been spoiled to all intents and purposes heretofore from the immense number of Potawatimies that attended I was obliged to give them $500 addl. out of the store and $150 to the Shawanees to reconcile them to the stoppage made at the War office. The following is a correct account of the number of Indians that attended this years meeting:

viz.

Potawatimies	646
Delawares & Muncies	400
Shawanoese	320
Miamies	387
Eel Rivers	22
Ottaways	4
	1779 Total

You will perceive from this statement that the number of Indians that attended this year exceeds by near 400 what attended at the Treaty, the expense of course has been considerable, it has been as small as it could be under existing circumstances. In order to check the very improper temper which has been discovered with this year past among the Indians particularly of the Wabash measures ought to be taken to establish a Post somewhere in the vicinity of the Prophet and the sooner a step of this kind is taken the better.

The Prophet had two of his people here during the whole conference. I took no notice of them and treat'd them as the others they heared all that passed and returned home immediately after the Miamies.

I have the honor to enclose for your satisfaction the proceedings of the council at Brownstown,[1] together with Governor Hull's letter to me accompanying the papers. I have endeavoured to trace the story of the Message that should have went thro' me to the Massasinneway people and all I have heared is from the Owl who asserts that it came from Wells and who further says that all the mischief that is going among them has sprung from Wells and the Turtle.

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[1] Brownstown at the mouth of Huron river about 20 miles south of Detroit. The proceedings mentioned have not been found.

Wells is undoubtedly gone to Washington to make interest and if he fails in getting into office again I am told he intended to try for the contract he has here in the state of Ohio on his way thro' to Kentucky endeavoured to asperse all the measures that has been adopted by you relative to the objects of the Prophet.

I have the honor to remain with very great respect
Your Excellency's Most Obt. Servt.

(Sign'd) JNO. JOHNSON

His Excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON *Governor of Indiana*

The Indians have consented to the road thro' their land to start from Dayton in Ohio past where Fort St. Clair formerly stood to Vincennes in the Indiana Territory. I have notified the people of Dayton accordingly.

J. J.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 17th October 1810

Har. Pa. 368, 369

SIR:

Mr. [Michael] Brouillette returned last evening from the town of the Prophet. The latter expressed himself much pleased with my message and treated Brouillette with unusual friendship. He still however expressed his determination not to permit the lands lately purchased to be surveyed and boasted much of the number of men he had at his command. I am however fully persuaded that there is not the least probability that he will make any hostile attempt. Governor [William] Hull and Mr. [John] Johnston will no doubt have informed you of the result of the late council of Indians near Lake Erie [Brownstown]. Neither the Prophet nor his brother attended. Anticipating no doubt a determination unfavorable to their wishes.

I still wait your determination on the subject of the proposed fort. It has been my intention to accompany the detachment which is employed on this service as well for the purpose of debating the site for the fort and preserving harmony and union between the regular troop and the militia as to prevent any sinister result from an accidental collission of our parties with those of the Indians. My services on the occasion will be voluntary and I neither desire nor expect any compensation for them.

Some of the Regular officers have before served under me and they all express the greatest satisfaction at being placed under my command. As no part of the corps to which Captain [Joseph] Cross belongs is here I have advised Captain [Geo. R. C.] Floyd to permit him to go with his Lieutenant to join his Company at the Cantonement near St. Louis.

I neglected to mention to you in my last that the Head Chief of the Weas had arrived a few days before to receive that part of their annuity which was due for the late treaties and which he had formerly refused.

I am with the greatest respect Sir

Your Humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS Esq. *Secy. of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 24th Oct. 1810

Har. Pa. 370, 371

SIR:

As your final instructions upon the subject of the proposed garrison in the new purchase have not yet reached me and the season being so far advanced as to leave little probability of our finding in the woods a sufficiency of provision for the horses which it would be necessary to take with us, I have given up all idea of the expedition for this winter unless your next letter should bring me positive orders to undertake it. Another reason for declining it, is the sickly state of the detachment lately commanded by Capt. [Joseph] Cross which has been much afflicted with the Dysentery from its first arrivals and the disease appears rather to be gaining ground than decreasing. Capt. [Geo. R. C.] Floyd will immediately bend all his attention towards making his men as comfortable as possible and as soon as a sufficiency of tents are erected for their reception a system of training will be commenced and regularly attended to whenever the weather will permit. In this business I will give Captn. Floyd all the assistance in my power. [No] Other expense has attended our preparations for the march than the purchase of some axes and a few tools. The axes (40 I believe) were necessary to erect the fort with dispatch and it was also my intention to have placed the troops each night under the cover of a breastwork of trees after the example of General Wayne.

I have the Honor to be with the highest respect Sir your Humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esqr. *Secretary of War*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 26, 1810

Har. Pa. 13, 14

GOV. W. H. HARRISON SIR:

Having consulted the President on the subject of your Excellency's letter of the 10th instant, I have the honor to inform you of his decision, that it is not expedient to make the military movement to establish the post on the new purchase on the Wabash, or to run the line the present season. The considerations which have led to this determination are various; among them, altho' not the most prominent, are the lateness of the season and the existing state of things in West Florida which may require the whole of our disposable force on the Western waters.

[Capt. Thornton] Posey's Company with the detachment under [Joseph] Cross should therefore in case they shall not have marched, be quartered near Vincennes, either in huts for the winter, or such other temporary accommodations as the Country affords, holding themselves in readiness to descend the Mississippi.

Capt. Cross being an artillery Officer & detached for St. Louis was not intended for a permanent command in the Indiana Territory & will be ordered there. In the Spring of the year a favorable opportunity will offer in which to establish a strong post & display a respectable force on the Wabash. I am perfectly satisfied that this is the only efficient language to be held to the Prophet & his adherents & the most peaceable measure which can be adopted.

It has indeed occurred to me that the surest means of securing good behavior from this conspicuous personage & his brother, would be to make them prisoners. But at this time more particularly it is desirable that peace with all the Indian tribes should be preserved, and I am instructed by the President to express to your Excellency his expectation and confidence, that in all your arrangements this may be considered (as I am confident it ever has been) a primary object.

An Answer to the speech of Tecumseh will be forwarded.

I am &c.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 7th Nov. 1810

Har. Pa. 372-374

SIR:

I enclose herewith the copy of a letter [Oct. 14, above] received last evening from Mr. [John] Johnson the agent at Fort Wayne. The Miamis who are there represented to be so dissatisfied with the Treaty of Fort Wayne as late as the month of July last, when Col. [Francis] Vigo was with them, had discovered no cause of complaint against it. The poison has been since that time infused into their minds. I have good grounds to believe that the scheme originated with a scotch tory [William McIntosh] who lives at this place and that [William] Wells was the instrument made use of to effect it. To enable you to form a correct opinion of what this man is capable of to effect his purposes, you need only refer to the correspondence between the War Department and him and that department and myself in the spring and summer of the year 1805 or to ask of Genl. [Henry] Dearborn to give you a sketch of his conduct relatively to a treaty concluded by me with the Delawares. I am persuaded that you can scarcely from an idea of the villainous intrigues which are carried on with the Indians in this country by foreign agents and other disaffected persons. I have not heard from the surveyor [McDonald] who set out to run the boundary line since his arrival at the point from which his work is to commence but I do not believe that he will be interrupted indeed he may finish the work before it is known by the Prophets party that it is commenced. Tecumseh, the Prophets brother, set out about ten days ago to visit the British Agent at Malden. The Wea Chiefs are frequently with me and appear to have gotten over their fit of sulkiness entirely as well the Miamis, beyond all doubt if they are treated in the manner that Mr. Johnson has set out with. A party of Kickapoos from the village of the Prairie, the principal town, headed by several chiefs, have been with me for the purpose of receiving their annuities. I have refused to give a blanket untill all or a majority of the Chiefs shall attend and formally and solemnly renounce the Prophet's party and again put themselves under the protection of their father the President. They left this a few days since, pouring execrations upon the Prophet and the British—nothing could come more directly home to their feelings than this refusal for they are almost literally naked. The whole tribe will no doubt be here in a short time.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir
Your Humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secy. of War*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT 10 Nov. 1810

Har. Pa. 15, 16

GOV. W. H. HARRISON SIR,

Your Excellency's letter of the 24th of October is received and it is satisfactory to learn that the arrangements made by your Excellency will correspond with the determination of the President, which I had the honor to communicate on the 26th of October.

Pistols & Horsemen's Swords have been ordered to be deposited at Newport Ky. from which the mounted militia may be supplied (on the order & receipt of your Excellcy) under the Law providing for arming the whole body of militia. Rifles may also be delivered under the same law.

I am, respectfully &c. &c.

WAR DEPARTMENT NOV. 10, 1810

TENCH COXE, Esq. SIR,

I will thank you to enquire and inform me whether there is to be found in Phila. a man who has worked in mines, of sober habits, a practical mineralist, who would be willing to go to Detroit and from thence to Lake Superior, to accompany a Gentleman who will be selected for the purpose of exploring the Copper Mines on the margin of that Lake and in case a suitable person should offer, what compensation he would require, for a tour of duty which would occupy six or nine months. As he will be employed in working out the metal it will be seen that an experienced workman, and not a theorist is required.[1]

PETITION

Nov. 11 1810

Har. Pa. 430-433

A Numerous meeting of the Citizens of the Indiana Territory
To JAMES MADISON President United States:

SIR: a numerous assemblage of a people occupying a respectable section of the Indiana territory address you—and in this their manner of approval they were fully aware that they virtually present themselves before the first personage of the continent—not with that dread that debased man dared to petition the potent monarchs of the old world—whose steps reddened by the blood of the unfortunate part of their fellow mortals, forms the most prominent feature of character—But Sir as freemen acquainted with their rights in you we do ourselves the honor to respect the sovereignty and majesty of the federative union—constituting a great nation and the only one whose policy is marked by honesty—and you the only man now bearing rule in a sovereign capacity whose virtues raised you to the zenith of exaltation—and whom future historians will endeavour to outvie each other, in placing in the most illustrious view—whose acts when centuries have rolled away will be deemed of highest historical importance—whilst we acknowledge our steady attachment to the constituted authorities of our country—we cease not to admire the firmness and patriotic zeal evidenced in your conduct, towards the contending Belligerants. It is a matter of regret that even we so far in the interiour cannot be shielded from the effects of the more than savage policy of Britain—in constantly keeping commissaries for the corruption of our aboriginal neighbours—and it is still more lamentable that strong grounds of presumption exist that there are those resident amongst us engaged in the nefarious design—But to our Executive we honestly attribute public tranquility and the encreasing prosperity of the Territory—Although the proceedings of these individuals, may by the mildness of our laws, elude the definitions of legal criminality, yet we are not less sensible of this moral culpability, nor are the effects of their political mischief less execrable for they proceed from the very forms of corruption—Nothwithstanding Sir that we are not entitled in our present grade to all those privileges that the individual states of the union enjoy yet we are perfectly tranquil—nor do we find that any inconvenience is the result of that privation—whilst favoured with the man in the continuity of the excecise of his duties of Gubernation that faithfully discharged them many years past with a distinguished reputation—that no man occupying a similar station can form a paralel. But we should do injustice to public feeling, if we were to stop here or even indifferently acknowledge our sense of the laborious assiduity, patient investigation, and intrepid conduct of his Excellency William Henry Harrison, on the late momentious occasion of Indian Affairs—But to particularize the many instances in which the military, the legislative and executive talents of this statesman has been displayed would be to exhibit a history which the limitations of an address prohibiting and the President's knowledge of the zeal and manner with which this gentleman has on every occasion and in every situation discharged that portion of official business to him entrusted, evinces a greatness of talents that render such a detail unessential—But it would be undutious in us not to pay more than common deference to that strength of intellect that suits his acute and distracting mind, to the education of principles and comprehension of results which ever terminate favourable to the nation and those honored by his Government—and permit us to declare it the well grounded opinion of the people in their associated capacity that his Excellency the Governor merit the entire confidence of the people of Indiana, and possess it, and also entitled to the Patronage of the President of the United States—and that his brillient genius render him competent, and his virtues worthy of employ in any station however important, that the ordinary or extraordinary circumstances of the country may demand on motion the foregoing adopted by an unanimous vote of the citizens present, and ordered to be signed by the President of the meeting and attested by the Secretary in Behalf of the people.

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[1] This was evidently in answer to an enquiry by Harrison. A copy of the letter to Coxe was enclosed to Harrison.

Attest Signed agreeable to order

WM. FLEMING[1] *President of the Meeting*

WILLIS STUCKER *Secty. of the meeting*

Endorsement:

Wm. Fleming, President of a meeting in Nov. of the Indiana Ty. represent to the President the approbatory sense of the meeting of the conduct &c. of Wm. H. Harrison

ANNUAL MESSAGE

November 12, 1810

Vincennes *Western Sun*, December 8, 1810

Dawson, *Harrison, 164*

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and House of Representatives:[1]

The length of time which has elapsed since the territory has had the advantage of a Legislature, makes a meeting with you at this time particularly agreeable to me. I know not, indeed, of any great injury which our citizens have sustained for the want of legislative aid, but there are some subjects which could not much longer remain unattended to without producing inconvenience. Some of these I shall notice in my present address, and others will form the subjects of future special communications.

Presenting as we do a very extended frontier to numerous and warlike tribes of the aborigines, the state of our relations with them must always form an important and interesting feature in our local politicks. It is with regret that I have to inform you that the harmony and good understanding which it is so much our interest to cultivate with these our neighbors have for some time past experienced a considerable interruption, and that we have indeed been threatened with hostilities by a combination formed under the auspices of a bold adventurer, who pretends to act under the immediate inspiration of the Deity. His character as a Prophet would not, however, have given him any very dangerous influence, if he had not been assisted by the intrigues and advice of foreign agents, and other disaffected persons who have for many years omitted no opportunity of counteracting the measures of the government with regard to the Indians, and filling their naturally jealous minds with suspicions of the justice and integrity of our views towards them.

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[1] No mention of Fleming or Stucker has been found. It is not known definitely where this meeting was held.

[1] A new assembly, the Third, was elected April 2, 1810 and met on call of the governor Nov. 12, 1810. The Council was composed of Solomon Manwaring of Dearborn, James Beggs of Clark, John Harbison of Harrison, Walter Wilson and William Jones of Knox. The House consisted of Ephraim Overman, Richard Rue, John Templeton of Dearborn; John Paul and Thomas Downs of Clark; Dennis Pennington of Harrison; and Gen. W. Johnston, Peter Jones and John Caldwell of Knox.

The circumstance which was laid hold of to encourage disaffection on the late occasion was the treaty made by me at Fort Wayne, in the autumn of the last year. Amongst the difficulties which were to be encountered to obtain those extinguishments of title which have proved so beneficial to the Treasury of the United States, and so necessary as the means of increasing the population of the territory, the most formidable was that of ascertaining the tribes which were to be admitted as parties to the treaties. The subject was accordingly discussed in a lengthy correspondence between the government and myself, and the principles which were finally adopted were made as liberal towards the Indians as a due regard to the interests of the United States would permit. Of the tribes which had formed the confederacy in the war which was terminated by the peace of Greenville [1795], some were residents upon the lands which were in possession of their forefathers at the time that the first settlements were made in America by the white people, whilst others[2] which were emigrants from distant parts of the continent had no other claim to the tracts they occupied than what a few years residence, by the tacit consent of the real owners, could give. Upon common and general principles, the transfer of the title of the former description would have been sufficient to vest in the purchaser the legal right to lands so situated. But in all its transactions with the Indians our government has not been contented with doing that which was just only. Its savage neighbors have on all occasions experienced its liberality and its benevolence. Upon this principle, in several of the treaties which have been made, tribes have been admitted to a participation in their benefits who had no title to the lands ceded, merely because they had been accustomed to hunt upon and derive part of their support from them. For this reason, and to prevent the Miamies, who were the real owners of the land, from experiencing any ill effects from their resentment, in case they were excluded, the Delawares, Putawatamies, and Kickapoos, were made parties to the late treaty of Fort Wayne. No other tribe was admitted, because it never had been suggested that any other could plead even the title of use or occupancy of the lands which at that time were conveyed to the United States. It was not until eight months after the conclusion of the treaty, and after his design of forming a hostile combination against the United States had been discovered and defeated, that the pretensions of the Prophet with regard to the lands were made known. A furious clamour was then raised by the foreign agents amongst us, and other disaffected persons, against the policy which had excluded from the treaty this great, influential character, as he was termed, and the doing so expressly attributed to personal ill will upon the part of the negociator. No such ill will did in fact exist. I accuse myself, indeed, of an error in the patronage and support which I afforded him upon his first arrival on the Wabash, before his designs of hostility to the United States had been developed. But upon no principle of propriety or policy could he have been made a party to the treaty. The personage called the Prophet is not a chief of the tribe to which he belongs, but is an outcast from it, rejected and hated by the real chiefs, the principal of whom [Hockingpomskon] was present at the treaty, and not only disclaimed upon the part of his tribe any title to the lands ceded, but used his personal influence with the chiefs of the other tribes to effect the cession.

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[2] The Miamies, Weas, Kickapoos, and perhaps the Pottawattamies were considered real owners; while the Delawares, Shawnees, and perhaps the Pottowattomies were the newcomers.

As soon as I was informed that his disaffection at the late treaty was assigned as the cause of the hostile attitude the Prophet had assumed, I sent to inform him that whatever claims he might have to the lands which had been purchased for the United States, were not in the least affected by that purchase—that he might come forward and exhibit his pretentions, and if they were really found to be just or equitable, the lands would be restored, or an ample equivalent given for them. His brother was deputized and sent to me for that purpose [August 12-20, 1810]. But far from being able to shew any colour of claim, either for himself, or any of his followers, his objections to the treaty were confined to the assertion that all the land upon the continent was the common property of all the tribes, and that no sale of any part of it could be valid, without the consent of all. A proposition so extremely absurd, and which would forever prevent any further purchase of lands by the United States, could receive no countenance from any friend to his country. He had, however, the insolence to declare, that by the acknowledgment of that principle alone could the effects of his resentment be avoided. No person who is in the least acquainted with the history of Indian affairs upon our northwestern frontier, for some years past, can be at any loss for the source of all this mischief, or will hesitate to believe that the Prophet is a tool of British fears or British avarice, designed for the purpose of forming a combination of the Indians, which in case of war between that power and the United States may assist them in the defence of Canada, or as the means of keeping back our settlements, and by rendering us suspected and hated by the natives, secure to themselves a continuance of the valuable fur trade, which they have so long engrossed. It gives me great pleasure, however, to state to you, gentlemen, that the greater part of the neighboring tribes have continued firm in their attachment to the United States, in despite of the artful and malicious stories which have been circulated, and the goods distributed amongst them, for the purpose of producing a contrary disposition. I have every reason to believe that the Prophet and his party have been for some time losing ground, nor do I believe that he will ever be able to form a confederacy strong enough to commence hostilities. As long, however, as he continues in his present position, it may be in his power to raise those alarms which have so mischievious an effect in retarding the population of our country.

I have been thus particular, gentlemen, in giving you information upon the present state of our affairs with the neighboring Indians, that you may have them fully before you in case you should think proper to make them in any shape the subject of your deliberations. Although the management of Indian affairs, in relation to their character as an independent people and to the trade with them in their own country, is entirely and exclusively under the control of the United States, it has been determined that the regulations for the government of the latter are of no force in our settlements. Every person has been allowed to trade with them who pleases, which proves a source of numberless abuses of mischievous effect, both to the Indians and ourselves. Should you think proper to pass a law either prohibiting the trade of Indians within our settlements altogether, or confining it to the frontiers and obliging those who follow it to take out licenses, I am persuaded your constituents would receive from it much benefit.

It will be worthy of your consideration, also, whether some penalty might not be advantageously imposed upon those who, by improper interferences and by circulating falsehoods amongst the Indians, counteract the intentions of the government, and lay the foundation for distrust and enmities which may produce the most serious consequences. It is believed that to intrigues of this kind we are indebted for much of the uneasiness and dissatisfaction which has prevailed in the Indian country for the last six months. The brother of the Prophet expressly declared, in the presence of a large audience, that two secret visits had been made to his town by different white men, who urged him to oppose the execution of the late treaty, and who assured him that his pretensions would be supported by a considerable portion of our citizens. No treaty was ever concluded with the Indians under happier auspices than that of Fort Wayne. A number of highly respectable characters were witnesses to its progress and final termination, and to the satisfaction with which the chiefs and the whole body of warriors assented to its conditions. For upwards of ten months from this date, not a lisp of discontent was heard from any of those who were parties to it. So late as the month of July last, a worthy and patriotic citizen of this neighborhood was sent to the Miamies to obtain their consent to a conditional article in the Kickapoo treaty. This gentleman was received at the principal village with great cordiality and respect, and assurance given him not only that the original treaty would be cheerfully complied with, but that the article in that with the Kickapoos', which was the particular object of his mission (and with which they were under no obligation to comply), would be ratified as soon as they could assemble all the chiefs of their tribe. But by a communication which has just been received from the agent at Fort Wayne, it appears that the chiefs who were at that time so cordial in their feelings towards the treaty have been since convinced that the treaty was forced upon them, contrary to their inclination, and that it was necessary for them to petition the President to annul the treaty, and remove from office the person who negotiated it. It is very remarkable that the very words by which the Indians conveyed their complaint are almost the same which were used in the conversation of some persons within our settlements. What has passed, gentlemen, is not to be affected by any law you may enact; and I think I may venture to assure you that, as soon as the Indians are convinced that our government is not to be trifled with, we shall hear no more of opposition to the execution of the treaty.

The disaffection (of those who were parties to the treaty I mean) is confined to a part of one tribe only. But the effects which these intrigues may produce upon any future attempt to treat with the Indians for their lands ought, if possible, to be avoided. Although much has been done toward the extinguishment of Indian title in the territory, much still remains to be done. We have not yet a sufficient space to form a tolerable state. The eastern settlements are separated from the western by a considerable extent of Indian lands, and the most fertile tracts that are within our territorial bounds are still their property. Almost entirely divested of the game from which they have drawn their subsistence, it has become of little use to them; and it was the intention of the government to substitute for the precarious and scanty supplies which the chase affords the more certain support which is derived from agriculture and the rearing of domestic animals. By the considerate and sensible amongst them this plan is considered as the only one which will save them from utter extirpation. But a most formidable opposition has been raised to it by the warriors, who will never agree to abandon their old habits until driven to it by absolute necessity. As long as a deer is to be found in their forests they will continue to hunt. It has, therefore, been considered that confining them to narrow limits was the only means of producing this highly desirable change and averting the destiny which seems to impend over them. Are then those extinguishments of native title—which are at once so beneficial to the Indians, the territory, and the United States—to be suspended on account of the intrigues of a few individuals? Is one of the fairest portions of the globe to remain in a state of nature, the haunt of a few wretched savages, when it seems destined by the Creator to give support to a large population, and to be the seat of civilization, of science, and of true religion? It may be asked, perhaps, how these effects can be produced by a few persons whose opportunities of intercourse with the Indians are so very limited. Nothing is more easy than to excite the jealousy and suspicion of a savage, and to make him believe that he is imposed upon. And upon no subject are their passions more easily raised, than that of their lands. Every treaty that has been made with them has proved a work of difficulty. Besides their natural prejudices, the clashing interests of the several tribes were to be accommodated, the injuries they have received from white people palliated and excused, and the fears, excited by seeing so many tribes driven from their ancient seats by the progress of our settlements, lulled, or diverted by opening brighter prospects as the reward of their fidelity. A single artful or imprudent observation from a designing or careless individual is frequently sufficient to destroy the labor of weeks, and induce the Indians to abandon an intention which they seemed to have adopted after the maturest deliberation. Although I am persuaded that the blackest treachery and hatred towards our government and nation have produced some of the intrigues of which I complain, I am also convinced that much mischief has been done by others who, actuated by no views that were inimical to their country, have suffered their passions, prejudices, and personal animosities to lead them astray, and to do that which their cooler judgments must condemn. Whilst a penal law would perhaps deter the former, it would be the means, as an expression of the public sentiment, of reclaiming the latter to their duty. Should you think proper to take the subject under your consideration, gentlemen, the original documents in my possession, in support of what is here advanced, will be submitted to you.

There is still, gentlemen, some defect in our revenue laws. Altho' it is ascertained that the taxes which are due are more than sufficient to answer all the expenses of the government, a number of old claims remain unsatisfied, nor is there a dollar in the treasury belonging to the contingent fund. As a measure tending to the great relief of the poor, the Legislature two years ago, upon my recommendation, took off the tax upon neat cattle and single young men, and substituted an additional tax upon lands for county purposes in lieu of it. I recommended at that time also to lower the tax upon horses, particularly those that are employed in agriculture. It appears to me that the tax of fifty cents per head must be very oppressive to the poorer class of our citizens.

The court of Chancery, gentlemen, is still in the situation in which the law that created it left it. No provision has yet been made for the compensation of the Chancellor and the other officers of the court. The opinion given by me to a former Legislature on this subject continues the same: "If ever there was a country where a court of Chancery was necessary, ours is the one; because in no other (as I believe) has there ever been so much valuable property transferred without the observance of the legal forms of conveyance, or where the evasion of the specific performance of contracts would produce so much confusion, injustice, and ruin. It is not many years since the bare assignment of title to lands upon a bit of paper, without any of those peculiar phrases which our laws require in the transfer of real property, was deemed both by the buyer and seller a sufficient conveyance; indeed there have been instances where the delivery of possession has been considered and accepted as sufficient evidence of purchase. To enforce the observance of *bona fide* contracts made in this manner it is believed a court of Chancery is alone competent. Nor is it by any means that loose and fluctuating tribunal which some have considered it, where will, and not law, presides, and where the abitrary opinion of the judge is the only rule of decision. It is, on the contrary, bound down by rules and laws as well defined and as well understood as those of any other court; and as it compels the specific performance of contracts, and enables contending parties reciprocally to avail themselves of facts which might otherwise be forever buried in the bosoms of their opponents, it is particularly calculated to protect the simple and ignorant against the artful and designing."

The Judiciary system may also, perhaps, be susceptible of improvement. Should it be thought from the number of new counties which are in contemplation that a Superior court cannot be holden in each, a district might be composed of several contiguous counties.

With respect to the militia, gentlemen, I am at a loss what to recommend, because our finances are so limited that I fear we could not easily provide the means of supporting them in those camps of discipline which I have formerly recommended, and in which military duty can alone be taught. If you think, however, that the treasury could bear the expense, or that it would not impose on the men too great a burden to oblige them to furnish their own provision, I am persuaded that the muster days directed by the present law would be most usefully commuted for even the same number of days successfully devoted to military improvement in a camp. Altho' I almost despair from the scantiness of our means of seeing our militia arrive at that high state of perfection which they ought to attain, much may nevertheless be done towards keeping up that spirit of improvement until the general government shall provide an uniform system for the whole continent, and the means for carrying it into effect.

But your attention, gentlemen, may in the mean time be most usefully directed to the rising generation. Military discipline consists in a number of minute observances, which collectively form a beautiful and connected system but considered individually appear trifling and even ridiculous. Hence it happens that so many persons become disgusted with military duty before they have seen the application of those apparently frivolous orders which are given to the novitiate in arms. Youth, being more docile, is therefore the proper period for military as well as every other species of instruction. And next to that knowledge of their rights when they become men and citizens, what is more necessary than to teach them the art by which these rights are to be defended? Ours is, I believe, the only republic that ever existed which neglected this important part of education. In the republics of Greece, the exercises of the gymnasium always succeeded the studies and and lectures of the lyceum; and in that of Rome, a strict attention to the duties of the Campus Martius was exacted of every youthful candidate for citizenship.

The liberality of Congress, gentlemen, has committed to your control a section of land in each township for the use of schools, and the seminary at this place [Vincennes] is supported also by a considerable benefaction [a congressional township] in the same species of property. Let me earnestly recommend to you, that in the system of education which you may establish for those schools the military branch may not be forgotten. Let the masters of the inferior schools be obliged to qualify themselves and instruct their pupils in the military evolutions, whilst the University, in addition to those exercises, may have attached to it a professorship of tactics, in which all the sciences connected with the art of war may be taught. I can see no reasonable objection to this plan. It will afford healthful exercise and amusement to the youth, inspire them with patriotic sentiments, and furnish our militia with a succession of recruits, all of them habituated to the performance of military evolutions and some of them with considerable attainments in the higher branches of tactics. The sole additional expence to the ordinary mode of education, independent of the additional professorship in the University, will be the procuring for each subordinate school a number of mock firelocks of wood, a few martial instruments, and for the higher schools a few hundred real guns of the cheapest manufacture.

Since the last session of the Legislature, gentlemen, I have received for the fourth time, from the President and Senate of the United States, an appointment to the Executive duties of this territory. I hope that I duly appreciate this mark of continued confidence in the government of my country; but I will not attempt to deny that the circumstance connected with the appointment, from which I have derived much satisfaction, is the zeal and anxiety which were manifested in my favor by the great majority of your constituents, expressed as well by themselves as their representatives to the last General Assembly. Will you be pleased, gentlemen, to bear them my most sincere thanks for the confidence and support with which they have favored me for so many years. Assure them that their interests and happiness will ever be the great objects for which I shall labor, and that I shall always consider their approbation as the greatest reward for any services which, through the assistance of Divine Providence, I shall be able to render them.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES Decembr. 24th 1810

Har. Pa. 380-386

SIR:

Your letters of the 26th of Oct. and 10th of Novembr. were duly receiv'd. Nothing extraordinary has happened in relation to Indian affairs, since I had the honor to write to you in October.

When I heared last from the Prophet's Town, Tecumseh had not returned from his visit to upper Canada. The President's injunction with regard to the preservation of peace with the Indians shall be faithfully attended to. I believe indeed that there will be no great difficulty in the affair. The Prophet's threats against those who should receive their annuities, have been in a great measure disregarded. Even the Kickapoos to a considerable number have been in to receive theirs. As it was not a complete representation of the Tribe, half of the goods only were delivered, the rest are still in my possession, but I am persuaded that the party which has hung back will apply for them before the Winter is out. Altho' I am persuaded, that there is not at present any probability of an Indian war, the affairs of that department are by no means in such a situation as I could wish them. The Indians appear to be more uneasy and dissatisfied than I ever before saw them, and I believe that the Prophet's principle, that their lands should be considered common property, is either openly avowed or secretly favored by all the Tribes, west of the Wabash. A Wea Chief who attended their late council at Brownstown informs me that a resolution to prevent the sale of any more lands to the United States, was entered into by the chiefs after Governor Hull had left them. That the British Agent [Matthew] Elliott strongly recommended this measure to them, and informed them that the English and French had made peace and would soon unite their arms to dispossess the Americans of the lands they had taken from the Indians.

The Miamies have been so much frightened by the threats of the Prophet and his party and the jealousy which other Tribes not connected with the Prophet have manifested of their exclusive pretentions to the lands on the Wabash, that I should not be greatly surprised if they were to abandon their claim and acknowledge a community of interest with the other Tribes. A step of this sort would be of infinite prejudice to the United States. It would shut the door against any further extinguishment of Indian title upon the valuable tract of country south of the Wabash, which is now embraced by our settlements upon three sides. And upon the obtaining of which the public opinion in the Western country is so fixed that it will be difficult for the Government to divert it to any other district. The tide of immigration from Pennsylvania and the State of Ohio rolls directly against it. The little tract which was purchased to the west of the Greenville boundary will be soon filled up to the very line and our backwoods men are not of a disposition to content themselves with land of an inferior quality when they see in their immediate neighbourhood the finest country as to soil in the world occupied by a few wretched savages. The members of the Territorial legislature which has been lately in session warmly recommended to me to smooth the way for another extinguishment of title parallel to the Grouseland purchase and I must confess that my own views are strongly directed to that measure. I am indeed interested in the question; for without such further purchase Indiana cannot for many years become a member of the Union and I am heartily tired of living in a Territory. You will pardon me Sir for my presumption in intruding my opinions upon you but I really think that the Indian affairs in this country require the particular attention of the Government, that is if further purchase of land in this quarter have entered into the scope of its policy, for whether those purchases are made at this time or delayed for several years measures may now be taken which may greatly facilitate them or if neglected when the day arrives, on which they may be desirable, intrusions of other claims and titles may have intervened, which may totally disappoint our expectations. I must at any rate beg of you a solution of and directions upon a question which may arise, or which may be brought to arise out of the present state of Indian politics. The Miamies are certainly the real proprietors of the country south east of the Wabash, which has not been purchased by us (excepting the claim upon white River, which by the last treaty they ceded to the Delawares) they are pressed by the neighbouring Tribes to give up this exclusive claim but knowing its value nothing but fear will induce them to do it. I am convinced that they (the Chiefs at least) had much rather commit themselves to the protection of the United States entirely and surrender their whole claim for a suitable annuity, than to divide it with the neighbouring Tribes. If such a disposition really exists, shall it be encouraged? If the offer is made, how shall it be received? You will ask why is it at present necessary to determine at all upon the subject? why not wait for a calmer moment when the agitation which now exists amongst the Indians shall have subsided? Because I fear by such delay the opportunity may be entirely lost. If we wish to obtain the lands in question, it is our policy to support the claims of the Miamies and prevent the other Tribes from settling on it. If we do not interfere I am persuaded that the Miami must yield to the pressure of the other Tribes. The establishment of the Prophet will receive their sanction. The Wyandots are also forming a Town upon the Wabash and altho' their numbers are now small the country is so superior to their own that numbers will flock to it. This is indeed the land of promise to which all the Tribes on Lake Erie and the lower Lakes have directed their attention as those of the Mississippi have to the Osage country. I have understood that numbers of the six nations are in motion and at the councils of Brown's Town had demanded lands to settle on of the Indians of this country.

I have done myself the honor to enclose herewith my address to the Territorial Legislature and the copy of a Law passed in consequence of it, and another message transmitting a letter from the late President. The latter will I am persuaded be received with great satisfaction. I was particularly desirous, that the Legislature should have before them a complete view of the Indian affairs in this quarter. For altho' there are some points touched upon in my address that are entirely without their control the opinions of so respectable a body cannot fail to give me great support, if my conduct has been correct and if it has not been a fair opportunity was offered for investigation and selection. For this purpose I may have in the estimation of some persons sacrificed some dignity to the shrine of popularity, for as ever has been my practice, I invited their scrutiny to matters which were entirely foreign to their powers. The result was, however, a most cordial understanding and an unanimity which is, I believe not parralleled in the United States.

The Law which is enclosed will not be effectual as it relates to the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians unless a similar prohibition could be established in the neighbouring territories. Our situation in this Town will be a most disagreeable one. The Illinois Territory is separated from us only by the Wabash and the Indians will there procure as much whiskey as they want whilst this Town will experience all the inconvenience of their drunkenness. The Illinois territory being in the first grade of government, the Governor and judges can not pass any law nor adopt one without a precedent from one of the original states. No such precedent is to be found. The prohibition therefore to sell the ardent spirits to the Indians in that Territory must come from Congress. I would have sent the law which has passed here to Governor Edwards, that the application for a similar one might come from him, but I feared that the Session of Congress would nearly have expired, before it could reach the seat of government in this circuitous way. I must therefore beg leave to recommend this subject to your attention.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,
your humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esq. *Secy. of War*

PAUL TO MANWARING[1]

MADISON January 9th 1811

Mss. in State Library

DEAR SIR

I am at a loss to know what Could have been the Cause of your most Extraordinary Conduct on your way home[2] to ride at least one half mile out of your way to get past my house without Calling if I have meritted such Contempt I do not know it my keeping on before you was as much for your accomodation as for my own I well knew we Could not all be accommodated at one place at the same time and from the Circumstances of the Case you had no right to take snuff before it was offered but I flatter myself it will not prevent a friendly Corrospondence for the benefit of Our Country I am afraid that some of our friends will injure the Governor [Harrison] through perfect friendship trying to prevent men from Voting for the man of their Choice because he was not in a habit of perfect friendship with the Governor & that [Jonathan] Jennings has said something against the Governor. I am sure I am as real a friend to the Governor as any one in the Territory and I should be very sorry even to intimate to any one that he ought not to Vote for a man of his choice because he was not in perfect friendship with the Governor indeed I am of Opinion that I could not offer a greater insult to the Governor than to proceed in that way—the Governors own Conduct is sufficient to recommend him he needs no person to represent him in Congress—Nothing injures the Governor so much as those poor Creatures do who go about with such piteous tales—

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[1] Solomon Manwarring was born in Delaware 1771; migrated to Dearborn Co. 1803, member of Legislative Council 1810; member of Constitutional convention 1816. Died in Dearborn Co. Feb. 1836.

Dearborn County (1885) 822

[2] These men were on their way home from a meeting of the territorial legislature at Vincennes.

I am dear Sir with much Esteem

Your St.

JOHN PAUL[3]

Illegible
SOLOMON MANWARRING

JENNINGS TO MANWARRING

WASHINGTON January 22d 1811

Mss. in Indiana State Library

Dr. Sir

I received your friendly [letter] last evening, and hope that I may have the pleasure of hearing from you often— I am much obliged to you for your information, it will be of much advantage to me.

I have written to you before and suppose they have reached you ere now, viz, I wrote or enclosed documents I do not recollect.

We have no great stock of news to give you, none I suppose more than your paper regularly afford— The Governor [Harrison] is very unpopular *here* and daily becomes mor unpopular—

I have received depositions and certificates with charges against Harrison and have shown them to several members of Congress and they all tell I am bound to give them their usual course and declare he ought to out of office— His political career is ended. I shall lay the ground work of an impeachment before ten days—[1]

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[3] John Paul, born near Philadelphia, Penn., soldier under George R. Clark, 1778; settled in Ky.; moved to Ohio; member of Constitutional convention of Ohio 1802; founded Madison 1810; state senator 1816-18. Died in Madison 1830.

Ind. Mag. of Hist. XIII, 129

The above in confidence until I see you—

From what has been written to me from every County in the Territory I think there is little doubt of my next election. But sure bind, sure find, is the best maxim, and I have written to several of my friends to use every proper exertion, because if we succeed, the Governor and his federal friends must go to the wall—

This is the only struggle on our part to become quite victorious, that is necessary, and the condescension of the Governor is only to obtain thereby some advantage— He has been forced to this condescension, otherwise he would have been equally condescending at other times. Necessity is no virtue, and he who makes a virtue of necessity deserves no credit.

I have thought proper to ask of my friends in Franklin & Wayne the favour if they feel disposed, to have a meeting in each County, and resolve that they will support——[Jennings] at the next election as Delegate to Congress.

I shall not mention the thing to any others but yourself and Mr. [John] Templeton[2] and Capt. [Thomas] McCoy[3] and Capt. [Robert] Hanna.[4]

I do not wish it to be known as being my request it would be made a handle of by my enemies. But policy is necessary—

Such a measure will have the greatest weight in Knox

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[1] Dec. 21, 1810 Jennings introduced a resolution to the effect that no appointee of Harrison should sit in the territorial legislature. This was laid on the table without vote or discussion and never referred to again. So far as the *Annals* show Jennings never "impeached" the governor. This letter is a fair sample of Jennings' statesmanship. Senator Joseph Anderson of Tenn. introduced a bill to broaden the right of suffrage in Indiana, which became a law. This law contained a section embracing the substance of the Jennings resolution. How far he was instrumental in the passage of the law cannot be ascertained from the *Annals*, though it is a fair inference that he should have the credit. Jennings was greatly handicapped by his inability as a speaker.

[2] John Templeton was appointed a justice for Dearborn Co. (now Franklin) April 11, 1806. He was the son-in-law of Capt. Robert Hanna. He was elected to the territorial legislature in 1810 and by his efforts Franklin Co. was organized. His father Robert Templeton came with Robert Hanna from S. Car. in 1804.

[3] Thomas McCoy was a Kentuckian who settled south of Richmond in 1805. Dec. 24, 1806 he was made a Capt. in the militia. He was an Irishman and a farmer, dieing on his farm near Centerville, 1845.

[4] Captain Robert Hanna was one of the earliest settlers of what is now Franklin Co. He came from S. Car in 1804; was first sheriff of his county; a member of the Constitutional convention of 1816 and one of the best known men of Franklin county.

County because it is reported with great industry that Randolph will get a majority with your upper Counties—

I shall write to the same effect to those gentlemen— I have before now seen such farces as that of [James] Dill[5] and Harrison, do not trust to their appearances, they are well aversed in deception— Make my respect to Mrs. Manwaring and believe me to be most respectfully yours very sincerely

JONATHAN JENNINGS

To SOLOMON MANWARRING

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 6th Feby. 1811

Har. Pa. 387

SIR:

The Militia which were called out in the course of the last spring have never yet been paid. The muster rolls were forwarded immediately after they were dismissed. Will you be pleased to direct the military pay master of this District or some other person to pay them?

I have the Honor to be with great Respect Sir

Your Humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esqre.

WAR DEPARTMENT

Feby 4, 1811

Har. Pa. 18

[Enclosed to Harrison]

Col. J. KINGSBURY[1] SIR

Your letter of the 30th of November ult. inclosing Lieut Brevoort's[2] report relative to the condition of the Snow Adams[3] has been received. You will be pleased to have her put into a complete state of repair and equipment for service, having such part of the mechanical and other labor executed by the troops as they can perform.

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[5] James Dill was an Irishman by birth. He was the son-in-law of Governor St. Clair. March 7, 1803 he was appointed recorder of Dearborn Co. He was an old acquaintance of Harrison, having served as a Lieut. in the army 1799-1800 at Cincinnati. He continued a well known attorney of Dearborn Co. till his death. He served in the territorial legislature and was a member of the Constitutional convention 1816. Smith, *Trials and Sketches, 172*

I am, &c.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES Feby 6th 1811

Har. Pa. 388, 389

SIR:

Having never received any directions from your department since the commencement of the present administration [Madison] with respect to the issues of provisions and occasional benefactions to the Indians, I have pursued the plan laid down in letter of General Instructions received from the late President [Jefferson] in his own hand writing, and which has served for my guide for me in this particular for many years past. If however the further extinguishment of Indian title should not enter into the plans of the Government, a retrenchment of the annual expenses of the Indian Department at this place might be gradually effected. At any rate 50 or 60 dollars per annum might be saved in the article of Tobacco if that article were purchased by the quantity in Kentucky, and sent here and perhaps twice that sum by the employment of an armourer by the year for the Indian business, rather than the present mode of paying for it by the job. Whatever directions you may please to give me on these subjects shall be punctually observed.

I have no knowledge of the present disposition of the British Government towards the United States but what I gather from the Documents which accompanied the President's message to Congress but I am certain that if their intentions are pacifick the Indian department of Upper Canada have not been made acquainted with them—for they have certainly (and very lately too) said everything to the Indians, who have visited them, to irritate them against us—excepting this I have heard nothing new from the Indian country. Indeed this is not the season for intrigue amongst them as they are

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1. Colonel Jacob Kingsbury of Conn., served in the Revolution in the Continental line—in the regular army almost continuously until June 15, 1815—died July 1, 1837.

2. Lieutenant Henry B. Brevoort of New York, in the regular army from Feb. 16, 1801 to June 15, 1815 when he was honorably discharged.

Heitman Register, 601

3. This was a vessel at Detroit carrying 14 guns.

Mich. Hist. Pioneer Coll. XV. 1890

dispersed in hunting camps and have very little communication with each other.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir
Your Humble Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS Esqr. *Secy. of War*

JOHNSON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

FORT WAYNE, February 8th, 1811
Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 800

——has been at this place. The information derived from him is the same I have been in possession of for several years, to wit: the intrigues of the British agents and partizans, in creating an influence hostile to our people and Government, within our territory. I do not know whether a garrison is to be erected on the Wabash or not; but every consideration of sound policy urges the early establishment of a post, somewhere contiguous to the Prophet's residence. [Extract]

JOHN JOHNSON

MCCARTY AND BROWN TO HARRISON

[Mar. 4, 1811]
Mss. in Indiana State Library

To his Excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON
Governor and Commander in Chief in and over Indiana Territory

SIR

At your Request there has been an Election held in our new County of Franklin for County officers and it appears that Anthony Halverstadt is Elected Coroner, Landon Robertson Surveyor, Justices, Samuel Rockafellar, John Hall, Andrew Tharp, Benjamin Smith, John Ewing, Isaac Wilson, John Fugate [Fugit]—John Templeton[1] put himself to the peoples choice and was elected by a great Majority, We would just hint to your Excellency that we approve the peoples choice in Regard to the officers and that there is a scarcity of the Territorial Laws amongst us and if a few copies could be Transmitted to us it would oblige

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[1] These were all tax payers in Franklin county in 1811. All were appointed March 4, 1811. *Executive Journal, 29*

Sir your Humble Servts

Judges { BENJ. MCCARTY
THOMAS BROWN

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES April 23d 1811
Har. Pa. 390-397

SIR:

You were no doubt informed by the acting Govr. of Louisiana [William Clark] of the murder of four of our citizens last fall on the Missouri by two Potawatimies. A short time before Govr. [Benjamin] Howard[1] left St. Louis he sent me a number of documents relating to this subject and requested that I would cause the culprits to be apprehended (if as he had been informed they were within the limits of this [Indiana] Territory) and delivered up to him. My enquiries have at length verified the supposition that they were within my superintendency and that they had wintered amongst those of their Tribe, which inhabit the country between the Wabash and Lake Michigan at no great distance from the Prophet's Town.

About the first of this Inst. four of the same Tribe and from the same place came into the settlement of Busseron (20 miles above this) and took from thence twelve head of Horses. These scoundrels I have no doubt belong to a Banditti that were established formerly on the upper parts of the Illinois River [around Peoria] from whence they carried on the most successful depredations, under the command of a celebrated Chief, called Turkey-foot, who became the terror of all the settlements on the Mississippi and the Illinois. I was three years endeavouring in vain to oblige his Tribe to deliver him up for the murder of two Frenchmen and was at length oblig'd to employ a war chief of the Tribe, who was a friend of mine, to apprehend him. In the encounter which ensued Turkey-foot was killed and his scalp brought to me. This struck such terror in the party that they did no mischief other than that of stealing a few horses, until the murder on the Missouri. I have little expectation of their being given up, but I have sent [William] Wells and [John] Connor who were here as witnesses at the general court, to the Indian country to ascertain precisely where they are, by what chiefs they are protected, to endeavour to recover the stolen horses.

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[1] Benjamin Howard, born, Lexington, Ky. Representative in congress from Ky. 1807-1810. Appointed governor of Louisiana territory (not Indiana territory as stated in references) in 1810. Brigadier-general in the U. S. army in 1813. Died Sept. 18, 1814 at St. Louis, Mo.

Scharf, *History of St. Louis I, 340*
Lanman, *Dictionary of Congress, 190*

I hold [Michael] Bruillet in readiness to go for them should it appear probable from Wells' report that they will be surrendered. If the murderers and thieves are not quietly given up I shall wait your further directions on the subject.

I have pursued the President's directions with regard to the use of pacific and conciliatory measures with the Indians. That is I have paid more than common attention to gratify their little wants and to do away unfavorable impressions but having received no orders to the contrary, I have uniformly and positively declared that the Treaty [Fort Wayne, 1809] of which they have been made to complain would never be abandoned, and that we were determined to keep the land which we had fairly acquired of the rightful owners even at the expense of as many lives as there were Trees growing on it. I believe that this course has produced all the good effects which I had anticipated from it. The little Wea Tribe [near Lafayette] had begun last fall to give itself airs in imitation of, or in obedience to the directions of, the other Tribes. They are now all submission, and far from imposing any impediments to the settlements, which are at this moment progressing far into the new purchase, they afforded these adventurous citizens, all the aid in their power. But a few days ago the Head Chief applied to me for a writing designating him as such and certifying his disposition to live upon the most friendly terms with those people who have so prematurely taken possession of that very land (the site of his principal village) which a few months ago, they discovered so much aversion to give up, after they had fairly and willingly sold it. Encroachment upon the rights and property of those who will not resist is a characteristic of every savage. "Sooner shall the lover stop short of the last favor (I use a figure of the late Presdt. Adams) "having obtained the rest" than an Indian cease to demand as long as there is a prospect of his demands being complied with. The unfortunate Traveller who yields his coat to Indian insolence need not expect that he will be able to retain his shirt. On the contrary (pursuing the above simile) the licentious rake is far more easily checked by the frowns of Indignant virtue than are the arrogant pretensions of an Indian, (I Speak from experience) when opposed by decision and manly resistance.

I have no reason to believe that the disposition of the Prophet and his Brother towards us has undergone any change, but I do not think that he will be able to excite the usual disturbance this spring amongst the Indians. Finding that they are unable to raise a sufficient force to make war, and that their threats have availed them nothing I am in hopes that they will remain quiet. I sincerely hope however that the President's determination to build the Fort on the Wabash [Harrison] may only have been suspended not abandoned. The establishment of a Factory [for Indian trade] there also would be highly advantageous to the Indians and would produce all those good effects to us, which have been experienced from those establishments at other places. I do not see Indeed how the Indians can procure necessaries without it, as they are precluded by the law I sent you from trading in the settled parts of this Territory.

If my letters and opinions on the subject of Wells have appeared to you in any degree inconsistant and contradictory I can not say that they have not exhibited a faithful presentation of what has passed in my mind. You will do me justice in believing that this has not proceeded from fickleness of temper or any less worthy cause but from the contradictory impressions which a knowledge of his superior talents for an appointment in the Indian Department and the fear of his possessing dispositions which might in some degree prove dangerous, have made upon me. Without troubling you again with observations upon his character which I have before frequently made I will merely mention the conclusions which my mind has arrived at after much reflection. Could I be allowed to dispose of Wells as I thought proper my first wish would be to place him in the Interiour of our settlements where he would never see and scarcely hear of an Indian. But as this is impossible from his being located in such a manner at Fort Wayne, that he cannot be removed without very considerable expence my next wish is to get him such an appointment as he could consider an object where he might be used to advantage but at the same time so limitted as to prevent his doing mischief. I sincerely believe that he would now be faithful. His activity and talents need not be doubted. The arrangement which I should recommend would be that there should be no principal agent that Wells should be sub-agent for the Miamies and Eel River Tribes, or if it was thought improper to give him that title he might be called Interpreter—Mr. [John] Shaw Sub-agent for the Potawatimies and Conner for the Delawares. The Salary of each to be 550 or 600$. The annuities to be delivered by the Factor and all payments to be made by him. The three to report separately and individually to the Governor.

The additional expence (fixing the salaries at $600) would be but about $600 in the whole which is much less than a principal agent could be got for—Wells would gladly accept of such an appointment and Shaw and Connor have served so faithfully that they deserve some little advance. Indeed upon general principles such promotions are always promotive of public service.

I believe that I did myself the favor to inform you last fall that I had commenced a suit against a certain Wm. McIntosh a Scotchman residing at this place, for slandering me in relation to my management of the Indian Department. The accusations which he brought against me were of the most serious nature. "Such as defrauding the Indians in the Treaties I have made with them, Making chiefs to answer my own particular purposes. Excluding the real chiefs. By this and the conduct producing all the disturbances which have taken place in the Indian country, and the alarm produced in this etc." This suit was tried in the Superior Court of this Territory on the 11th inst. A short report of it will be published and I will do myself the Honor to send you a copy. Suffice it at present to say that no defendant in a case of that kind ever allowed so much latitude as my opponent was, by my particular direction to my attorneys. Not only every species of justificatory evidence was allowed with regard to the points at issue but he was allowed to bring forward testimony totally irrelevant to it, in fact every part of my conduct and administration for ten years was scrutiniz'd. The result is that after twenty-five witnesses were examined, the rascally calumniator begg'd for mercy, and his council labour'd only for a mitigation of damages. A select or special jury gave a verdict in my favor of four thousand dollars damages. A new trial was moved for on the ground of excessive damages, but refused by the court.[2]

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect,

Yr. Obt. Servt. etc.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WM. EUSTIS, Esqre. *Secy. at War*

IRWIN TO SECRETARY OF WAR

CHICAGO, May 13th, 1811

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 800

An assemblage of the Indians is to take place on a branch of the Illinois, by the influence of the Prophet—the result will be hostile, in the event of a war with Great Britain.

W. IRVINE [Matthew Irwin, Jr.][1]

CLARK TO SECRETARY OF WAR

ST. LOUIS, May 24th, 1811

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 800

From the hostile appearance of the Indians towards the [Great] lakes and about the head of the Wabash river, I have thought it a duty to keep out spies, and have at this time spies among those tribes. I enclose you a talk from the Ioways (from which the following is extracted): "I tell you this, although death is threatened against those who discover it: The time is drawing nigh when the murder is to begin, and all the Indians who will not join are to die with the whites."

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[2] This apparently insignificant lawsuit has received considerable historical notice by Dunn, *Indiana,* 413; Humphrey Marshall, *Kentucky* II, 507; and Henry Adams, *History of U. S. VI,* 107 follows these. The *Letters of Decius* were a series of scurrilous attacks by an Irish barrister named Isaac Darneille. The trial was a test between the land speculators and Indian traders on the one hand and the governor on the other. The Frankfort Ky. and Cincinnati papers of the time had lengthy accounts of it, indicating that the opposition was widespread. See *Western Spy* (Cincinnati) May 4, 1811. Evidently William Wells reestablished himself in the governor's graces by his testimony in the case.

[1] Matthew Irwin, Sr. was a native of Ireland, came to Philadelphia while young, merchant, loaned money to American army, commissory of Penn., 1777. Bankrupt 1788; brother-in-law of Gov. Thos Mifflin of Penn. His third son, Matthew Irwin Jr., was the factor at Chicago 1810-1812. In 1816 he became factor at Green Bay where he remained 17 yrs. Returned to Uniontown Penn. where he died 1845.

Wis. Hist. Col. VII, 269; Nile's Register II, 343

WM. CLARK

LALIME TO CLARK

CHICAGO, 26th May, 1811

A. T. Andreas, *History of Cook County, Ill.*, 77

Sir:—An Indian from the Peorias passed here yesterday, and has given me information that the Indians about that place have been about the settlements of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and have stolen from fifteen to twenty horses. It appears by the information given me that the principal actors are two brothers of the wife of Main Poc.[1] He is residing at the Peorias, or a little above it, at place they call Prairie du Corbeau.[2] By the express going to Fort Wayne, I will communicate this to the agent. I presume, Sir, that you will communicate this to the Governor of Kaskaskia [Ninian Edwards] and to General Harrison.[3] I am, Sir, with respect,

H'ble. Servt.

J. LALIME[4] *Ind. Interpreter*

Gen. WM. CLARK, St. Louis

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[1] Main Poc-Main Poque-Maipock or Marpack a Potawatomi chief. A bad Indian and a drunkard. Died 1815. He professed supernatural powers. E. H. Blair, *Indian of the upper Mississippi and Great Lakes Regions, 203, 278*

[2] Prairie du Corbeau or Crow Meadow about twenty miles up the river from Peoria, Illinois. John Melish, *Map of Illinois, 1818*

[3] "St. Louis, June 27, 1811

"Mr. Lalime, Indian interpreter at Chicago, says Indians are plotting; Main Poc is the leader. An Indian just from the Prophetstown says the Prophet is the instigator. He hopes to unite the Pottawattomies, Sauks, Kickapoos and Ottoways. Over 200 are gone to Malden for arms. Price was killed just above the mouth of the Missouri. People on Ill. frontier are building blockhouses."

Cin. *Liberty Hall*, July 24, 1811

"The next murder of the same year was Price, a relative of the Whitesides. Price was killed on June 20, near the spring the lower end of the present city of Alton. Price and another man were plowing their corn and they saw the Indians approaching them at the spring, where there was a small cabin. The horse was unhitched and the whites had a gun. As the Indians came near the spring, the Americans asked them if they were for war or peace. One of the Indians, who was very large and tall, laid down his gun and gave his hand to Price, but held him fast and the other Indians murdered him. While the conflict was going on, his companion jumped on the horse and was wounded in the thigh in making his escape."

Reynolds, *History of Illinois, 404*

[4] John Lalime was of English and Indian birth, and interpreter. He was accidently killed 1812. A. T. Andreas, *History of Cook County, 77*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 6th June 1811

Har. Pa. 389-409

SIR:

I have delayed writing to you since the 23rd of April under the expectation of being able to give you a correct view of the course which Indian politics was about to take this summer. In this however I am disappointed and I am sorry to say that what I have learned is by no means indicative of a pacific disposition. [William] Wells made a report to me from Fort Wayne of his proceedings at the Prophet's Town relative to the stolen horses he was in search of, and the Potawatomies who committed the murders on the Missourie, Four of the Horses were delivered up. Tecumseh and the Prophet both disclaimed having any agency in taking them, altho they acknowledged that it was done by the part of the Potawatomie tribe which are under their influence. They promised to procure the rest and send them in—this however they have not done and we have every reason to believe that others have since been taken.

The murderers were said to have been removed from that part of the country and gone to reside on the Illinois River. [William] Wells did not make a formal demand of them but he was informed that they would not be delivered up. He (Wells) had much conversation with Tecumseh, and he says that the latter openly and positively avowed his determination to resist the encroachments of the white people. Upon Wells observing that he would never be able to accomplish his intentions he declared that Wells would live to see the contrary. About five weeks ago a Kickapoo chief who had an excellent character came to me of his own accord and told me that as I had always treated him with kindness he had determined to put me upon my guard against the Prophet and his brother. He said that their pacific professions were not to be relied upon that he had heard them speaking to the Indians for several years and in that time he had never heard anything that they said but war and hatred against the United States. That the delivery up of the Horses which were occasionally stolen was merely intended to lull our vigilance and to prevent us from discovering their designs until they were ripe for execution. That they frequently told their young men that they would defeat their plans by their precipitancy. That in their harangues to the Indians they frequently requested those who would not join their confederacy to keep their secrets That he always promised them a rich harvest of plunder and scalps, declaring that the first stroke would put them in possession of an ample supply of arms, ammunition and provisions.

On the 2nd of May General William Clarke[1] of Saint Louis wrote to me informing that the Prophet had sent a Belt to the Mississippi tribes inviting them to war against us, and declaring that his intention was to begin the war by an attack on theis place. I received a letter from [John] La Lime the Interpreter at Chicago at the same time in which he says that he had ascertained that the Indians in that quarter had actually determined on going to war. When General Clark wrote the above letter he was of opinion that none of the tribes on the Mississippi would accept the Belt.

By the last mail however he informed me in a letter of the 23rd ultimo that the Sacks have absolutely acceded to the hostile confederacy and that a part of them had gone to Detroit, no doubt to get annuities.

One of the surveyors who was employed by the Surveyor Genl. to divide the new purchase into Townships has been frightened off by the Weas. They took two of his men who were in advance making preparations to cross the Wabash prisoners, took from them a rifle and some other articles and kept them tied up all night, they were however released the next day and the Indians declared that they took them for deserters from the Garrison near the place. The surveyor was however so frightened that he immediately pushed off to Cincinnati without coming to this place. I am still unable to determine whether I should consider this transaction as a hostile act on the part of the Indians or not. I have some reason to believe the the surveyor found it very convenient to postpone his work till fall from the great difficulty of surveying at this season, and I am convinced that the Weas would not have dared to interrupt him if they had not been encouraged to do so, and assured of the support from above.

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[1] General William Clarke, a member of the Lewis Clark expedition 1803-1806, was born Aug. 1, 1770, near Charlottesville Va. Governor of Missouri 1813-1820. He died at St. Louis, Sept. 1, 1838.

Elliott Coues, *Lewis and Clark expedition*

Those that I have seen declare that they had no intention of stopping the surveyor. On the other hand some threats which they have incautiously droped amongst the settlers on the frontiers incline me to believe that the seizing the men was intended to feel our pulse and connected with other circumstances is at least calculated to excite strong suspicions. About eight or ten days ago a war party consisting of ten men came to a House on Shoal Creek fifteen miles from Cahokia murdered a young man and took a young woman prisoner, this information was brought by two respectable looking travelers on Thursday last and is confirmed by two others (one of whom I know) who arrived on Saturday.[2] There is no doubt of the fact, that that it was done by the Potawatomies of the Illinois River. The murderers were pursued by a detachment of thirty militia. [Michael] Brouillette is now at the Prophets Town. I have not heard from him since he went from hence but expect him in a few days.

Concieving it to be all important to procure correct intelligence I have employed a Mr. [John Baptist] Leplante[3] who has resided many years with the Potawatimies at the very Site of the Prophets Town to take Brouillettes[4] place, and have recalled the latter. Brouillete is too well known to be in the service of the Government to do much good and I am moreover not satisfied with some part of his conduct, I expect much advantage from the employment of Laplante. French men like him who speak no english and who have always been engaged in the Indian trade are not considered by the Indians as much attached to the American Government indeed very few of them are so. This man is I believe entirely worthy of confidence. I dispatched ten days a go a Perogue with the anuity Salt for the Indians. I directed a part of it to be offered to the prophet.

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[2] "Vincennes June 15, 1811

Informed by gentleman from St. Louis 10 days ago—a party of Indians thought to be Pottawattomies attacked a family 30 miles south-east of Cahokia. Father and mother were away from home. Killed son and took daughter prisoner. Pursued by Capt. Whitesides. Girl found tomahawked. Killed two Indians but had to return for aid." [The girl was not killed]

Cin. *Liberty Hall,* July 3, 1811

"Some few murders were committed on our frontiers before war was declared. On June 2, 1811, a family of the name of Cox resided on Shoal Creek, [Ill.] near the forks, and the Indians discovered the family from home, except a young man and woman. They killed the young man mangled his body cruelly. The girl they took prisoner and also took several horses. Col. Pruit acting as captain, Henry Cox, Ben Cox, and some others, to the number of eight or ten men pursued the Indians and overtook them and the girl about seven miles from their town and fifty miles north of Springfield. A kind of bashful fight ensued. In the scramble the girl broke from the Indians toward the whites, and as she ran, an Indian wounded her severely in the hip, by throwing a tomahawk at her. The whites got some of the stolen horses and the girl. They reached home in safety."

Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois, 404*

[3] John Baptiste La Plante came with wife and family from Detroit to Vincennes in 1798. Scout and guide for Harrison on Tippecanoe campaign. Many descendants still living in Vincennes.

History of Knox County (1886) 361

[4] Michael Brouillette served as captain in war of 1812. Trusted friend of Harrison for whom he carried mail to the frontier settlements. Native of Vincennes.

History of Knox County (1886) 318

I wish I could say the Indians were treated with justice and propriety on all occasions by our own citizens but it is far otherwise. They are often abused and maltreated and it is very rare that they obtain any satisfaction for the most unprovoked wrongs.

Since my letter of the 23rd of April a Muscoe Indian was killed by an Italian Innkeeper [Laurent Bazadone] in this place. The Indian came into his yard drunk and perhaps was insolent, he was however entirely unarmed, nor did there appear the least necessity for killing him. He was shot in the Abdomen with large Duck Shot and expired immediately. I immediately caused the perpetrator to be apprehended and ordered a special court for his trial, he was however acquitted by the jury almost without deliberation. The friends of the deceased were much exasperated. In some degree to quiet them I made them a present of about seventy dollars worth of goods. Since the above two Weas were badly wounded by a white man about twenty miles from hence. I sent out a surgeon to their relief and they are both in a fair way to recover. Such instances (and the latter was if possible more unprovoked than the former) have a great tendency to exasperate the Indians, and prevent them from delivering up those of their tribes who may commit offences against our laws.

Such was the case with the Delaware Tribe upon my demand of White Turkey a Delaware who robbed a house of Mr. Vawter[5] of this territory, the chief declared they would never deliver up another man until some of the white persons were punished who had murdered their people, they would however punish him themselves and did accordingly put him to death.

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[5] James, John and William Vawter were early settlers near Madison in what was then Clark county. They were commissioned for various offices by Gen. Harrison.

I have the honor to enclose herewith Mr. Vawter's account of the articles stolen by the White Turkey with their valuation for which the U. S. have promised indemnification most of those were recovered by Mr. [John] Conner and taken to Fort Wayne, were deposited in a weare House, which was broken open and the whole of them again stolen. The Delaware chiefs have refused to pay for them alledging that they have done all that was required of them by their treaty in punishing the thief and delivering up such of the articles as could be procured. Mr. Vawter is very urgent for compensation and I must request your decision on the case.

I have received seventy pairs of pistols and the like number of swords from the Arsenal at Newport, they are handsomly finished but I am told by those who have examined them that the swords are certainly made of Iron and that not of the harder quality. They may answer to attack the naked scull of a Savage but would have little effect on the iron helmet of a Marmaluke or even the leathern cap of a British Dragoon, Major [Thomas] Martin[6] has informed me that he has no rifles. Our Militia are extremely awkward with the Musket and cannot be brought under the present mode of training to alter their sentiments respecting it. I should be much pleased to get about five hundred rifles. An officer of the Militia has invented a mode of loading arm which does away any objection to its use. His plan is to have cartridge bands of leather to buckle in front like those formerly used by the light Infantry. The cartridges are tin Julies holding exactly a charge of powder with the ball, and patch placed on the tops. The lower orifice of the Tube is closed with a wooden stopper which is easily removed and to prevent being lost is attached to the tube by a string, when drawn out to be used the cartridge is reversed, the ball is secured by the palm of the hand, the stopper removed with the teeth, the gun primed, the place of the stopper supplied by the finger until the tube is replaced in the muzzle of the Gun with the right hand, the ball and patch being at the same time removed with the left and placed in the proper position to be forced down with the ramrod the right hand in the mean time conveys the tube to the pouch or pocket or in great urgency it is droped on the ground. I have seen the inventor load and fire his rifle with the aid of these Tubes, and I am satisfied he will at least load one third oftener than any person can do in the common way the man is poor and wishes to know whether the Government will give him any reward for his discovery.

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[6] Thomas Martin of Virginia, a 2 Lieut. 9 Va. Rev. at this time military store keeper at Newport. Died Jan. 18, 1819.

Historical Register Vol. I, 693

I have not yet been honored with an answer on the subject of the pay of the two companies of militia which were in service two weeks last summer. They are very clamorous for their money.

I am with great respect Sir yr. humble Servt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

P. S. The carrier of the Illinois Mail (who has just arrived) informs us that the woman taken by the party of Indians was recovered by the Militia who were in pursuit of them. The Indians finding that they were likely to be overtaken abandoned her after attempting to tomahawk her, which their hurry prevented them from effecting. The post rider also says that two Indians were killed by the White people in the neighborhood of the place where the woman was taken from, a few days ago and that the whole country is in alarm and getting into Forts as fast as possible. I have not made the least attempt to put this country in a state of defence and shall not do any thing until every doubt of the Hostile designs of the Indians is removed from the unfavorable effect produced by these alarms upon the emigration and the injury that the frontier people would sustain by the abandonment of their crops. If the affair in Illinois is actually the commencement of general hostilities Many families will be butchered nor will anything but the want of resolution to undertake to prevent this and other Towns from being sacked.

I am told that Elias McNamea[7] of this town has or will be recommended to you for the appointment of surgeon's Mate. I pledge myself to you Sir that there is not a more unprincipled scoundrel in existence than this man.

I have the Honor to enclose under another cover the newspaper containing the report of the Trial mentioned in my last. I wish it had been fuller. W. H. H.

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esqr. *Secy. of War*

Rec'd. July 2, 1811

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[7] Elias McNamee, doctor in Vincennes. Quaker who was challenged by Randolph because of some articles he had published against him. Dunn, *Indiana*, 399

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 19th June 1811

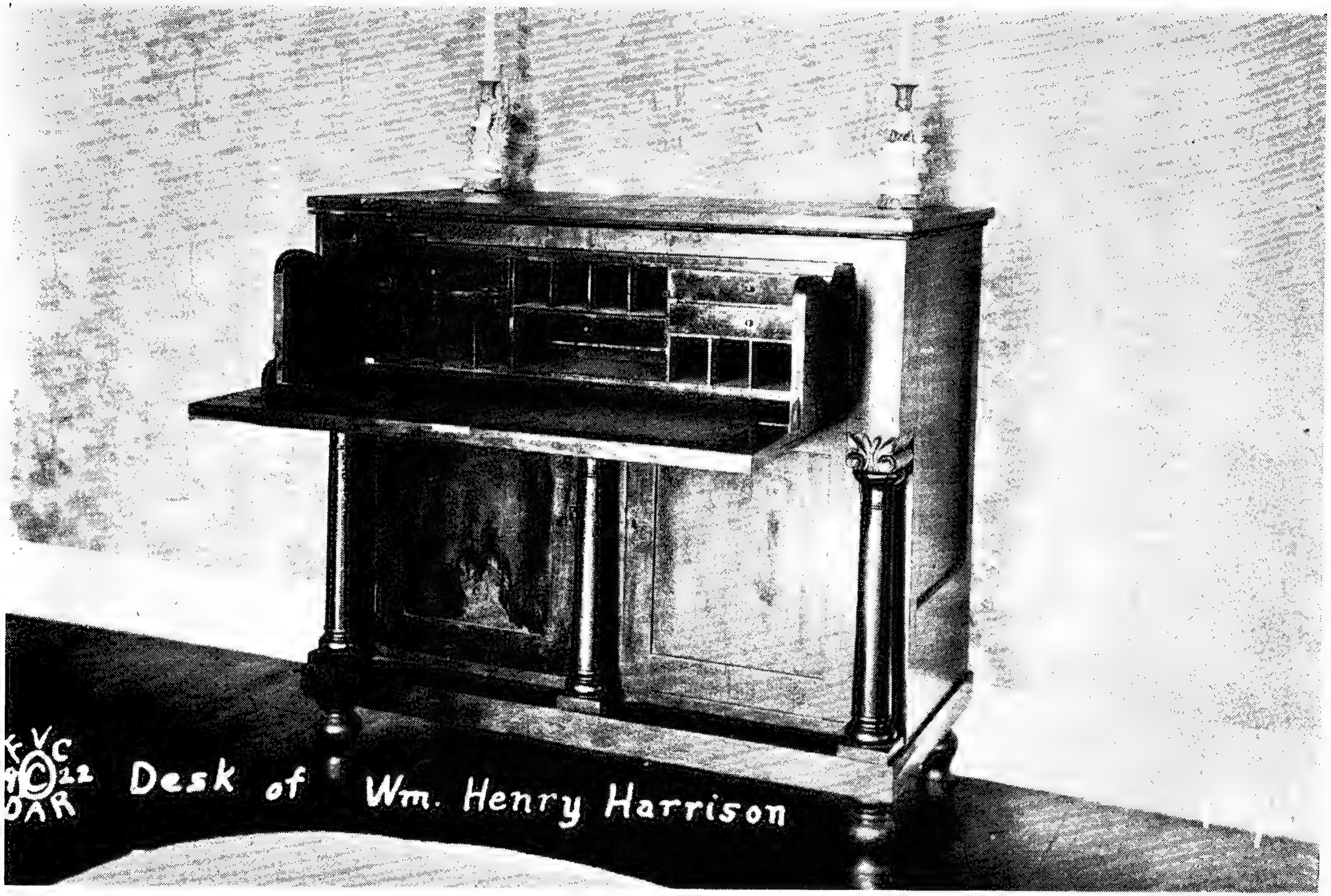
Har. Pa. 410-412

SIR:

I informed you in my last that I had sent a Perogue up the Wabash with the annuity salt for the Indians. The perogue returned last evening. The person who had charge of her informed me that he was stopped by the Prophet and the whole of the salt taken from him, I had directed him to put out five barrels at the Prophets Town two for the Kickapoos and three for the Shawnees and other Indians. The Prophet informed [Michael] Brouillette who left the town the day before the arrival of the salt that he would accept none of it. When it arrived, however he immediately called a council and the result of their deliberations was that the whole should be seized which was done accordingly. He directed the men to tell me not to be angry at his seizing the salt as he had got none the last year and had more than two thousand men to feed. [John B.] La Plante (the person whom I mentioned to have sent up in my last by the Perogue) informed me that there are about a hundred men and that Tecumseh is daily expected with a considerable reinforcement from the lakes.

From all I can collect I have not the least doubt but a crisis with this fellow is approaching—His determination is, and (I have my information from so many different sources that it is impossible to disbelieve it) to come to this place with as many men as he can raise and if the land which was lately purchased is not immediately given up to commence the war.

I am really very much at a loss how to proceed. To sit still and suffer this scoundrel to come into this town with six or eight hundred men without having an adequate force to oppose him does not appear to me to be proper and yet I am certain he will come and equally so of his bad intentions. The whole force I could collect for many miles, would not equal his number. And at this season of the year it is ruinous to the Citizens to leave their farms nor would they be willing to abandon their wives and children. I shall endeavour to temporize with him until I can receive your orders. Permit me to recommend that the troops now at Pittsburgh may be ordered here immediately and that offensive measures be authorized against the Prophet as soon as it is ascertained that he is decidedly hostile. For my own part I am so satisfied of



Desk of William Henry Harrison; the property of the Francis Vigo Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Vincennes, Indiana his intentions that if I had any discretion on the subject I would attack him on his way hither with any force that I could collect.

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir
your Huble. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS Esqr. *Secretary of war*

10 o'clock. The postmaster has just informed me that the western mail has not arrived and that he entertains apprehensions for its safety. [See June 25, below] W. H. H.

HARRISON TO CLARK

VINCENNES, 19th June, 1811

Andreas, *Cook County, 77*

DEAR SIR: I have been exerting myself to find out where the Pottawatomies who murdered Captain Cole[1] and his party were to be found and the best means of apprehending them, for some months past. I will now give you the result of my inquiries on the subject. The chiefs of the Pottawatomies all acknowledge that the murderers belong to their tribe. Several of the principal ones were at Fort Wayne early this spring, and informed Captain [William] Wells that they had put themselves under the protection of Main Poc, the great war chief of the tribe, who resides upon the Illinois River. One of these, however, spent the last winter with the Prophet. I sent Wells up to the town of the latter in April last, to ascertain whether they were there and what would be the most likely means of getting hold of them, and four others of the same tribe, who had in the beginning of that month stolen fourteen horses from this neighborhood. In his report Wells informed me that the murderers were not there; that they lived on the Illinois River and were only occasionally on the Wabash. I would immediately have communicated this information to you, but as I still had a man at the Prophet's village, I waited his return to know whether he would bring any further intelligence. A few days ago he arrived, and with him a young Indian, who formerly lived with me, and who is the son-in-law of Onoxa of Five Medals, a principal Pottawatomie chief. Onoxa desired the young man to inform me that there was no probability of the murderers being delivered up, and that there was no way of getting them but by sending a party of men and taking them wherever they would be found. [Michael] Brouilette, the young man above mentioned, says that a Pottawatomie was at the Prophet's town when he left it, with one of the horses taken from Cole, but he does not know whether he was one of the party that took him. I have on the 23d April written to the Secretary of War for particular instruction on the subject of these fellows, but have not yet received an answer. I think, however that a formal demand had better be made of Main Poc by Governor Edwards, as they are certainly within his jurisdiction, and I will cause the same thing to be done of the chiefs who attend at Post Wayne to receive their annuity. There is not, however, the smallest probability of their being surrendered. I have no doubt of the good disposition of Tupennibe,[2] the principal chief of the tribe, Onoxa and many others, but the tribe is so large and scattered that they have no control over the distant parts, indeed very little over the young men that are about them. I am therefore certain that there is no other mode of bringing the culprits to justice but by seizing them ourselves. All the information that I receive from the Indian country confirms the rooted enmity of the Prophet to the U. S. and his determination to commence hostilities as soon as he thinks himself sufficiently strong. From the uncommon insolence which he and his party have lately manifested, I am inclined to believe that a crisis is fast approaching. A Frenchman descending the Wabash about ten days ago was robbed of his piroque and some small quantity of goods; but the most daring piece of insolence that they have yet ventured upon is that of seizing the salt destined for the tribes above them. The piroque which I sent up with it returned last evening and the man who had charge of her reports that he stopped at the Prophet's village and offered him three barrels of salt intended for him, and that he was ordered to stop until a council was held and the wole was then taken from him. If our government will submit to this insolence, it will be the means of making all the tribes treat us with contempt.

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[1] Captain Cole, settled about the mouth of the Gasconade river, Missouri. Murdered by Indians in July, 1810.

"In July 1810, the Pottawatomies of the Illinois made a raid upon a settlement in Missouri, opposite the mouth of the Gasconade, stealing property and murdering several settlers, among whom was Captain Cole. The Governor of Missouri (General William Clark) made a requisition upon Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois, for the murderers. They had taken refuge with Main Poc, the war chief of the tribe, then residing near Peoria Lake, but whose village was on the Kankakee, just above the forks."

Andreas, *History of Cook County, Ill., 77*

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[2] Tupennibe "Waubun", for a detailed account of this chief and his tribe at this time, see Elmore Barce, "Topenebee and the Decline of the Pottawattomie nation," *Indiana Magazine of History XIV, 3-12.* Mr. Barce has made a careful study of the work of Tecumseh and his writings furnish the best account of this affair now available to the general reader.

I do not recollect anything of the claim of Briam which you mention in your last. I may perhaps have received the papers and sent them to Fort Wayne but I have forgotten it. I will thank you to state the particulars.

I am yours sincerely,

WM. H. HARRISON

HARRISON TO TIPTON

June 20, 1811

Mss. in Indiana State Library

INDIANA TERRITORY, SS.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,
Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory

To all who shall see these presents, GREETING:

KNOW YE, That we have assigned and constituted, and do by these presents constitute and appoint John Tipton[1] to be a Justice of the Peace, in our county of Harrison and to keep, and cause to be kept, the Laws and Ordinances made for the good of the peace, and for the conservation of the same, and for the quiet rule and government of our citizens of the said county, in all and every the articles thereof, according to the force, form and effect of the same, and to chastise and punish all persons offending against the form of those Laws and Ordinances, or any of them, in the county aforesaid, as according to the form of those Laws and Ordinances shall be fit to be done, and to cause to come before him the said John Tipton all those that shall break the peace, or attempt any thing against the same, or that shall threaten any of the citizens in their persons, or in burning their houses, to find sufficient security for the peace, and for their good behaviour, towards the citizens of this government; and if they shall refuse to find such security, then to cause them to be kept safe in prison until they shall find the same; and to do and perform in the county aforesaid, all and whatsoever, according to our Laws and Ordinances, or any of them, a Justice of the Peace may and ought to do and perform.

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[1] John Tipton was born in Sevier Co. Tenn. Aug. 14, 1786; came to Harrison county, Ind. 1807; served under Spencer at Tippecanoe. Later he became Indian agent at Fort Wayne and Logansport. U. S. senator 1831-1839. Died at Logansport Apr. 5, 1839.
Woolen *Biographical Sketches, 185*
Ind. Mag. of Hist. IX, 247-268

Given under my hand and the seal of the Territory, at Vincennes the Twentieth day of June Anno Domini, one thousand eight hundred and Eleven and in the thirty fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

By The Governor, JNO GIBSON *Secretary*

Harrison County
Indiana Territory } ss.

Personally came before me, Richard McHeth, JOHN TIPTON the within named to whom was duely administered the Oath of office as well as that to support the Constitution of the United States by virtue of a commission granted from his Excellency W. Harrison to administer the Oaths of office to cival and Military Officers

In witness where of I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this 4th day of February 1812

R. MCHETH Seal

HARRISON TO TECUMSEH

June 24, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison, 179*
Dillon, *Indiana, 451*

Brothers,

Listen to me, I speak to you about matters of importance, both to the white people and yourselves; open your ears, therefore, and attend to what I shall say.

Brothers, this is the third year that all the white people in this country have been alarmed at your proceedings, you threaten us with war, you invite all the tribes to the north and west of you to join against us.

Brothers, your warriors who have lately been here, deny this; but I have received the information from every direction; the tribes on the Mississippi have sent me word that you intended to murder me, and then to commence a war upon our people. I have also received the speech that you sent to the Potawatamies and others, to join you for that purpose; but if I had no other evidence of your hostility to us, your seizing the salt which I lately sent up the Wabash is sufficient.

Brothers, our citizens are alarmed, and my warriors are preparing themselves; not to strike you, but to defend themselves and their women and children. You shall not surprise us as you expect to do; you are about to undertake a very rash act; as a friend, I advise you to consider well of it; a little reflection may save us a great a deal of trouble, and prevent much mischief; it is not yet too late.

Brothers, what can be the inducement for you to undertake an enterprise where there is so little probability of success; do you really think that the handful of men that you have about you are able to contend with the power of the Seventeen Fires, or even that the whole of the tribes united could contend against the Kentucky Fire alone.

Brothers, I am myself of the long knife fire; as soon as they hear my voice, you will see them pouring forth their swarms of hunting-shirt men, as numerous as the musquitoes on the shores of the Wabash, brothers, take care of their stings.

Brothers, it is not our wish to hurt you; if we did, we certainly have power to do it; look at the number of our warriors to the east of you, above and below the Great Miami, to the south, on both sides of the Ohio and below you also, You are brave men, but what could you do against such a multitude; but we wish you to live in peace and happiness.

Brothers, the citizens of this country are alarmed, they must be satisfied that you have no design to do them mischief, or they will not lay aside their arms. You have also insulted the government of the United States, by seizing the salt that was intended for the other tribes; saisfaction must be given for that also.

Brothers, you talk of coming to see me, attended by all your young men; this, however, must not be so, if your intentions are good, you have no need to bring but a few of your young men with you. I must be plain with you; I will not suffer you to come into our settlements with such a force.

Brothers, if you wish to satisfy us that your intentions are good, follow the advice that I have given you before; that is, that one or both of you should visit the President of the

United States, and lay your grievances before him. He will treat you well, will listen to what you say, and if you can shew him that you have been injured, you will receive justice. If you will follow my advice in this respect, it will convince the citizens of this country and myself that you have no design to attack them.

Brothers, with respect to the lands that were purchased last fall, I can enter into no negotiation with you on the subject; the affair is in the hands of the President, if you wish to go and see him, I will supply you with the means.

Brothers, the person who delivers this, [Walter Wilson] is one of my war officers; he is a man in whom I have entire confidence, whatever he says to you, although it may not be contained in this paper, you may believe comes from me.

My Friend, Tecumseh, the bearer is a good man and a brave warrior; I hope you will treat him well, you are yourself a warrior and all such should have an esteem for each other. [See June 25, below]

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 25th June 1811

Har. Pa. 413-415

SIR:

The Illinois Mail has this moment arrived its failure last week was occasioned by the foundering of his horse. No new occurrence had taken place to excite apprehensions of the Indians in that quarter after the murder of the man and capture of the woman mentioned in my last. Nothing of moment has occurred here. Several minor circumstances however strengthen my opinion of the designed hostility of the Prophet. Five Shawnees and ten Winebagos of his party arrived here on friday last. They came as they said for the purpose of delivering some peltries to a trader of the Town to whom the Prophet was indebted, to get a number of arms repaired (rifles and Tomhawks) a small part of these were left with the Shaker Society and the ballance brought to me. I could have no motive to conceal from them the information I had received of the hostile designs of the Prophet and I therefore without reserve disclosed to them the particulars and the impressions it had made upon me and fortunately refused to have any of their arms mended or to supply them with any article that could be used as an instrument of War. They received this declaration with great sulkiness and denied the truth of the information I had received. A few traps and hoes which I had offered to repair for them (that had been taken to the smiths for that purpose) they took away with much ill humor and even told the Interpreter that their chiefs would soon settle the matter with them. The next day however they thought proper to relax their austerity. They paid me a visit and with much aparent sincerity acknowledged the propriety of my conduct. A party of Potawatimies who are under the immediate influence of the Great Chief Tobinebe (who has always been our friend) was then in the Town. Meeting with the Shawnes they upbraided them severely with their intended hostility against their father and charged them with having come for the purpose of examining our situation. The principal of the Shawanees was so frightened at the menaces of the Potawatimi that he hid himself for some hours. Nothing but the great talents of Tecumseh could keep together the heterogeneous mass which conposes the Prophet's force. I have sent up a militia officer [Walter Wilson] to their towns to demand an explanation of them and to tell them that I will not permit them with any considerable force to come into our settlements. [June 24, above] I have also taken care to endeavour to impress them with an opinion that we are prepared for them and that a considerable auxiliary force is in readiness in Kentucky to march across to the Wabash and intercept their return should they descend that river with hostile intentions.

It is with the deepest regret that I have to inform you of the death of Lieut. [Jesse] Jennings by the hand of Capt. [Thornton] Posey. They were alone in the room of the latter. The circumstances which are known are infinitely shocking and I fear that if viewed in the most favorable light for the Captain they are such as to attach an imputation upon his character which he will never be able to wipe off if indeed he should escape an ignominous death. I will do myself the honor by this next mail to give you the particulars of the transaction as they were developed on the Coroner's inquest. Captain Posey has made his escape and took with him a sergeant of his company.

The only officer remaining in the garrison is Lieut. [Jacob

W.] Albright.[1] His military experience does not suit him for such a command. I would prefer Lieut. [Ambrose] Whitlock to any other that I know in the army. Captain Posey wrote to you after the perpetration of the above fatal affair which happened on the night of the 23rd inst.

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir
Your Humble Servant

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS Esqr.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 2d July 1811

Har. Pa. 416-419

SIR:

I have this moment received a dispatch from Governor [Ninian] Edwards by a militia Captain with a command of twenty men who also brought letters addressed to you which have been deposited in the post office of this town. By these you will be informed of some unpleasant events which have happened in the Illinois Country and I am sorry to add to the rest of these by communicating the intelligence which I received on Sunday evening of the massacre of three whole families in that Territory about one hundred and twenty miles west of this place and fifty from Kaskaskias. Governor Edwards had received no account of this distressing affair when his express came off. I have not the least reason to doubt the accuracy of the account. There are some grounds for supposing that it was perpetrated by a party of five Shawaneses. I was informed four weeks ago that it was the intention of the Prophet to commence hostilities in the Illinois in order to cover his principal object which was an attack upon this place. These events, Sir, require no comment from me. They merit and will no doubt receive the immediate attention of the Government. If some decisive measures are not speedily adopted we shall have a general combination of all the Tribes against us. At present a majority with all the best informed chiefs are for peace but every scalp taken from us with impunity will add to the number of the hostile party.

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[1] Jacob W. Albright enlisted from Penn. as an ensign in the 1st Inf. Mar. 6, 1806; was made a 2d Lieut. Nov. 15, 1807; 1st Lieut. Aug. 26, 1812. Discharged June 15, 1815. Died June 3, 1823.

Can the President want any further proof of the Prophet's designs against us? I can assure you Sir that there is not an Indian excepting those of his party that does not know and acknowledge when asked that he is determined to attack us, and wonder at our forbearance. Governor Edwards is preparing to erect a chain of block houses around his frontiers. The people there are in great alarm and have talked of collecting in sections. I have not advised it at present because of its ruinous consequences to the crops both of corn and wheat at this critical season. Indeed it is a plan which affords at best but a partial security. There is no safety in any defensive measures. I have taken the liberty on former occasions to express my opinions so fully on the subject that it would be presumption to repeat them. I think it however my duty to observe that the minds of the people have become so irritated in consequence of the depredations which they constantly suffer from the Prophet's party that unless measures are speedily taken to ensure their own safety and the safety of their property they will fall upon the Indians indiscriminately wherever they meet them and punish the innocent with the guilty. I believe that no two days pass over without some horses being stolen. I have hitherto prevented the thieves from being pursued knowing that it would inevitably lead to hostilities. In a letter from Genl. William Clark to Governor Edwards of the 2nd ult. he sayd that the design of the Prophet as he has collected from different sources is "to make some grand stroke as soon as he has collected a sufficient force". This I have long known as well as that this place is his object. I am also pursuaded that the murders lately committed in the Illinois were in consequence of his directions. Tecumseh has returned to his village but did not bring with him the Iriquois and Wyandots, whom he expected to prevail upon to join him. He says that they are to come on in September. It is probable that this failure will cause a postponement of the contemplated attack until the roasting-ear season.

In my last I informed you of Capt. [Thornton] Posey having killed Lieut. [Jesse] Jennings. The Commissary of the Garrison gives the following account of the affair, viz: that he was sitting in his room in company with another person and he heard a noise resembling the report of a pistol and in a few seconds another, that upon looking out at the window he saw that Lieut. Jennings had fallen out of the Door of Captain

Posey's Quarters apparently dead, that upon going up to him with others he was at first told by the Capt. to stand off—but in a little time the latter asked him to come in, upon his asking for an explanation of the scene before him he said that Lieut. Jennings had come into his room, that some altercation had taken place between them, that he had insisted upon the Lieut. fighting him and had offered him the choice of pistols, that he had put one of them into the Lieut.'s hand and that the latter instantly seized him by the neck or breast when he (the Capt.) shot him, upon being asked how he came to shoot him the second time he said that he could not account for it but supposed that Jennings had dropped his pistol and that he had taken it up. Jennings received one ball in his right breast which passed through his body and other behind the left shoulder which ranged along his back and came out at the right shoulder, his clothes both behind and before were burned with the powder. Jennings was certainly entirely unarmed when he went into the Captain's room. It is equally certain that the Captain told two persons two days before the fatal affair that he expected that Jennings meant to assassinate him and that he had been twice to his room door in the night, he believed for that purpose. I am told also that Mr. J....s. told two different persons some time before that he would kill the Captain if he could.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir
your Hble. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. WM. EUSTIS Esqr. *Secy. of War*

CLARK TO SECRETARY OF WAR

ST. LOUIS, July 3, 1811
Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 800

All the information received from the Indian country, confirms the rooted enmity of the Prophet to the United States, and his determination to commence hostilities as soon as he thinks himself sufficiently strong. His party is increasing, and from the insolence which himself and party have lately manifested, and the violence which has lately been committed by his neighbors and friends, the Pattawatamies, on our frontiers, I am inclined to believe that the crisis is fast approaching.

A number of horses have been taken from the Mississippi, by Pattawatamies, Winnebagoes, and others, under the influence of the Prophet. [Extract]

WM. CLARK

TECUMSEH TO HARRISON

July 4, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison*, 181

Brother,

I give you a few words until I will be with you myself.

Brother, at Vincennes, I wish you to listen to me whilst I send you a few words, and I hope that they will ease your heart; I know you look on your young men and your women and children with pity, to see them so much alarmed.

Brother, I wish you now to examine what you have from me, I hope that it will be a satisfaction to you, if your intentions are like mine, to wash away all these bad stories that have been circulated. I will be with you myself in eighteen days from this day.

Brother, we cannot say what will become of us, as the Great Spirit has the management of us at his will. I may be there before the time, and may not be there until the day. I hope that when we come together, all these bad tales will be settled; by this I hope your young men, women, and children will be easy. I wish you, brother, to let them know when I come to Vincennes and see you, all will be settled in peace and happiness.

Brother, these are only a few words to let you know that I will be with you myself, and when I am with you, I can inform you better.

Brother, If I find that I can be with you in less time than eighteen days, I will send one of my young men before me, to let you know what time I will be with you.[1]

TECUMSEH

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[1] This is the answer brought back by Capt. Walter Wilson to the letter of Governor Harrison dated June 24. Wilson was well received by Tecumseh and entertained to the best of his ability. No evidence of hostility was shown.

EDWARDS TO SECRETARY OF WAR

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, July 6th, 1811

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 800

An express has been received, with information of several other murders having been committed by the Indians on the frontiers. In fact, I consider peace as totally out of the question; we need not expect it till the Prophet's party is dispersed, and the bands of Pattawatamies about the Illinois river are cut off.

Hostility, with them, has grown into a habit; there is no reason to believe that they will make sufficient satisfaction for the murders they committed, and the goods and horses which they stole last year, or for the very aggravated and increased instances of similar hostilities in the present year. Energetic measures would lessen his power of forming coalitions with other tribes, but we have not the power of taking any efficient means to arrest his progress; if we do not make preparation to meet him, an attack is certain; if we make preparation formidable enough to deter him, though no war actually take place, we have to encounter all the expense, inconvenience, and injury to which a war with him would subject us; and there seems to be no reasonable ground to hope for a change for the better, whilst he is permitted to increase his strength with impunity. [Extract]

NINIAN EDWARDS

LALIME TO JOHNSON

CHICAGO, July 7, 1811

A. T. Andreas, *History of Cook County, 77*

Sir:—Since my last to you we have news of other depredations and murders committed about the settlement of Cahokia. The first news we received was that the brothers-in-law of Main Poc went down and stole a number of horses. Second, another party went down, stole some horses, killed a man, and took off a young woman, but they being pursued, were obliged to leave her to save themselves. Third, they have been there, and killed and destroyed a whole family.[1] The cause of it, or in part, is from the Little Chief that came last fall to see Governor Harrison, under the feigned name of Wapewa. He told the Indians that he had told the Governor that the Americans were settling on their lands, and asked him what should be done with them. He told the Indians that the Governor had told them they were bad people, that they must drive them off, kill their cattle and steal their horses, etc. Being the quarter ending with the 30th of June, I am busy with the factory and have a number of Indians here paying their visit to Captain [Nathan] Heald. From these circumstances, I hope sir, you will excuse my hurry. Please give my respects to Mrs. Johnson.

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[1] Sir.—An Indian from the Peiorias passed here yesterday, and has given me information that the Indians about that place have been about the settlements of

I am with respect, Sir, Your obedient servant,

J. LALIME

[To JOHN JOHNSON, Fort Wayne]

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 10th July 1811

Har. Pa. 420-421

SIR:

From the Illinois Post rider who has just arrived I learn that but one of the three families which were supposed to be murdered as mentioned in my letter of the 3rd Inst. have really suffered, the other two were fortunate enough to make their escape into the settlement. Should any murder be committed upon any of our citizens in this neighbourhood we should be placed in a most disagreeable situation on account of the friendly Tribes of Weas and Piankeshaws and Delawares. They (the Weas Particularly) are very much mixed in with our settlements and it would be absolutely impossible to distinguish them in many instances from the hostile Indians. I know of no other mode of saving them but by removing the Weas considerably into the settled country and

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Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and have stolen from fifteen to twenty horses. It appears by the information given me that the principal actors are two brothers of the wife of Main Poc. He is residing at the Peorias, or a little above it, at a place they call Prairie du Corbeau. By the express going to Fort Wayne, I will communicate this to the agent. I presume, Sir, that you will communicate this to the Governor of Kaskaskia and to General Harrison.

I am, Sir, with respect, Hble. Servt.

J. LALIME.

Andreas, *History of Cook County Illinois*, 77 supporting them. The Delawares might be confined to their towns which are placed in a favorable situation for that purpose. In case of open war some of the Miamis and friendly Potawatimies those of the latter which are attached to us are sincerely so. I have supposed that if the Prophet does not immediately throw off the mask and commence the war that calamity might be avoided by marching a considerable force up to our exterior boundary up the Wabash and requiring the immediate dispersion of the Banditti he has collected. This measure would give confidence to our friends, confirm the wavering (if any yet waver) in favour of peace and perhaps break up the confederacy.

If no appointment of surgeons mate for this garrison has been made permit me to request that post for Doctor Edward Scull[1] of this place. Dr. S. is 24 or 5 years of age, of respectable connexions has received a regular classical education at Princeton then commenced the study of medicine in Pittsburgh under Dr. Stevenson and finally finished his studies by attending the medical lectures in Philadelphia. He is a young man of good moral character, attentive to his profession and professed, as I sincerely believe, of his common skill for his experience.

Certificates of his regular Education will be forwarded to you.

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir your Humble Servt

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Honble WILLM. EUSTIS, Esqr. *Secy. of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 10 July 1811

Har. Pa. 422-428

SIR:

Captain [Walter] Wilson the officer whom I sent to the Prophets Town returned on Sunday last. He was well received and treated with particular friendship by Tecumseh. He obtained however no satisfaction. The only answer given was that in 10 days Tecumseh would pay me a visit for the purpose of explaining his conduct. Upon being told that I would not suffer him to come with a large force, he promised to bring with him a few men only. I shall not however depend upon this promise, but shall have the river well watched by a party of scouts after the descent of the Chief lest he should be followed by his warriors. I do not think that this will be the case. The detection of the hostile designs of an Indian is generally for that time to defeat them. The hopes of an expedition, conducted through many hundred of miles of toil and difficulty are abandoned frequently, upon the slightest suspicion of discovery, their painful steps retraced and a more favorable moment expected. With them the surprise of an enemy bestows more eclat upon a warrior than the most brilliant success obtained by other means. Tecumseh has taken for his model the celebrated Pontiac and I am persuaded that he will bear a favourable comparison in every respect with that far-famed warrior. If it is his object to begin with the surprise of this place, it is impossible that a more favourable situation could have been chosen than the one he occupies. It is just so far off as to be removed from our immediate observation and yet so near as to enable him to strike us when the water is high in 24 hours and even when it is low their light canoes will come fully as fast as the journey could be performed on horse back. The situation is in other respects admirable for the purposes for which he has chosen it. It is nearly central with regard to the Tribes which he wishes to unite. The water communication with Lake Erie by means of the Wabash and Miami, with Lake Michigan and the Illinois by the Tippecanoe is a great convenience. It is immediately in the centre of the back line of that fine country which he wishes to prevent us from settling and above all he has immediately in his rear a country that has been but little explored consisting principally of barren thickets interspersed with swamps and Lakes into which our cavalry could not penetrate and our Infantry only by slow and laborious efforts.

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[1] Dr. Edward Scull was appointed surgeon for the volunteer troops on the Tippecanoe campaign. He was transferred to the 19th U. S. Inf. Apr. 8, 1814. Died Nov. 28, 1815. He was from Penn. June 4, 1812 he was appointed surgeon for the First regiment Ind. Militia. In 1813 he killed Parmenas Beckes in a duel.

I have some reason to believe that the information I have given and the opinions I have expressed on the subject of the Prophet and his intentions have been considered by some of the members of the Government as premature and unfounded. This has not however prevented me from continuing to communicate all the intelligence I receive with such observations as my local situation enabled me to make and I shall continue to do untill I am directed to do otherwise. I know that the President is too just to censure an officer for unintentional error or to lend a favourable ear to the calumnies which are so industriously circulated to the prejudice of every one who is placed in a situation in any way conspicious and of which I have had my full share. Be the event of my opinions and predictions what they may I am satisfied that I shall suffer no otherwise in the estimation of the President than to be considered as a man of feeble judgement and credulous disposition. That indeed would be sufficiently mortifying and humiliating but I willingly run the risque of incurring it by again reporting that unless some decisive and energetic measure is adopted to break up the combination formed by the Prophet we shall soon have every Indian tribe in this quarter united against us and you may depend on it that it will be attended with much trouble and expence and loss of blood to subdue them. In my former communications I have treated so largely upon the situation of the Indians and the causes which would bring them to unite and to make war upon us that I deem it unnecessary to repeat them. As little would I consider myself authorized to trespass upon you a reiteration of those opinions which I have before given upon the plan that was proper to be adopted to defeat the Prophet's schemes. I shall only observe, that I had attached some degree of importance to the proposition which I had the honor to make last fall of sending a speech from your office to the Prophet in the President's name. He has been repeatedly told that the acquirement of more land was no object with the U. States. That they had more than they could possibly settle, that the frequent purchases which have been made for some years past had no other object than to distress the Indians, that the schemes originated with me and that the U. States would give up a considerable part of them rather than go to war with the Indians and the latter had nothing to do but to contend for them in this way and everything they required would be granted.

Although I have no doubt that the mischief which has been done in the Illinois is to be attributed to the Prophet, I think it nevertheless extremely probable that his friends there have gone further than he intended and that he did not mean that more than one or two persons should be killed, for upon mature reflection and comparing a number of circumstances which I have learned relatively to his situation I do not think that he intended that the war should break out at this time. I may however be mistaken. Those circumstances which I mention as forming the ground of my opinion may have been artfully brought into view for the purpose of deception.

Mr. John Johnson the Factor of Fort Wayne has applied to me for the agency of the Shawanese Tribe with a small salary and in case of success will resign his appointment as Factor. His object is to live on his farm near the Town of the Shawanese. He says he will require no interpreter nor will the agency be attended with any other expense than the five hundred dollars which may be allowed him as a salary. If the arrangement which I had the honor to recommend in April last for the appointment of a sub-agent for each Tribe be adopted I can see no objection to gratify Mr. Johnson, but the loss of his services from Fort Wayne which I estimate very highly.

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir

Your Humble Servt

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS, *Secretary of War*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 17th, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison, 190*

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of the 2d instant.

The fourth regiment, with a company of riflemen, making in the whole 500 men, is ordered to descend the Ohio from Pittsburgh, with all possible expedition. Captain [William] Piatt[1] of the second regiment, who will be in advance, will advise you of his approach. A letter addressed to him or colonel [John Parker] Boyd,[2] at Louisville, will be immediately respected. Colonel Boyd is ordered to follow the advice and directions of your Excellency, respecting his movements and the positions he is to take.

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[1] William Piatt of N. J. became a Sec. Lieut. in the 2d Inf. March 2, 1799. He became a Capt. Feb. 17, 1809. During the War of 1812 he served in the quartermasters Dept.; wounded at New Orleans, Dec. 23, 1815. Became Maj. paymaster and died in the service Aug. 16, 1834.

[2] Gen. John Parker Boyd of Mass. was Col. of the 4th Inf. at this time. He served with Harrison at Tippecanoe and became a Brig. Gen. in 1812. He was discharged June 15, 1815 and died Oct. 4, 1830

Letters from Governor [Ninian] Edwards, announce several murders, and a state of general alarm on the frontier of the Illinois territory: Your Excellency, it is presumed, will consult with him, and make such arrangements of the military force, as may be best calculated to afford protection.

The authority of the executive to call out the militia in a case like this, notwithstanding an expression in my last, is considered entirely competent: and in case circumstances shall occur which may render it necessary or expedient to attack the prophet and his followers, the force should be such as to ensure the most complete success. This force will consist of the militia and regular troops. Those under colonel Boyde are well officered, and well disciplined in the common tactics of infantry; but have no knowledge or experience in Indian warfare: Your excellency will therefore, in such an event, assign to them such duties as they are calculated to perform.

If the prophet should commence, or seriously threaten, hostitlities he ought to be attacked; provided the force under your command is sufficient to ensure success. Very respectfully,

Your excellency's obedient servant

W. EUSTIS

His Excellency Gov. HARRISON, Vincennes

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 20th, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison*, 191

SIR,

Since my letter of the 17th instant, I have been particularly instructed by the President, to communicate to your excellency his earnest desire that peace may, if possible, be preserved with the Indians, and that to this end every proper means may be adopted. By this it is not intended that murder or robberies committed by them should not meet with the punishment due to those crimes, that the settlements should be unprotected, or that any hostile combination should avail itself of success, in consequence of a neglect to provide the means of resisting and defeating it; or that the banditti under the prophet should not be attacked and vanquished, provided such a measure should be rendered absolutely necessary. Circumstances conspire at this particular juncture to render it peculiarly desirable that hostilities (of any kind or to any degree not indispensable required) should be avoided. The force under colonel [John P.] Boyde has been ordered to descend the Ohio. Instead of Louisville, they will make their first halt at Newport, Kentucky where they will await your orders. Captain [William] Piatt, who will be in advance, will receive your first instructions. And although the force is at the disposal of your excellency, I am instructed to inform you, that the President indulges the hope and expectation that your exertions and measures with the Indians, will be such as may render their march to the Indiana territory unnecessary, and that they may remain liable to another disposition.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your excellency's most obedient servant.

W. EUSTIS

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 24th July 1811
Har. Pa. 429-430

SIR:

In the letter which I had the honor to write you on the 10th Instant I informed you that Tecumseh had been told by Capt. [Walter] Wilson that I would not suffer him to come here with a large body of Indians and that he promised he would bring a few with him only—Nothwithstanding this he is now actually within a few miles of me with one hundred and twenty or thirty warriors exclusive of the Weas who are coming on behind him. The Chief of the latter I know he has seduced to his interest. How many of his men may have followed his example I know not—but the greater part of them are rascals that will engage in any mischief that their fears will permit them to undertake. The preparation which I have made to repel an attack should one be made is the stationing two companies of militia Infantry and a Detachment of fifteen Dragoons on the borders of the Town which are relieved every two days. The whole of the neighbouring militia are put on the alert.

The above mentioned force is not sufficient for the defence of the Town. It would require at least four Companies but the scarcity of providing has prevented me from employing more. We shall now however assume the most imposing attitude. The insolence which is manifested by the Shawnee by bringing such a body of men with him after my positive injunction to the contrary shows his real character. If it was not for the solemn injunctions of the President to preserve peace if possible he should not come here until he had secured the right to do so by a previous victory. But under the obligations imposed by your orders of November last I shall bear with him as much as is possible until your final instructions shall be received. The alarm and irritation amongst the people has however reached to such a heighth that I am in constant apprehension of their firing upon some of the parties that are passing through the settlements in every direction. And it is impossible for them to distinguish the hostile Tribes from those that are friendly. To prevent any accident of this kind I keep the Interpreter [Michael] Brouillette constantly riding through the country visiting the Indian Camps and informing the whites of what he has learned respecting them.

I have the honor to be with great Respect Sir
your humble Servt

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esq. *Secy. of War*

PETITION TO JAMES MADISON, President of the United States

July 31 1811

Dawson, *Harrison*, *189*

SIR,

In obedience to the wishes of a numerous meeting of our fellow citizens, assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the country in relation to Indian affairs, we have the honor to address you. In approaching the chief magistrate of our country, who is so deservedly celebrated for the talents which distinguish the statesman, and the virtues which adorn the man, we should not do justice to our own feelings, and the feelings of those whom we represent, if we neglected to express our confidence in his administration, and our sincere respect and esteem for his person.

In fulfilling the duty which has been assigned to us, sir, it is scarcely necessary that we should do more than to refer you to the resolutions which are enclosed; they contain a true statement of facts, and a true picture of the feelings of the citizens of this part of the country. It is impossible to doubt but that the combination which has been formed on the Wabash, is a British scheme; and it is equally certain that this banditti is now about to be let loose upon us, and that nothing but vigorous measures will prevent it. In this part of the country we have not as yet lost any of our fellow citizens by the Indians; but depredations upon the property of those who live upon the frontiers, and insults to the families that are left unprotected, almost daily occur.

The impunity with which these savages have been so long suffered to commit crimes, has raised their insolence to a pitch that is no longer supportable. We are not, sir, advocates for unnecessary rigor towards our Indian neighbors. The character which some of us sustain as ministers of the gospel of Christ, will shield us from the supposition that we wish to plunge our county in an unnecessary war—our object is peace—but we are fully persuaded that that blessing can now only be secured to us by the exertion of some rigor.

Let the savages be made sensible that every aggression from them will meet with correspondent punishment, and Indian depredations will seldom be heard of.

Since the adoption of the resolutions under which we act, we have listened to the speech delivered by the brother of the prophet to Governor Harrison, and if a doubt remained upon our minds as to the designs of the confederacy he has formed, it has been completely removed. Shall we then quietly wait the stroke, when we see the weapon is suspended over us; we hope and trust that this will not be expected, and that the general government will take effectual measures to avert the danger. What these measures shall be we will not presume to dictate; but we beg leave most respectfully to observe that we conceive that the country will forever be exposed to those alarms, which are at once so injurious to its settlement, and the interest of the United States, as long as the banditti under the prophet are suffered to remain where they now are. The people have become highly irritated and alarmed, and if the government will not direct their energies, we fear that the innocent will feel the effects of their resentment, and a general war be the consequence. The western country, sir, is indebted to your predecessor for an undeviating attention to its prosperity, and the gratitude and attachment which they feel towards that distinguished patriot, can never be effaced. With equal confidence they look up to his successor who, pursuing the same course of politics with regard to European powers, is to them sufficient proof of coincidence of sentiment in that which relates to the continent.

That you may be the means under providence of establishing the affairs of your country, and settling its interests in every quarter of the globe upon a secure and lasting foundation, and that you may long live to enjoy the blessings of your countrymen for the happiness you procure for them, is the sincere prayer of your

Fellow citizens,

Samuel T. Scott[1]
Alexander Devin
Luke Decker
Ephriam Jordan
Daniel M'Clure[2]
Walter Wilson
F. Vigo

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING INDIANS

July 31, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison, 187*

At a meeting of a very considerable number of the citizens of the county of Knox, at the seminary in Vincennes, on Wednesday the 31st July, 1811, when colonel Ephriam Jordan was appointed President, and captain James Smith,[1] Secretary: Thereupon general W. Johnston address the meeting, in which he informed them of the present situation of the inhabitants of not only the town, but country, in regard to the Shawanese prophet, his brother Tecumseh, and their confederacy of Indians, and advised, that for the safety of the citizens, some resolutions should be fallen into; and, therefore, adjutant Daniel Sullivan[2] introdueced the following resolutions, which being read and explained in an audible voice, both in the English and French languages, were unanimously adopted as follows, viz:

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[1] Samuel Thornton Scott came to Vincennes in 1807 as pastor of the first Presbyterian Church of Indiana. He came from Woodford Co. Ky. studied at Transylvania. He served his church at "The Presbyterian Stand" till his death Dec. 30, 1827. He was a warm personal friend of the governor.

Hanford A. Edson, *Pres. Church in Ind. 42 seq.*

[2] Daniel McClure was appointed a justice of the quarter session court at Vincennes Sept. 22, 1804 and reappointed June 18, 1810.

[1] James Smith was appointed a J. P. Dec. 3 1812 at Vincennes. He settled in what is now Gibson Co. Feb. 3, 1813 he was appointed a captain in the militia 4th Regt. He came from Va.

Ex. Jour. 178-9

History of Gibson County, 60

1st. *Resolved,* That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the safety of the persons and property of this frontier, can never be effectually secured but by the breaking up of the combination formed by the Shawanese prophet on the Wabash.

2d. *Resolved,* That we consider it highly impolitic and injurious, as well to the inhabitants of the United States, as to those of the territory, to permit a formidable banditti, which is constantly increasing in number, to occupy a situation which enables them to strike our settlements without the least warning.

3d. *Resolved,* That we are fully convinced that the formation of this combination headed by the Shawanese prophet, is a British scheme, and that the agents of that power are constantly exciting the Indians to hostility against the United States.

4th. *Resolved,* That the assemblage of Indians at this place, at this time, and under the circumstances which attended it, was calculated to excite the most serious alarm, and but for the energetic measures which have been adopted by our executive, it is highly probable that the threatened destruction of this place and the massacre of the inhabitants, would have been the consequence.

5th. *Resolved,* That a temporising policy is not calculated to answer any beneficial purpose with savages, who are only to be controled by prompt and decisive measures.

6th. *Resolved,* That we approve highly of the prompt and decisive measures adopted and pursued by the Governor of the territory. We are convinced that the situation in which we stand with the prophet and his adherents, rendered them necessary for our safety, and from them we confidently expect such a termination of the presumptious pretentions of this daring chief, as must be pleasing to every patriot, and honorable to himself.

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[2] Daniel Sullivan was an early settler at Vincennes. Sept. 24, 1803 he was made a Lieut. in the militia serving till 1807. In 1808 he was an ensign; March 28, 1812 he was a justice; adjutant Gen. July 12, 1812; colonel Jan. 14, 1813; Sept. 15, 1815 associate judge.

Executive Journal (under dates given)

7th. *Resolved,* That a committee to consist of the Rev. Samuel T. Scott, the Rev. Alexander Devin, colonel Luke Decker, colonel E. Jordan, Daniel M'Clure and Walter Wilson, esqs. and colonel Francis Vigo, or a majority of them, be and they are hereby appointed to prepare and forward to the executive of the United States, a respectful address on the behalf of this meeting, assuring him of our attachment to his person and administration, and requesting him to take such measures as his wisdom may dictate, to free the territories in this quarter from future apprehensions from the prophet and his party; and that he be also requested to insist upon the surrender, by the Indian tribes, of those who have murdered our fellow citizens, and provide compensation for such as have lost their property.

8th. *Resolved,* That these resolutions be printed in the *Western Sun*, and also the address which may be prepared, and forwarded to the President in pursuance of them.

E. JORDAN, *President.*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 6th August 1811

Har. Pa. 431-442

SIR:

In my letter of the 24th ultimo I had the Honor to inform you of the approach of the Shawanee Chief Tecumseh with a considerable body of Indians. He did not make his appearance here untill Saturday the 27th having taken up eight days in coming about 75 miles. This delay was owing to a disappointment in meeting with the several detachments which came by land and who were not at the rendezvous he had appointed at the time of his arrival. On the 25th Captain [Walter] Wilson, the officer whom I had formerly sent to him, met him at Bosseron about 20 miles from this place with a message from me expressing my astonishment at his bringing so large a force with him nothwithstanding my positive injunctions and his promise to the contrary. After some equivocation he said, that he had but 24 men with him and that the rest had come of their own accord and that everything would be explained to my satisfaction upon his arrival at Vincennes. On Saturday the 27th he arrived with all those who came by water and on the next day the party which came by land arrived also making in the whole about three hundred persons, of whom between twenty and thirty were women and children. I endeavoured to get him to an immediate interview that I might send him off as soon as possible and appointed Monday for that purpose. He would not however attend on that day and it was late on Tuesday before he made his appearance at the arbor which I had erected for the occasion. An hour before his arrival he sent to know whether I was to be attended by armed men at the council or not, in which case he said his young men would be armed also. I informed him that he might take his choice. If his men were armed, those which I had on duty would be so too, but if his men left their guns at their camp I should have no other armed men than 25 or 30 dragoons dismounted. He prefered the latter arrangement, and came attended by about 170 or 180 men without guns, but all of them having knives and tomhawks or war clubs and some with bows and arrows.

In my address to him I mentioned the great alarm which the late murders in the Illinois, and his appearance with so large a force had occasioned amongst our peoples and told him that I was ready to listen to anything that himself or any of the Chiefs had to say but that I would enter into no negociation on the subject of the late purchase. The affair being entirely in the hands of the President who had not sent any answer to the claim which he had last year set up in behalf of all the Tribes on the Continent. That he might if he pleased go and see the President and hear his determination from his own mouth. I required an explanation of the seizure of the salt. In his reply he began with this subject—admitted that it had been taken but said he was not at home either this spring or the year before when the salt boats arrived—that it was impossible to please me—last year I was angry because the salt was refused—and I was this year equally so because it was taken—after a few other observations of no moment he requested me to adjourn the council untill the next day. I was obliged, indeed, to do so on account of a violent rain. I waited for them the next day untill near two o'clock. They at length arrived and the Wea chief began a long unconnected speech in which he professed to give a history of all the Treaties which had been made by myself on the part of the U. States and the Indian Tribes. He concluded with saying that he had heard that the Miami chiefs had been forced by the Potawatomies to make the late Treaty at Fort Wayne and that it would be proper to institute an enquiry to find out the person who had held the Tomhawk over their heads and punish him. The allusion was made to Winemack a Potawatomie Chief whose uniform attachment to the U. States had drawn upon him the hatred of the Prophet and his party. This statement was immediately contradicted by me and the Miami Chiefs who were present appealed to for its falsehood. Anxious to bring the Council to a close I then told Tecumseh that he had it in his power by a single act to manifest the truth of his professions of friendship to the U. States and his desire to preserve peace, by delivering up the two Potawatomies who murdered the four white men on the Missouri last fall and who I knew were in his camp. His reply was long and somewhat artful but his designs were more completely developed by it than by anything that I have yet heard from him. He said that after much trouble and difficulty he had at length brought all the northern Tribes to unite and place themselves under his direction. That the White people were unnecessarily alarmed at his measures—that they really meant nothing but peace—the U. States had set him the example of forming a strict union amongst all the fires that compose their confederacy. That the Indians did not complain of it—nor should his white brothers complain of him for doing the same thing with regard to the Indian Tribes. As soon as the council was over he was to set out on a visit to the Southern Tribes to get them to unite with those of the North. To my demand of the murderers he observed that they were not in his Town, as I had believed them—that it was not right to punish those people—that they ought to be forgiven as well as those who lately murdered our people in the Illinois that he had set us an example of forgiveness of injuries which we ought to follow. The Ottawas had murdered one of his women—and the Osage one of his relations and yet he had forborne to revenge them—that he had even taken the Tomhawks out of the hands of those who were ready to march against the Osages. To my enquiry whether he was determined to prevent the settlement of the New Purchase he replied that he hoped no attempts would be made to settle it untill his return next spring. That a great number of Indians were coming to settle at his Town this fall and that must occupy that tract as a hunting ground and if they did no further injury they might kill the cattle and hogs of the white people which would produce disturbance. that he wished everything to remain in its present situation until his return—our settlements not to progress further—and no revenge sought for any injury that had been or should be received by the white people untill his return—that he would then go and see the President and settle everything with him. That the affairs of all the Tribes in this quarter were in his hands and that nothing could be done without him—that he would dispatch messengers in every direction to prevent them from doing any more mischief—and that he made full atonement for the murders which had been committed by the Wampum which he delivered.

I made a short reply—telling them that the moon which they beheld for it was then night would sooner fall to the earth than the President would suffer his people to be murdered with impunity—and that he would put his warriors in petticoats sooner than he would give up a country which he had fairly acquired from the rightful owners. I then broke up the meeting. I was not however able to get the bulk of the Indians off untill Saturday. Tecumseh did not set out untill yesterday—he then descended the Wabash attended by 20 men on his way to the southward. The day before he set out he paid me a visit and labored hard to convince me that he had no other intention by this journey than to prevail on all the Tribes to unite in the bonds of peace. After having visited the Creeks and Choctaws he is to visit the Osages and return by the Missouri.

I have not been able to determine what was the object of Tecumseh in coming here with so large a force. If it was his object to attack the town at some unguarded moment, I am persuaded that the Miami chiefs who accompanied him knew nothing of it—My spies say that he intended to demand a retrocession of the late purchase and if it was not obtained to seize some of the Chiefs who were active in making the

Treaty in my presence and put them to death and should I interfere I was to have shared the same fate. Had he found me unprepared I am certain that he would have found means to pick a quarrel. That he had some design in view which he thought fit to abandon is most evident from a variety of circumstances. At the moment he was promising Captain Wilson to bring but a few men with him he was sending in every direction to collect his people. Besides those who were encamped with him and drew provisions there were considerable numbers hanging about the settlements in small parties and at one time upwards of one hundred within two miles of the Town northwest of the Wabash. His manner throughout the Council was so embarrassed that it was evident to all that he had been put out of his Tract and that the speech he made was not that which he had prepared for the occasion. That he meditated a blow at this time was believed by almost all of the neutral Indians and the information which was given to Genl. [William] Clark upon the subject by some of the Mississippi Tribes and to me by many individual Indians and white persons agreed in almost every particular.

To intimidate and to prevent him from attempting any enterprize against us I made as great a display of force as possible. The day of his arrival I had a review of the neighbouring militia at which there were between 700 and 800 men under arms. The Two infantry companies on duty were increased to three and these being relieved on different days by some management in marching and changing quarters it appeared to the Indians that four or five companies were on constant duty. The elegant Troop of Dragoons commanded by Captain [Benjamin] Parke (who is also one of our supreme judges) were exhibited to the greatest advantage and nightly patrols both of horse and foot announced a vigilance which defied surprises. The Indians were in astonishment and Terror and I believe most of them went off impressed with the belief that Vincennes was not as easily to be taken as their chief would have convinced them.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir
your Humble Servt

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES August 6th 1811
Har. Pa. 443-446

SIR:

I had the honor to receive by the last mail your letter of the 11th ultimo and I sincerely regret with you that there are no funds at the disposal of the Executive for paying the detachment of Militia who were called into actual service last year. The greater part of these men were paid the amount of what was due to them by Mr. Charles Smith[1] a merchant of this place soon after their discharge and it has been with him some difficulty that I have prevailed upon him to refrain from issuing warrants against them. May I ask the favour of you Sirs, to write a paragraph in a letter to me that I may shew to Mr. Smith assuring him that an appropriation will be made at the next session of Congress for the discharge of this debt.

It is perhaps fortunate for us here that your letter did not sooner come to hand or I should have considered myself precluded by it from furnishing the Militia that have been on duty here within provinces at the expense of the United States—The authority under which the Militia were formerly ordered out and which has never been revoked allowed me when in my opinion the threatened hostilities with the Indians made such a measure necessary to call two or three companies into actual service at the expence of the United States. Upon the late occasion I thought it best to relieve the companies on duty every two days for this short time they could serve without pay and no further expence has been incurred than the provisions they have drawn and a little forage for the dragoons.

If the President should think it proper to authorize any military enterprise in this quarter, men will not be wanting. The Militia of the Territory are subject by law to be called out whenever the Governor shall think it necessary. Indeed, an army of volunteers from this and the neighbouring Territories and States might be had to any amount. I sincerely hope that some means may be adopted to protect the settlements in the new purchase. The interest of the States and the prosperity of the Territory are equally concerned in it. I know a single individual, an emigrant from North Carolina, who has $20,000 in cash to lay out in that Tract and numberless other persons are holding up their money for the same purpose.

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[1] Charles Smith was appointed a Lieut. July 1, 1808 in the Vinc. light infantry; June 21, 1810 a Lieut. in the 1st Regt. militia; Oct. 21, 1812 he became Adj. Gen. & brigade major. He was engaged in various enterprises, chief of which was the establishment of a steam mill which involved the territorial bank heavily.

Captain Z. Taylor[2] has been placed in command at the Garrison near this. To all the qualities which are esteemed for an amiable man he appears to unite those which form a good officer. In the short time he has been a commander he has rendered the Garrison defensible—before his arrival it resembled anything but a place of defence.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir
your Obt. servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secretary of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES August 7th 1811

Har. Pa. 447-451

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 11th and 20th ultimo. My letter of yesterday will inform you of the arrival and departure of Tecumseh from this place and of the route which he has taken.

There can be no doubt but his object is to excite the Southern Indians to war against us. His mother was of the Creek nation and he builds much upon that circumstance towards forwarding his views. I do not think that there is any danger of any further hostility until he returns. And his absence affords a most favorable opportunity for breaking up his Confederacy. I have some expectation of being able to accomplish it without a recourse to actual hostility. Tecumseh assigned the next spring as the period of his return. I am informed however that he will be back in three months. There is a Potawatimie War Chief here, who says he was present when the message from the British agent was delivered to the Prophet, telling him that the time had arrived for taking up arms, and invited him to send a party to Malden to receive the necessary supplies. This man is one of the few of those who preserve their independence.

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[2] Zachary Taylor, later president, enlisted in the army at Louisville May 3, 1808; Nov. 30, 1810 he became captain.

The implicit obedience and respect which the followers of Tecumseh pay to him is really astonishing and more than any other circumstance bespeaks him one of those uncommon geniuses, which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things. If it were not for the vicinity of the United States, he would perhaps be the founder of an Empire that would rival in glory that of Mexico or Peru. No difficulties deter him. His activity and industry supply the want of letters. for Four years he has been in constant motion. You see him today on the Wabash and in a short time you hear of him on the shores of Lake Erie or Michigan, or on the banks of the Mississippi and wherever he goes he makes an impression favorable to his purposes.

He is now upon the last round to put a finishing stroke to his work. I hope, however, before his return that that part of the fabrick, which he considered complete will be demolished and even its foundations rooted up. Altho the greater part of his followers are attached to him from principle and affection, there are many others who follow him through fear and he was scarcely a mile from the Town, before they indulged in the most virulent invectives against him. The Prophet is imprudent and audacious but is deficient in judgment talents and firmness.

Under the strong injunctions used in your letter against employing the Troops under Col. [John T.] Boyd, but in case of absolute necessity I shall forbear to call on here any other part of them than the Company of Infantry of the 2d Regiment commanded by Capt. [William] Piat.

The outlines of my plan are to call upon all the Tribes, in the most peremptory terms to deliver up such of their people as may have been concerned in murdering our citizens. To require them also to fulfill that article of the Treaty of Greenville which obliges them to give information and to stop any parties passing through their districts with hostile intentions, and that all such as are marching to join the Prophet are considered by us as of that description. To require them also to cause such of their people as may have joined the Prophet immediately to return to their respective tribes or to put them out of their protection. From the Miamies I will require an absolute disavowal of all connection with the Prophet and as they are the owners of the land he occupies I will endeavour to prevail upon them to express to him their disapprobation of his remaining there. To all the Tribes I will repeat a declaration which I was instructed to make to them some years ago by the Secretary of War. That the United States had manifested through a series of years the utmost justice and generosity toward their Indian neighbours and had not only fulfilled all the engagements which they entered into with them with good faith, but had spent considerable sums in endeavours to civilize them and promote their happiness but if under those circumstances which they all had an opportunity of knowing any Tribe should dare to take up the Tomhawk against their Fathers, they need not expect that the same lenity would be shewn them, as they experienced at the close of the former war, but that they would absolutely exterminated or driven beyond the Mississippi. I believe Sir that by the employment of proper agents to disseminate speeches which shall contain the above demands and declaration and by making use of some management to secure the exertions of influential chiefs in support of them that the combination formed by the Prophet will be dissolved. But to ensure success some military force must be brought into view, for this purpose if it meets with your approbation and there will be time enough to obtain your approbation I shall about the middle of September move up to the upper line of the New Purchase with the two companies of Regulars, fourteen or fifteen companies of militia and two troops of dragoons the latter comprising about one hundred men.

Should circumstances render it necessary to break up the Prophet's establishment by force and I should discover that this force is not sufficient I can add to it two or three other companies from this county and as many volunteers as I choose to accept from Kentucky, provided thay are suffered to be mounted. Indeed, Sir they ought all to be mounted. The Militia of the western country are only formidable when acting as mounted infantry in this way from the velocity of their movements they are formidable indeed undisciplined as they are. I have taught a few companies around this place, to form a line or lines of battle from a line of march in the manner practiced by General Wayne but excepting these there is nothing like discipline in the infantry. Let me beg your attention to this subject and request that I may be allowed to use mounted militia upon any expedition that may be thought necessary. If circumstances should render Col. Boyd's Regiment unnecessary at the point to which they were originally destined I had much rather have them than militia. The event of General Wayne's action proved that disciplined musketry with their flanks secured by Dragoons and mounted riflemen are the best troops even against the Indians. Infantry that are disciplined in the common manner can easily be formed for woods fighting. It requires only the observance of very open order and doubling up instead of wheeling.

I have this moment received a letter from Governor [Ninian] Edwards. No new aggression from the Indians had occured in that Territory. Governor Edwards enclosed me the copy of a letter from himself to Governor [Benjamin] Howard, which contains so many just observations on our present difference with the Prophet and his party that I have taken the liberty of enclosing you an extract from it. [Not found]

With great respect, I have the Honor to be Sir
Yr. Obt. Servt

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS, *Secretary at war*
Washington City

HARRISON TO BISSELL

VINCENNES 9th Aug. 1811

Bissell Mss. 23, St. Louis Mercantile Library

DEAR SIR

Your favor of the 2nd inst. was duly delivered by Liet. [Ambrose] Whitlock. In a letter which I wrote to the Secretary of War mostly after the shocking affair which happened at Fort Knox [Murder of Jennings] I mentioned Mr. Whitlock as a proper person to be entrusted with the command of that Fort. The answer of the Secretary was that he had no other objection to Mr. Whitlock being placed in that command but from its interference with his duties as Postmaster—He informed me also that a proper officer would be sent on. Under those circumstances & knowing that the command of Lietu.

Whitlock would be of very short continuance I had no hesitation in recommending to Mr. W. not to deliver your letter to Capt. [Zachariah] Taylor. Notwithstanding the very extraordinary manner by which Capt. T. became possessed of the command he certainly deserves no share of the blame—He disapproved indeed of the whole proceeding but he certainly had no alternative but to obey the order he had received and placed in his situation I would have acted precisely as he has done altho Lt. [Jacob W.] Albright might very properly have refused to give him the command. As you cannot spare a Capt. from your cantonment I recommend that Capt. Taylor may be continued. He was entirely a stranger to me when he came here—but I am much pleased with him he appears to be a most amiable man and for his opportunity a good officer. Upon the other subject contained in your letter you will I hope excuse me from giving an opinion and believe that my reasons for declining to give one are such as I cannot disregard.

I have herewith enclosed you copies of two letters received from the Sec. of War by the last mail by which you will perceive the protection of this & the Illinois Territory has been confided to me & the means which he has authorized me to use for the purpose. Under the Strong injunctions used by the Secretary not to employ the Troops under Col. [John P.] Boyd but in case of absolute necessity I have only called one company under Capt. [William] Piat. This will be placed in the Garrison of Fort Knox & report to you & be subject to your orders in every respect but as to a change of position. I do not think it proper for me to interfere nor shall I interfere in the police or internal management of the military that may be subjected to my control (excepting in the way of advice) until a part of the militia is ordered into Service. Until this does take place I can only give instructions of a general nature—Such as the change of position or something of the kind leaving the execution entirely to the officer commanding. I have authority from the Secretary of War to build a fort or two higher up the Wabash than Fort Knox and the present Garrison of the latter was sent here for that express purpose. Howsoever it would be highly improper for me to use them without a just authority derived from the Secretary of War or yourself. The distance to the seat of Government is too great to apply for it now. Indeed all that is necessary for the purpose would more properly come from you. I have therefore to request that you would adress me an order to the commanding officer to receive such instructions as I may give him—assuring yourself that none other will be given than such as are strictly compatable with the relative situations we occupy until the Militia are ordered into service. The enclosed letters demonstrating the views of the Government with respect to the Military arrangements in this quarter will be your complete satisfaction for any orders you may give on the occasion.

I meditate an expedition about the 20th of Sept. with the 2 companies of the regular troops, two of Dragoons & about 14 companies of Militia—Would you think yourself at liberty upon my recommendation and request to join me with all the Troops you can have from Belle Fountain & to take command of the regulars & one of my Wings. Indeed if your brought no troops your personal services would be highly acceptable. You could leave the cantonment & the ladies to the care of our friend Capt. [Simon] Owens for a few weeks.

I am with much respect & Esteem Dr. Sr.
Your Humble Servant

William Henry Harrison

Capt. D. Bissell

Edwards to Secretary of War

Illinois Territory, August 11th, 1811

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 800

Nothing but the most perfect conviction of the necessity, could have induced the calling out of the militia. Whether the prophet intends to make war, or not, partial war must continue to be the consequence; the hostility which he excites against the United States is the cement of union among his confederates; and such is the nature of Indians, that they cannot be collected, and kept together, under such circumstances, without having their minds prepared for war; and, in that situation, it is almost impossible to restrain them from premature acts of hostility. Were this the only danger, it would be sufficient to justify the dispersion of the Prophet's party. [Extract]

Ninian Edwards

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES, August 13th, 1811

Har. Pa. 452-455

SIR:

The distance between us is so great and I have so much diffidence in my own judgment, that I have determined to take no step of importance in the present state of our Indian Relations without the advice and approbation of governors [Ninian] Edwards [of Illinois] and [Benjamin] Howard [of Missouri]. The most perfectly good understanding exists between us and the President may rest assured that our united councils and exertions will be directed to preserve peace with the Indians. I believe however, that we all agree in opinion as to the necessity of breaking up the Prophet's establishment upon the Wabash, but at any rate to stop the further accumulation of force at that point. The latter may perhaps be effected by calling upon the contiguous Tribes as we have a right to do, to prevent the reinforcements destined for the prophet from marching through their country, and the latter by calling upon those who are connected with us by treaty to withdraw their warriors from him. But our demands and remonstrances must be supported by an exhibition of force. It is in vain to threaten unless we shew that we are not only willing but able and ready to chastise.

Heedless of futurity it is only by placing the danger before his eyes, that a savage is to be control'd. Even the gallant Tecumseh is not insensible to an argument of this kind. No courtier could be more complaisant, than he was upon his last visit. To have heared him one would have supposed that he came here for the purpose of complimenting me. This wonderful metamorphosis in manner was entirely produced by the gleaming and clanging of arms, by the frowns of a considerable body of hunting shirt men, which accidentally lined a road by which he approached to the council House.

But let me assure you Sir, that I feel most forcibly the responsibility imposed upon me, by the president's directions "to preserve peace if possible". And that recourse to actual hostilities shall be had only when every other means shall have been tried in vain to effect the disbanding the Prophet's force. Unless this is done, no arrangement that we can make, can ensure our tranquility for two months.

And it appears to me, that the pecuniary interests of the United States are as much concerned in affecting it as are its honor and dignity and the peace and prosperity of the citizens of the Frontiers. As to the means of accomplishing it, the appearance of a considerable force is essential whether we apply immediately to the prophet himself or indirectly through the medium of the other Tribes, in the manner proposed above. Backed by a measure of this kind our friends amongst the Indians would speak with firmness and decision. The timid would be overawed and the wavering, and the majority are of that description, brought over to our side.

I shall expect your final directions by the middle of September and whatever they may be whether agreeing with my own opinion or not they will be punctually and cheerfully obeyed.

When the Militia and Regular Troops act together in this Territory the articles of war would give me an unquestionable right to command. I am not certain what would be the effect, should we be obliged to go into an other Territory. The line separating this from the Illinois pursues the general course of the Wabash for some distance up and is found sometimes on one side and then on the other of that River. Besides it may be necessary that an expedition should be undertaken against some of the Tribes which reside in that Territory. From your last letter it appears that the President intended that the principal direction of the military should be with me. Would it not be proper then that I should receive some specific authority for that purpose. I know not well what it should be myself, but I should suppose something like that given to Governor Lee by the President upon the expeditionary against the Pennsylvania insurgents in 1794.

I have already informed you that the best understanding exists between the Governors Edwards and Howard and myself and as neither of them have had any military experience I should have no doubt of receiving any authority that they could give, but by the ordinance which is our constitution they are precluded from giving any commission higher than that of Colonel.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir
yr. humble servt.

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WM. EUSTIS, Esqre. *Secy. of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 14th August 1811

Har. Pa. 456-457

SIR:

Since I had the honor to write to you yesterday Lieut. [Abraham] Hawkins[1] has arrived being despatched by Capt. [William] Piat from Louisville to receive my instructions. After a mature deliberation upon the subject I have thought it best to bring on the whole of Col. [John P.] Boyd's command to this place for the following reasons. Altho you have not informed me for what point the Troops under Col. Boyd were originally intended I am convinced that their route must be down the Ohio and Mississippi thus being here then will not prevent their pursuing their destination whenever the Government shall think proper. Lieut. Hawkins informs me that the whole Regiment is in Keel boats and this circumstance together with the state of the Wabash which is in better order for navigation than I have ever seen it at this season will make their arrivel here easy and expeditious and unattended with the expense of land transportation, a consideration which had some weight with me in forming the determination to bring on but one Company. Their arrival here (even if they should advance no further) will have the effect of convincing the Indians that the Government are seriously determined to protect the frontiers and to chastise the refractory Tribes. Should their services not be required to the Southward their being here will supercede the necessity of the employment of as many militia for the purposes contemplated in my letters of the 7th, and 13th instant as would be necessary without the aid of the Regulars, for these reasons I am convinced that you will agree with me that the Public service will sustain no injury and that it may be benefitted by bringing on the whole Regiment to this place. It will be kept embodied and ready to descend the River whenever orders to that effect may be received.

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir

Yr. Hble. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS Esqr. *Secy. of War*

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[1] Abraham Hawkins of Connecticut entered the regular army as an ensign in the 4th Regt. June 18, 1808; became a 2d Lieut. June 1809; Lieut. Aug. 25, 1811; Capt. Sept. 2, 1813; discharged June 15, 1815.

Heitman, *Army Register*, 512

SHAW TO SECRETARY OF WAR

FORT WAYNE, August 18th, 1811

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 801

It appears that the fruit of the Shawanee Prophet and his band is making its appearance in more genuine colors than heretofore. I have lately had opportunities of seeing many of the Indians of this agency, from different quarters, and by what I have been able to learn from them particularly the Pattawatamies, I am induced to believe the news circulating in the papers, respecting the depredations committed in the Illinois territory, by the Indians, is mostly correct, and is thought by them to have proceeded from Mar Poc, and the influence of the Shawanee Prophet. Several of the tribes have sent to me for advice. [Extract]

[J. Shaw]

DETACHMENT ORDER[1]

Detachment Main Quarters, U. S. Garrison

NEWPORT, [KY.] Aug. 21st 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 163*

Conformably to the Instructions of His Excellency Governor Harrison the New England Detachment [Colonel Boyd] will embark and proceed to Vincennes. The Quarter Master will make the necessary arrangements for a sufficient supply of provisions, and every exertion of the officers is required to expedite the movement.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD, *Col. 4th Regt. C. D.*

[A PROCLAMATION] POSTPONING THE ASSEMBLY

August 21, 1811

Mss. in Indiana State Library

By WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor and Commander in chief of the Indiana Territory

Whereas, the meeting of the Legislature of the Indiana Territory, cannot be conveniently held the first Monday in

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[1] These military orders are given so that the reader or student may keep track of the military movements. They will save considerable explanation in foot notes. Nearly all are from Burton, *Historical Collections,* to whom full credit is hereby given.

October next, the day to which it stood Prorogued, I have thought proper further to Prorogue the same to Monday the twenty eighth day of that Month—At which time the Members of the Legislative Council and of the House of Representatives, are required to give their attendance at the Town of Vincennes.

In Testimony whereof I have set my hand and caused the Seal of the said Territory to be hereunto affixed at Vincennes, this twenty-first day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eleven, And of the Independence of the United States, the Thirty Sixth

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

By the Governor JNO GIBSON *Secty*

DAVIESS TO HARRISON

August 24, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison, 200*

SIR,

By Mr. [Elihu] Stout,[1] the printer, I was yesterday informed that you were organising an army of militia and colonel Boyde's regiment to march against the Indians.

The object of this letter is to say, that I am very desirous to be with you in this service, and certainly will attend if I am duly informed of the day of rendezvous. It is but rare that any thing of the military kind is done—it is still more extraordinary that a gentleman of military talents should conduct matters of this kind when they are to be done, since the land is infested with generals so grossly incompetent. Now under all the privacy of a letter, I make free to tell you, that I have imagined there were two men in the west who had military talents: And you, sir, were the first of the two. It is, thus, an opportunity of service much valued by me. I go as a volunteer, leaving to you sir, to dispose of me as you choose. No commission, I know, can be had; so I shall be a soldier. Perhaps some few young men here may join me and go on: If I had a full troop, I should like to be in the van-guard, very willing to be responsible for the good look out.

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[1] **Elihue Stout** was the editor and publisher of the *Western Sun* at Vincennes. He came to Indiana from Ky. and was personally acquainted with Daviess. For a biography, see *History Knox County (1886) 259;* Charity Dye, *Some Torchbearers, 116*

I am not so sure, sir, how your regulars will do. There are two ways of doing this business: one depends for its success upon the suddenness of the blow; and for this, four, five, or six hundred will do very well. The other moves slow, with heavy foot and train of baggage; and this ought to be fifteen hundred or two thousand, since it gives full time to the enemy to fix time, place, etc., and because of its slowness, very subject to be harrassed.

You see, sir, I am a true militia-man, ready to offer advice, unasked, to my officer.

I have been deliberating whether this army wish to carry on war absolutely, or whether the drawing of the sword was to be determined by the language and behaviour of the enemy after we arrived in their country.

I would gladly receive a letter from you on this matter.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully yours,

J. H. DAVIESS[2]

DETACHMENT ORDER

D. M. Quarters, U. S. Garrison
NEWPORT, Aug. 27th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collections, 164*

It is expected that the required supply of ammunition and provision for the Detachment will be ready by Thursday morning next, when the troops will immediately embark and descend the river, the officers will be pleased to report the boats in readiness on Wednesday morning, when the order regulating the proceeding of the boats will be made known.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD, *Col. 4th Regt. Infy., C. D.*

JOHNSON TO EDITOR OF LIBERTY HALL

PIQUA, MIAMI CO. OHIO Aug. 27, 1811

Liberty Hall, September 4, 1811

EDITORS of *Liberty Hall*
SIRS—

Finding that a considerable number of the frontier inhabitants were alarmed at the prospect of Indian hostilities growing out of the outrages lately committed in the Illinois country I felt it incumbent on me to take such measures as would have a tendency to quiet the fears of our citizens in this quarter, I accordingly invited the Sawanoes and Wyandotts to a public council at this place. A deputation from each of those tribes, with a chief of the Senecas, in all 50 persons reached here on the 22'd inst. The conference began on the 23d in the morning and ended on the 24th at night. The result is as satisfactory as could be wished. I feel no hesitation in assuring the public that at present there is not the smallest danger to be apprehended from the Showanos, Wyandotts, Delawares or Miamies and it is believed many of the Pottowattomies may be considered the true friend of the United States. The general government ever attentive to the safety of our citizens are taking measures to procure the satisfaction for the outrages already committed and security for the future good conduct of the Indians.

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[2] Joseph Hamilton Daviess was born in Bedford Co. Va., March 4, 1774. Came to Ky. when he was 5 yrs. old. Served in the war under Wayne 1793. Lawyer, well-educated. Appd. U. S. attorney for Ky. in 1800 and tried to arrest the career of Burr. Killed at Tippecanoe.

Pirtle, *Battle of Tippecanoe, 80*

I request the favor of you to publish, for the satisfaction of the people at large, this letter, with the two following speeches,[1] which were answers to my address to the deputation.

Your Ob't. Servant

JOHN JOHNSON, *Ind. Agent*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 29th, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison, 195*

SIR,

Your excellency's letters of the 13th and 14th instant, have been received.

My letters of the 22d, advised, that colonel [John P.] Boyde had been ordered to descend the Ohio to Louisville, and await your instructions. In case of his being required to march to the Indiana territory, he was authorized to purchase pack horses, on a presumption that the movement required despatch.

The proposal of your Excellency, that the colonel should move in his boats by the Wabash, will save the expense of the horses and accommodate the troops with baggage. But it appears from the returns, that the regiment is becoming sick; and, as the fatigue and exposure on the water, may increase the propensity to disease, I have left it to the judgment of the colonel, to take the route by land or by water, as shall appear to him to be most advisable.

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[1] Speeches by Capt. Lewis of the Shawnie village at Stony Creek, and by Black Hoof, Shawnee speaker, are given entire. They indicate peace, hostility and distrust of both the Prophet and British.

The reduction of this regiment by sickness, may render it necessary to employ an additional number of companies from the militia, of which, you will judge.

As the expedition will be commanded by your Excellency, it is presumed, no objection or difficulty will arise from crossing the boundary of the territory, if circumstances should require it.

I am respectfully, your Excellency's obedient servant,

W. EUSTIS

His Execellency, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

VOLUNTEERS

LEXINGTON, Aug. 29, 1811
Liberty Hall, October 2, 1811

I am now able to inform you that certain information concerning the campaign up the Wabash is received.

Gov. Harrison has written a gentleman of this place [Lexington, Ky.] that he will take the field about the 20th of Sept. and has received full powers from the government to that effect.

I would recommend it to my comrades that we rendezvous at Louisville on the evening of 13″ of Sept and on the morning of 14th proceed. This will allow us a day or two to rest our horses at Vincennes. I expect to get supplies of provisions at Vincennes.

I further recommend to my comrades not to be encumbered with too much baggage, which must prevent our usefulness as cavalry. Each man ought to have a good blanket under his saddle and one girded over it, this latter with hooks and eyes so as to answer all purposes of a great coat in bad weather and either a tent or bed at night, a pair of tanned leather hobbles for his horse, and no clothes which need washing except sox and linen; a wallet and saddlebags will carry all needed supplies.

The clothing ought to be a blue coatee and pantaloons *without any scarlet,* a hat or leather cap covered with bear skin, boots and spurs, and a pair of tanned leather moccasins to spare. The arms a good sword and a brace of pistols, with good locks, and a belt round the body with cartridge box and 12 cartridges. The cartridge to consist of such a number of buckshot as the caliber of the pistol will permit, provide the ammunition but omit making up cartridges till we meet.

Let each saddle have two secure girths. With regard to the *pay,* I have no information at all, but I proceed on the confidence that we will fare as other soldiers.

J. H. DAVIESS

DETACHMENT ORDER

D. M. Quarters, U. S. Garrison Newport
August 30th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collections, 164*

Lieut. [John] Smith and [Lewis] Packham together with one Sergeant and six Privates being in the opinion of the Surgeon unable to embark with the troops destined for Vincennes, will remain at the Garrison until in the opinion of the attending Physician of the same they are able to proceed on for the main body. Lieut Smith will take charge of the convalescent on their march to join.

Signed JNO. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.*

DETACHMENT ORDER

D. M. Quarters, U. S. Garrison Newport
August 31st, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 165*

The Detachment being ordered by his Excellency Governor Harrison to proceed to Vincennes the command of the Garrison devolves on Lieutenant [James Washington] Bryson who will take charge of the sick left, and accept the thanks of the commanding officer for the politeness and hospitality shewn the detachment while stationed here. It is expected the attending physician will attend to the sick that is left.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.*

DETACHMENT ORDER

Encampment 40 miles below NEWPORT KENTUCKY
August 31, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 165*

DETACHMENT ORDER

The troops will reimbark tomorrow morning at Reveille for which the General will beat. For the regulation and facility of the march the officers will pay particular attention to the Detachment order of August 3rd 1811, except that they will form agreeable to rank, the hospital boat taking the center.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD, *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

JEFFERSONVILLE (Falls of Ohio) 3rd September 1811

Har. Pa. 471-472

SIR:

I came to this place a week ago expecting to find here the Troops under the command of Col. [John P.] Boyd. He did not however arrive until this morning. Whatever may have been the cause of this delay it is a circumstance much to be regretted, as the Ohio has fallen very rapidly, and the Wabash no doubt in the same proportion. The arrival of the regular Troops at Vincennes will be thus retarded, until within a very few days of the time which I had fixed on for marching up the Wabash. Further reflection has also induced me to believe that the destination of these troops spoken of in your former letters might be to our frontiers bordering on upper Canada. Should this be the case and a winters march to that quarter contemplated, the road from Vincennes, would not be so eligible as that from Cincinnati, but at any time when the rivers are not frozen the former route is much the best from the facility for transportation afforded by the Wabash and Miami of the Lake. If this surmise of mine with regard to the eventual destination of the 4th Regiment is correct measures may be taken which would render even a winter march from Vincennes by no means impracticable. I mention this not with an intention of prying into the views by the Government, but merely to show that I have had an Eye to every possible inconvenience that could result from the execution of the discretion vested in me relative to the employment of Col. Boyds Regiment. The people of this Territory and Kentucky are extremely pressing in offers of their services for an expedition into the Indian country. Any number of men might be obtained for this purpose, or for a march into Canada.

Previously to my leaving Vincennes I dispatched messengers [messages] to the several Indian Tribes containing the demands and declarations mentioned in a former letter—a demonstration of force on the Wabash will give efficacy to those and will most probably produce an entire dispersion of the Prophets party.[1] But should they fail my own opinion is decidedly in favour of marching to the immediate neighborhood of his Town and demanding Hostages for their compliance with our demands on the subject. I will not however venture upon this step unless I receive your directions to that effect. It is also a question worthy of deliberation whether or not a Fort should be built on the reservation at the old Wea Towns, which is within fifteen miles of the Prophets Residence.

I have appointed Capt. [William] Piat Quarter Master of the expedition as he appears from a letter of yours to him to enjoy your confidence and is I believe very deserving of it.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,
your obt. servt

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Honble WILLM. EUSTIS, Esq. *Secy. of War*

DETACHMENT ORDER

September 6th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 165*

Order of boats the same as yesterday and will keep about four Roods distance from each other with the exception of the Powder boat, which will be ten Roods in rear of the whole; each boat will be governed by the boats immediately preceding it. All noncommissioned officers and soldiers are forbid firing or charging a gun without permission of the commanding officer of the boat, to which he belongs. and as we must proceed with all possible speed through the day, it is enjoined on the commanding officers of each boat not to suffer the small boats to leave the large ones unless in a case of emergency or absolute necessity. We move immediate after the communication of this order.

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[1] Harrison had been waiting one week at Jeffersonville for the arrival of Col. Boyd. Meanwhile there was danger (or the inhabitants thought so) of an attack at any minute on Vincennes. The messages referred to follow the letter of Sept. 17, 1811 below.

Signed, JAMES MILLER[1] *Lt. Col. 5th Regt. Infy. Comdg.*

DETACHMENT ORDER

D. Main Quarters, Mouth of the Wabash
River, September 10th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 166*

The Detachment having arrived at the mouth of the Wabash River will at half past two o'clock embark to ascend the same, as a precautionary measure the Quarter Master will issue four cartiridges to each soldier bearing arms. The officers commanding boats will take charge of them. No soldier will be allowed to charge his gun, unless by order of the officer of the day.

Signed, JAMES MILLER *Lt. Col., Comdg.*

PARKE TO HARRISON

VINCENNES Sep. 13th 1811

Har. Pa. 473-476

SIR:

In compliance with your Excellency's request of the 11th Inst. the following is respectfully submitted.

It is a fact that the Prophets party is increasing.

That defection is evidenced amongst all the tribes from the Wabash to the Mississippi and the Lakes.

That the Indians of the Wabash, Illinois etc. have recently visited the British agent at Malden.

That they are now returning from thence with a larger supply of goods than is known ever to have been distributed to them before.

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[1] James Miller was a native of N. H., born Apr 25, 1776. He was a lawyer by profession and in command of the local militia. When the 4th Regt. under Boyd was recruited in New Eng. he accepted the position of major. He was prevented by illness from being present at Tippecanoe, being left in charge of Fort Harrison. He distinguished himself later at Lundy's Lane.

Lossing, *War of 1812, 620*

That rifles or fuses are given to those who are unarmed and powder and lead to all.

And that the language and measures of the Indians indicate nothing but War.

Under these circumstances the publick interest certainly does require that a larger auxiliary force of Militia should be employed than that contemplated by the Honble the Secretary of War in his letter of the 22nd *ultimo.*

And from the facts stated, it would not be safe to penetrate the country as high up as the upper line of the New Purchase with the force prescribed by the letter of the Honble. the Secretary of War above mentioned—were the attempt to be made, it would probably terminate in defeat and destruction.

But admitting, there would be no danger of a defeat I should still insist that a larger force than that contemplated by the Honble. the Secretary of War ought to be employed.

The Prophet appeared as the head of a party about five years since. For three years his measures have evidently been of a hostile character, negociation has been tried in vain. He has not abandoned his profjects and his partisans are now found from the Wabash to the Mississippi and up to the Lakes. His artifice and intrigues and the bounty of British agents have nearly perfected his plan of uniting all the Indians within our boundary under him, and nothing but the appearance of a force much larger than that contemplated by the Honble the Secretary of War will dissolve the confederacy. Four or five hundred men might excite alarm on the Wabash; but to make an impression on the distant Tribes a force of several thousand ought to be exhibited. This would silence the turbulent and unprincipled, restore the timid and wavering, and give countenance and support to the friends of the U. States.

Means of a temporizing nature or any farther delay would evidently jeopardize the peace and safety of the frontiers.

The smallest reverse of fortune on the part of the Government would instantly unite all the Indians against it—and a five years war would scarcely be sufficient to restore peace to the frontiers.

I have the honor to be respectfully Sir,
your obt. Servt.

B[ENJAMIN] PARKE, *Capt. Light Dragoons*

His Excellency WILLIAM H. HARRISON

PAUL TO MANWARRING

MADISON September the 15th 1811

Mss. in State Library

DEAR MANWARRING

I am sorry that I have to Charge you with ingratitude I have not received a line from you since my return from the Legislature last fall. I do not think that I am deserving of such treatment I have not even heard who was Elected to represent Franklin County nor have I yet received a line from my well beloved and most highly Esteemed friend Mr. [John] Templeton if you see him please inform him that I have not forgot him altho I am much neglected.[1]

I flatter myself that we shall have your aid in attempting to move the seat of Government from Vincennes. Our object is to have it removed to Madison—which is as near the Centre of population as any place we can name—from Madison to Vincennes by way of the united States road is 120 miles—from Madison to Charles Town 30 from there to Corrodon 30 from Madison to Lawrenceburgh 52 miles from there to Brookville 25 from there to the Centre of Wayne County 24 you cannot doubt of the correctness of this statement the distances are proven—which proves Madison in the Centre. You my dear Sir (as well as myself) are well apprised of the necessity of removing the seat from Vincennes you have seen the Exertions used in order to influence the minds of the members of our Legislature you well know that it was almost impossible to get a Law passed that did not directly meet the approbation of a Certain Class of men at that place [Vincennes] together with their Connections at other places—The interference of Certain men at that place with the members of the [mutilated] my opinion is a very detestable imposition [mutilated] our Citizens—You Certa [mutilated] The Governor Came forward to the representative's Chamber in order to meet the members of both houses to influence them to acceed to his measures to accept of and give sanction to Certain bills which he had drawn up to reorganize the Judiciary in which he Clothed himself with unlimited power I ask for what in the name of Common sense Could he have desired such power if he did not wish to make [illegible] it. to me it had an awful aspect—I have no objections to [Benjamin] Park being a Judge but I do not wish him to Judge for me when sitting as a member of the Legislature—I have no objections to Harrison being Governor but I cannot consent that my Vote shall be Governed by his opinion—I ask what would be the general of Opinion If President Madison was to solicit the Votes of any of the Citizens of the united States for any Certain Character as a member of Congress—or what would be the result if the Judges of the high Court of the United States were to Come forward and solicit the members of Congress (openly in the representative hall) to reorganize the Judiciary and Extend their power would not the walls of the house shudder at such an attemp if it would be a Crime in congress why not of the same magnitude in the Territory These things with a number of others, Causes me to wish the seat removed from Vincennes I flatter myself that you will Call on me on your way to Vincennes and tarry one day and night—when we Can have more Conversation on this as well as other matters that much Concern the interest of our Territory

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[1] The session the previous year was opened by the governor Nov. 12, 1810 and sat 38 days. The second session of this Assembly convened Nov. 11, 1811. This letter is concerned principally with the effort to relocate the capital—an issue far more interesting to the Assembly than the overemphasized slavery question.

I [mutilated] yours

JOHN PAUL

[TO SOLOMON MANWARING]

TAYLOR TO HARRISON

VINCENNES Sept. 15th 1811

Har. Pa. 477-478

SIR:

Your Excellency has requested my opinion on two propositions, the *1st* is: Would it be safe to penetrate the country as high up as the upper line of the new purchase[1] with the force prescribed by the Honble. the Secretary of War by his letter of the 22nd *ultimo?* and *2nd* admitting that there would be no danger of a defeat, would not the object of the Expedition be greatly promoted and the public interest essentially served by employing the whole auxiliary force provided by the Governor say eleven Infantry Companies of Militia and three or four Dragoons?

In answer to the first proposition I beg leave to state as my decided opinion that the force contemplated by the Honble. the

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[1] This "new purchase" was bounded on the north by the "ten-o-clock" line, extending from near Vallonia in Jackson county to Montezuma in Parke.

Secretary of War would be insufficient to accomplish the object in view with safety. The spirit of hostility manifested by the Prophet and his followers (who it is said are daily increasing) the thefts and murders committed within a few months past and the unusual quantities of arms, ammunition etc. which not only these but the Indians generally have received from the British agent at Fort Malden, strongly evidence a disposition to commence war as soon as a fit opportunity occurs. If a small force were marched into their vicinity, very little doubt can be entertained but it would be attacked and most probably be defeated. Should this be the case our extended Frontiers would be immediately exposed to the ravages and depredations of their warfare.

But admitting that a defeat would not result from marching to the upper line of the new purchase, still it is my opinion that the object of the Expedition would be better promoted by employing a more considerable force than your Excellency has provided. Tho that may probably answer a very satisfactory purpose. To dissolve the combination which is openly avowed to be forming amongst the Indians and which threatens destruction to our scattered and defenceless citizens requires a force that would awe the turbulent and refractory, confirm the timid and wavering, and insure protection and safety to the friendly and well disposed. It would therefore seem to me the best policy to crush in Embryo a scheme which if suffered to be matured, will involve the United States in a war with the Indians, to terminate which great expence will be incurred, and the lives of members of our citizens will be sacrificed.

I have the Honor to be with great respect, Sir
your obt. servt.
WALLER TAYLOR

His Excellency, WILLIAM H. HARRISON

MILITARY ORDERS

Headquarters of the Army of Indiana Territory,
VINCENNES, Sept. 16, 1811

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 253*

The governor of Indiana Territory and commander-in-chief of the militia, being charged by the President of the United

States with a military expedition takes command to the troops assigned, viz: The detachment of regular troops under the command of Col. John P. Boyd, consisting of the fourth U. S. Regiment of Infantry and a company of the Rifle Regiment, the present garrison at Ft. Knox and the various detachments of Militia, Infantry and Dragoons which have been ordered for the service. As the present garrison of Ft. Knox is to form a part of Colonel Boyd's command, the officers commanding that post will receive the Colonel's orders. Capt. [William] Piatt of the Second U. S. Regiment has been appointed Quartermaster for all the troops on the expedition and is to be obeyed and respected as such. Captain Robert Buntin[1] has been appointed quartermaster for the militia and is to be respected and obeyed accordingly. Henry Hurst, Esq., and the Honorable Waller Taylor, Esq. have been appointed aide-de-camps to the Commander in Chief, having the rank of Majors and are announced as such. All orders coming from them in his name, whether in writing or verbally, are to be respected and obeyed as if delivered by the Commander in Chief in person. Captain Piatt is to have the superintendency of persons appertaining to the quartermasters of military agents department and the direction of all stores for the use of the expedition.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 17th Sept. 1811

Har. Pa. 458-470

SIR:

I have the Honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd *ultimo*. From letters which you will have received from Col. [John P.] Boyd and myself you are apprised of my having anticipated your orders and that the whole of the Detachment under his command are on their way to this place. The Col. came through with me by land from Louisville and the troops were sent round by water under the command of Col. [James] Miller, I calculate upon their being here Tomorrow or next day. I must now, Sir, request the honor of your attention whilst I explain the motives which have induced me to exceed your instructions with regard to the number of militia to be employed as auxiliaries to the regular Troops upon the Proposed Expedition up the Wabash. In my letter of the 7th ultimo I informed you that I contemplated using two companies of Regulars 14 or 15 of Militia Infantry and two Troops of Dragoons, making an aggregate of nearly 1200 men. The substitute of the whole of Cols. Boyd's detachment for an equal number of militia is doubtless a very favourable exchange, particularly if the object was to bring the Indians to action under any Circumstances. But the number of the Detachment fit for duty on this day of their arrival at Louisville was not much above four hundred and it is more than probable that other Casualties will considerably reduce it. Capt. [Thornton] Posey's company now in Garrison at Fort Knox with five or six men of the Rifle Corps annexed to it will not give more than forty effectives making in all of Regular Troops about four hundred and fifty; from which is to be deducted a small command to be left in Garrison at Fort Knox. The Remainder added to the two Troops of Dragoons will form a force of 550 men, a number about equal to that which the Prophet has under his immediate control. My own opinion is that with this force we might march to the upper line of the New Purchase, erect a fort and return with safety. It would however present the Indians a great temptation and the defeat of this Detachment would give to the Prophet's party an eclat that would enable him to effect his purpose of uniting all the Tribes in a war against us. The appearance of a military force in the neighborhood of the Indian towns will produce a good or an ill effect in proportion to the operation it will have upon their fears. A small body of men will excite their contempt, a large one (such as they will think themselves unable to resist) will not only deprive them of a wish to measure their strength with ours, but will cause all those who waver to decide in our favour and even many of those who are now in close union with the Prophet will think of nothing but retracing their steps and submitting to a compliance with our just demands. Our Friends will be enabled to speak out openly as such and be freed from the necessity of skulking about the woods (as at this moment) for fear of their lives. You will see below that Mr. [Touissant] Dubois reports that almost every Indian from the country above this had been or were then gone to Malden on a visit to the British agent. We shall probably gain our destined point at the moment of their return. If then the British agents are really (as I most sincerely believe) endeavouring to instigate the Indians to make war upon us we shall be in their neighbourhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages. In your letter of the 17th July you enjoin it upon me in the most peremptory menner "not to attack the Prophet without having a force that would ensure success". The injunction appears to me to include a prohibition of placing myself in a situation with a military force where I could be attacked with success, as the consequences in either case would be nearly the same. Upon the whole I think that the preservation of peace which is the great object of the President (and certainly of myself also) would be jeopardized by the employment of any force which the Prophet might think himself able to contend with. I do not think him much of a warrior, but he is certainly daring, presumptuous and rash. In proportion to the strength of our Detachment not only the relative but the actual numbers of his followers will be decreased and if such a force as I could raise in two weeks was to go up and erect a Fort upon the reservation at the old Wea Towns I would pledge my reputation for judgment and a knowledge of the Indian character if four fifths of his followers would not instantly abadon him. And being once undeceived with regard to his ability to defend them they would never be brought to unite with him again. I cannot however think myself authorized to employ a larger force than is sufficient to defer an attack from the Indians or to chasten them should they think proper to attempt it. It will consist of the regular Troops above mentioned, 2 or more companies of militia infantry and three or four Troops of Dragoons—at this season of the year the Militia can leave their Homes without any material inconvenience. The sole objection then to the employment of this force is on account of the additional expense and can the pay of a few companies for 35 or 30 days be an object worthy of consideration to the United States when they are employed to take possession of a country to which they have a fair and just claim by the sale of which they will be so amply remunerated? The sale of the small strip adjoining the Greenville Boundary line takes place next month and unless I am very much mistaken misinformed the proceeds of it in two months from the day that the office is opened will bring more money into the public Treasury than will be sufficient to reimburse the purchase money for both the Tracts and all the incidental expenses which have occurred since. I rely upon the Candour of the Government for my justification in this affair. The Troops of Cavalry are composed principally of Gentlemen to whom the pay is no object but as the whole are not of this description I presume that no discrimination can be made. I have actually engaged but one Troop from Kentucky, but I understand that another has been formed by young gentlemen at and in the neighbourhood of Lexington who have done me the honor to think they could receive some military information by serving under my command. It is not my intention, Sir, to accept of any compensation for my services on this occasion nor even remuneration for my expenses. The Beef and Flour which I shall be obliged to take from the Contractor will be included in the provision abstract but no other article that is consumed in my family will be placed to the public account.

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[1] Robert Buntin was clerk of Knox county during the entire territorial period, 1796-1818. He was also surveyor most of the time.

Executive Journal, 92 *passim*.
Hist. Knox County (1886) 126 *seq.*

As soon as I received your favour of the 22nd ultimo I laid it before Col. Boyd and the Honble Waller Taylor and Benjamin Parke two of the supreme judges of the Territory and both militia officers and requested their opinions in writing upon the Expediency of employing a larger force than that contemplated by your letter. I have done myself the honor to inclose their several answers. I expect Governor [Benjamin] Howard and General [William] Clark daily. Governor [Ninian] Edwards is I hear very sick and gone to some medicinal spring in Louisiana. I have not heard from him since the return of the officer whom he sent up the Illinois River to demand the perpetrators of the two late murders but I have seen a young man (a connexion of the governor's) who was on the command.[1] He informed me that the chiefs professed a willingness to deliver up the culprits but declared that they were not within their power having taken refuge with the Prophet. I hope to be able to march on Saturday next. But I have some fear of a deficiency on the part of the Contractor. The government need be under no apprehension for us Sir. If the Prophet attacks us we shall beat him. I promise you at least that we shall not be surprised and that if the men will fight (of which I have not the least doubt) they shall do so when perfectly prepared. The Greek maxim "Aephales garaot Ameion a thrasus Statelate" which was so great a favourite with Augustus (who by the bye was I believe inferior as a Warrior either to the little Turtle or Tecumseh) shall be ever present to my mind. and in Indian warfare (whatever it may be in any other) it is certainly a good one.

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[1] July 24, 1811. Governor Edwards ordered Capt. Samuel Levering to go to the tribes near Peoria and demand the murderers of Cole and his neighbors. They arrived at Peoria and learned from Gomo the Pottawattomie that Five Medals, Topenebe, Moquango, Winemac and Marpack—all of Indiana were the guilty parties. This was perhaps an evasion.

Edwards, *Life and Times of Ninian Edwards*, 38

When I received your letters of the 17 and 20th July I dispatched an Indian Messenger to bring back the Miami Chief who had accompanied Tecumseh to this place and who had only left it two days before, the Messenger did not overtake them until they had reached their towns. They refused to return aledging that the letters which I pretended to have received from the President were forgeries and that they were told by White Men at Vincennes, that I intended to practice this cheat upon them. I immediately prepared speeches to be sent to the different Tribes conformably to the plan mentioned in my letter of the 7th ultimo and I employed Mr. Dubois a French gentleman who is well known to and much respected by the Indians to carry the one intended for the Miamies. He found the chiefs all preparing to go to Malden. With the assistance however of Messrs. [John] Shaw and [William] Wells he got them all together at Fort Wayne. The result of the Council discovered that the whole Tribe (including the Weas and Eel Rivers for they are all Miamis) were about equally divided in favour of the Prophet and the United States. I have the Honor to enclose a copy of my speech and the original minutes of the Council as taken by Dr. [William] Turner[2] at Fort Wayne. [Immediately below] The Lapousier who makes the insolent speech is the Wea Chief who spoke in the late council here and whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet. Mr. Dubois repeatedly demanded of him what land it was that he was determined to defend with his blood. Whether

[2] William Turner enlisted in the army from Md. and was a surgeon's mate in the garrison at Fort Wayne. He served through the War of 1812, resigning Jan. 31, 1815. Heitman's *Register*

it was that which was ceded by the late Treaty or not; but he would give no direct answer. Mr. Dubois reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been or now are on a visit to the british agent at Malden. He has been in the Indian Trade thirty years and has never known as he thinks more than one fourth as many goods given to the Indian as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, 25 pounds of powder 50 of lead 3 blankets 3 strouds of cloth, ten shirts and several other articles. He says that every Indian is furnished with a gun (either Rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A trader of this country was lately in the King's stores at Malden he saw 150 keggs of Powder (supposed to contain about 60 pounds each) and he was told that the quantity of goods for the Indian Department which had been sent over this year exceeded that of common years by £20,000 sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Indians to take up the Tomhawk. It cannot be to secure their trade, for all the Peltries collected on the waters of the Wabash in one year if sold in the London market would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given to the Indians. Altho I am decidedly of opinion that the tendency of these British measures in hostility to us, Candour obliges me to inform you that from two Indians of different Tribes I have received information that the British Agent absolutely dissuaded them from going to war against the United States. One of them (a Delaware) says that he was present at the audience given by the agent (Elliot) to 300 Sacs from the Mississippi. The latter informed him that they had taken up the Tomhawk against the United States at the request of the Prophet and that they come there to get arms and ammunition that Elliot told them that he would supply their wants but strongly advised them to decline the meditated war.

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir
your Humble Servt
WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

P. S. Col. Boyd has not yet prepared the written opinion about above mentioned but he authorizes me to say that it is precisely the same with the Judges Taylor and Parke.

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS Esq. *Secretary of War*

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, *Governor of the Indiana Territory,* to the MIAMI, EEL RIVER and WEA TRIBE of Indians

My children. You had left this place but two days, when I had received Letters from your great father the President of the seventeen fires, and it was my wish that you should know what they contained, because their contents was of consequence to you. I sent after you one of your own people inviting you to return. You not only refused to do so but you insulted my messengers. You insulted me and the great chief of the western fires whom I represent. You told him that the letters which I pretended to have received was forgeries.

My Children. This conduct of yours has grieved me much and my anger against you was for a while very great but I have now cast it off. And I feel nothing but pitty for you and anger against those who have deceived you. I now speak to you in the name of your Father the President of the seventeen fires—listen to me.

My Children. My eyes are open and I am now looking toward the Wabash. I see a dark cloud hanging over it. Those who have raised it intended it for my destruction; but I will turn it upon their own heads.

My Children. I hoped that you would not be injured by this cloud, you have seen it gathering you had timely notice to keep clear of it, the thunder begins to roll take care that it does not burst upon your heads.

My Children. I now speak plainly to you. What is that great collection of people at the mouth of the Tipecanoe intended for? I am not blind my children, I can easily see what their object is, those people have boasted that they will find me asleep, but they will be deceived.

My Children do not suppose that I will be foolish enough to suffer them to go on with their preparations until they are ready to strike my people. No. I have watched their motions. I know what they wish to do, and you know it also. Listen then to what I say. I will not suffer any more strange Indians to settle on the Wabash; those that are there and do not belong there shall disperse and go to their own Tribes.

My Children. When you made the Treaty with General Wayne you promised that if you knew of any parties of Indians passing through your country with hostile intentions toward us that you would give us notice of it and endeavor to stop them. I now inform you that I consider all those who join the Prophet and his party as hostile and call upon you to fulfill your engagements. I have also sent to the tribes who have any of their warriors with the Prophet to withdraw them immediately. Those who do not comply I shall consider to have let go the chain of friendship which united us.

My Children. be wise and listen to my voice. I fear that you have got on a road that will lead you to destruction. It is not too late to turn back. Have pity upon your women and children. It is time that my friends should be known. I shall draw a line. Those that keep me by the hand must keep on one side of it and those that adhere to the Prophet on the other.

My Children. Take your choice. My warriors are in motion but they shall do you no hurt unless you force me to it. But I must have satisfaction for the murder of my people and the war-pole that has been raised on the Wabash must be taken down.

My Children let me know your determination by Mr. [Touissant] Dubois, he will explain to you everything. Do not suffer bad advice to mislead you. Throw yourselves again into the arms of your father, and he will receive you and nourish you.

Do not be afraid to speak your minds. Tell those people that have settled on the Wabash without your leave that the land is yours and you do not wish them there. Do not be afraid to say this. You shall be supported by my warriors. My warriors are getting ready and if it is necessary you shall see an army of them at your backs more numerous than the leaves of the trees.

Speeches delivered by the different MIAMI Chiefs in council at Fort Wayne in answer to a speech from WILLIAM H. HARRISON *Governor Indiana Territory* addressed to the MIAMI Tribe of Indians.

LAPRUSIEUR the Wea Chief.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON *Governor of Indiana Territory.* Listen to what I have to say, you wish to hear what I had to say. You tell us that we are now on a wrong road, a road that will lead us to destruction. You are deceived we are not on a wrong road. When I was walking a long, I heard you speak respecting the Shawanee. You said we were of his party. I hold both you and the Shawanee by the hand, but I hold him slack. You have both told me one story; that if I would adhere to you, that my people, the women, and children would be happy. The hearts of the Miamies is good. The Great Spirit has put them on the choice spot of land. We are now anxiously waiting to see which of you tells the truth. For the first time Father your eyes are now open. When you cast them on your children you see they are poor, they are destitute some of them, even for the necessaries of life. We want ammunition to support our women and children; and the want of those things has compelled us to undertake our present journey.

Father; we have not let you go, we yet hold you by the hand, neither do we hold the hand of the Prophet with a desire to injure you, therefore I now tell you, that you are not correct, when you supposed we joined hands with the Prophet to injure you.

Father I listened to you a few days ago, when you pointed out to me the depredations of murder that has been committed by the Indians on the Mississippi. I told you that I and my people had no wish to join in acts of that kind. I told you that we both loved your people, that it gives us pleasure when we see them standing around us, that we should deprive ourselves of this pleasure, if we commence a war with each other, as a war would be the destruction of both parties. You always told me that our great father, the President of the United States had placed you here for good purposes, that his heart is good towards his red children. How then does it happen that our father's heart is changed toward his red children.

Father, you have called upon us to fulfill the Treaty of Greenville; in that treaty it is mentioned that we should give information if we knew of any hostile design of a foreign power against each other. I now tell you that no information from any quarter has reached our ears to injure any of your people or ours, except from yourself. You have told us that the thunder begins to roll.

Father Your speech has overtaken us at this place, we have heard it, but it has not scared us, we are not afraid of what you say. We are now going on to that country which has been frequently visited by Tecumseh and we shall be able to know in the course of our journey whether he has told us lyes or not; that all the Indians were of the same opinion that he is; but when we return we shall be able to tell you whether what Tecumseh has told us be true or not.

Now Father you have heard what I have to say you will hear it well what come from me.

Father you have told me twice that you were very angry with me. I went to see you with my warriors. We were sitting close face to face, and toes to toes, you told me that the Indians on the Mississippi had struck you, and I said nothing to you.

You now tell us that you sent a messenger after us, that we had insulted the messenger, yourself, and our great father. This is twice you have told that you were angry with us; we have looked for the cause, but can find none.

Father, we the Miamies are not a people that is passionate, we are not so easily made angry as it is supposed you are. Our hearts is heavy as the earth, and our minds are not easily irritated. We don't tell people we are angry with them for light causes; we are afraid if we did fly in a passion for no cause we should make ourselves contemptable in the eyes of others; therefore we hope you will no more say you are angry with us, lest you should make yourself contemptable to others. We have told you we would not get angry for light causes. We have our eyes on our lands on the Wabash with a strong determination to defend our rights, let them be invaded from what quarter they may; that when our best interest is invaded, we will defend them to a man, and be made mad but once. Father now consider your children the Miamies, what they have said to you. You have now offered the war club to us, you have laid it at our feet, and told us we might pick it up if we chose. We have refused to do so, and we hope this circumstance will prove to you that we are people of good hearts.

We hope *father* that you will not be angry any more with us; we will not be angry with you. This is all I have to say.

From an observation of Mr. DUBOIS the following expressions fell from the lips of LAPRUSIEUR.

If Governor Harrison draws a line and leaves us out, he may, but if he takes us in it is very good. But if our lands are invaded, we will defend them to the utmost and die with the land.

Here follows the names of the chiefs that was in favor of Laprusieur's speech.

PECAN
BIG-MAN (or Lagros)
NEGRO LEGS
OSAGE
The One that Eats stones [Stone Eater]

Names of the persons that took these notes:

WM. TURNER *Surgeon's Mate U. States Army*

FORT WAYNE 4th September 1811.

SILVERHEELS the MASSASSINWAY Chief spoke at great length and said; that he informed his people that he conceived it greatly to the interest of his nation, that a decisive answer should be given to their great fathers speech, that he had asked for it, and that he was entitled to have it, that for himself he had always detested the Prophet and his doctrine, and that the interest of the nation required of the Miamies that they should have no connection with the Prophet; that in case a misunderstanding should take place between the U. States and the Prophet it is the interest of the Nation to remain neutral, and hold our father by the hand.

My Chiefs and warriors now present, I hope this will be the answer that you will send to our great father.

Oscenut, PUTTAWA Chief:

He did not wish what he was now going to say to be put on paper as it was rather advice to his people. He observed as the rest of the chiefs was absent he thought it his duty to make a few remarks on behalf of his nation saying that it appeared to him that his younger brothers on the Wabash had got on a wrong road, that the Gov. had told them of it and that it was not yet too late for them to turn back. We the Pottawattimie Chiefs have told our young men not to listen to the Prophet but notwithstanding some of them was foolish enough to hear his counsel.

CHARLEY the EEL RIVER Chief spoke at considerable length very favourably; but did not wish any part put on paper; only that Laprusieur the Wea chief came forward and made a speech without consulting or knowing the opinion of the Indians.

The LITTLE TURTLE, Miami Chief, to Governor William H. Harrison

Father your speech by Mr. Dubois was communicated to us yesterday.

Father your children the Miamies of the Wabash are all glad to hear what you say, this is the sentiments of the Indians.

Father you have asked us whether we are disposed to take part with the Prophet or hold you fast by the hand, this question causes us to believe that some misunderstanding has took place between you and some of our people that has visited you lately. It appears also that you have made your intentions known to the Pottawattimies respecting the Prophet you have told the Pots. and other Indians living on the Wabash to leave him you have told the Miamies the same thing, these are things that have surprised us. The transactions that took place between the white people and Indians at Greenville is yet fresh in our minds; at that place we told each other that we would in future be friends, doing all the good to each other and raise our children in peace and quietness. These are yet the sentiments of your children the Miamies.

Father you have told us you would draw a line, that your children should stand on one side and the Prophet on the other We the Miamies wish to be considered the same people that we were at the Treaty of Greenville, holding fast to that treaty that united us the Miamies and Potawattimies.

Father listen to what I have to say, it is our request that you pay particular attention to it. We pray you not to bloody our ground if you can avoid it in the first instance let the Prophet be requested in mild terms to comply with your wishes and if possible avoid spilling of blood. The land on the Wabash is ours we have not put the Prophet there, but on the contrary we have endeavoured to stop his going there—he must be considered as setting there without our leave.

Father I must again repeat you say you will draw a line between your children and the Prophet we are not pleased at this because we think you have no right to doubt our friendship towards you. I have not said much to you but I think I have said enough for the present occasion my words are few but my meaning is great and I shall close by requesting that you will pay particular attention to what I have said. This is all I have to say. I have said it in presence of your Messenger and people of this place as also my own people.

OSCEMIT

I have said that I am here alone. I have come to attend to the interest of my women and children. I have thought it my duty to do so as the other chiefs of my nation was absent. When I heard the words of my Father. We the Potawattimies inhabiting the Lakes from Chicago round to the east are of the opinion as those of the Miamies. Just delivered by the Little Turtle. Notwithstanding some of our foolish young men have killed some of the whites. We the chiefs of our nation have told our young men not to listen to any bad birds that are flying in the air, notwithstanding some of them have been led astray in not listening to our words, and have imprudently involved themselves in difficulties. Therefore we are determined that their faults shall not be charged to our nation. We the Potttaw. and Miamies have been friends and brothers since children. We shall continue to be so their sentiments are ours and ours theirs.

Father what we said to each at the treaty of Greenville is fresh on our minds we there told each other that improper conduct of individuals should not involve us in difficulties. This also must be fresh in your memories for you wrote it down and I hope it will long be remembered by both of us. I have nothing more to say.

WHITE LOON

You have heard what my Uncle the Little Turtle has said and my mind is the same.

LITTLE TURTLE, addressing the MIAMIES

I told my people when they were going to see the Governor not to say anything respecting the land, that the treaty was made and it was a fair one, they had signed the paper which bound the sale of the lands, and that nothing further should be said on the subject; I also charged them whatever they did to have nothing to do with the Prophet; that the Prophet was an enemy of Governor Harrisons and Governor Harrisons of his; that if they formed any kind of connection with the Prophet it would make the Governor enemies of theirs.

Extract of a letter from Governor HARRISON to Mr. JOHNSON *Indian Agent* at Fort Wayne

Under these circumstances it is a matter of the first importance to ascertain how far the disaffection may have extended amongst the tribes of your agency, and to assure the fidelity of those who still continue faithful or who may be fluctuating between their attachment to us and the inducements which may be held out to them to join the hostile party. From what I have heard and my knowledge of the dispositions of those two tribes I have little doubt of the fidelity of the Miamies or Delawares and I should suppose that that part of the Potawatimies under the control of Topenebe the five medals and the chief who was lately at the seat of Government are also to be depended upon. You will therefore please to communicate to them by apprehensions of the Tribes mentioned above and call upon them to fullfill that article of the Treaty of Greenville which obliges them to give information to the United States of any hostile intention that may be meditated against their settlements and also to prevent any such hostile party from passing through their country; it will be necessary forcibly to impress upon them the necessity of doing this for their own safety. For as our people will generally pursue the attacking party and it will be impossible for them to distinguish the several tribes the innocent will frequently suffer for the guilty and a few accidents of the kind will bring on a General war with all the tribes. Such will be the wish of the Tribes who commence the attack and they will frequently so manage their war parties as to make the mischief they do appear to be the act of our friends. The Tribes of the Miamies Delawares and Potawatimies ought then immediately to take measures in the first place to find out what is the real object of the Prophet and his friends and if they find that he is really disposed for war and they cannot induce him to abandon the project to fall upon some scheme to protect themselves from its effects and if possible to keep without its vortex. We do not wish them to take part with us unless they should themselves think it necessary. We wish only to place them in such a situation that no part of the exemplary vengance which we shall inflict upon these tribes who have the temerity to attack us shall fall upon their heads. A situation admirably calculated for this purpose is offered by the White

River Country—if a community of the friendly tribes is formed on that River from its sources down to the settlements and if they absolutely preclude those who are hostile from making war in that direction they may remain there in safety without the least apprehension of being disturbed by our warriors.

But to prevent if possible the necessity of this measure which cannot do otherwise than produce inconvenience to them, a solemn deputation from all the friendly Tribes should be sent to the Prophet and his party to remonstrate upon the folly and wickedness of their designs, which must inevitably terminate in their utter destruction. You will be pleased also to state in all your communications with the Indians upon this subject that the war that may be waged against us by any of the Tribes shall be the last that they shall ever make. as it is the positive determination of our Government after having so long and so sincerely laboured for their advantage to open their eyes to their inferior condition and to provide the means of their improvement and civilization that they will not again suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the professions of those who have so often deceived but that the War once begun it will be pursued to the utter exterpation of those who shall commence it or until they are delivered to such a distance as to preclude all probability of their again annoying us. To the Delawares Miamies and Potawatimies it may be observed that if they should be weak enough to suffer themselves to be seduced by our enemies the first consequence will be the forfeiture of their annuities which were granted upon the express condition of their acknowledgement of their dependence upon the United States and upon no other power whatever.

General Orders

Head Quarters, VINCENNES, Sept. 20th 1811

Burton, *Historical Collections, 166*

It is the intention of the Commander-in-Chief to form the whole of the Troops into two lines, the first to be composed of all the U. S. Infantry, U. S. Riflemen and such of the Militia Corps as may be selected for the purpose. For the present Capt. [Benjamin] Parke troop of Light Dragoons, the Harrison Volunteers of Capt. [Spier] Spencer[1] and the small detachment of Kentucky Dragoons under Col. [Jos. H.] Davies are to report to and receive the orders of Col. [John P.] Boyd. All the other Militia Corps including Capt. [Peter] Funks[2] troop of Kentucky Dragoons are to be under the command of Col. Bartholemew. Report of all the several Corps are immediately to be made to the Adjutant Col. [William] McFarland[3] and Col. Boyd will please to make arrangements for withdrawing the Garrison of Fort Knox.

He will receive particular directions from the Governor with respect to the Command which is to be left there. The Col. will also cause the baggage of the regular troops to be assorted. That which will not be wanted for the expedition will be deposited in Fort Knox. Such as will be useful at the point of destination but not wanted on the march will be prepared for water conveyance. For the balance wagons will be furnished.

It is expected that all the arrangements in the Quarter Master's Department will be completed tomorrow morning.

Return for camp equipage and deficiencies in arms and accountrements will be immediately made out and as far as possible supplied from the public stores. Returns for Twenty four rounds of ammunition for the musquetry and a half pound of Powder and one of Lead for the Riflemen per man will be immediately made.

Capt. [William] Piatt will see that the issues are made and the balance of the ammunition properly packed for transportation.

As long as the troops remain in this town the Adjutant of the Several Corps will attend at 12 o'clock each day at Col. McFarland's Quarters for orders.

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1. Spier Spencer was born in Ky., moved to Vincennes, thence to Corydon in 1809, becoming sheriff. He married a sister of Judge Wm. Polke. They kept a tavern at Corydon and were intimate friends of Harrison. His brother was killed at Tippecanoe. A son, 14 yrs. old, was with him at Tippecanoe. After Spencer's death Harrison took the son into his own tent and later saw that he was educated at West Point. Spencer was perhaps the most popular hero of the battle.

Pirtle, *Tippecanoe, 68*
Roose, *Harrison County, 11*

2. Peter Funk was born Aug. 14, 1782 at Funktown Md. Came to Jefferson Co. Ky., near Louisville, 1795, where he lived till his death Apr. 9, 1864. He carried the message from Harrison to Scott in Aug. 1811, asking for Ky. militia.

Pirtle, *Tippecanoe, 19*

3. William McFarland was one of the first settlers of Lexington, Ind. He was prominently connected with the Miami Exporting Co. which did a banking business at Lexington. He bored a salt well near his home 400 ft. deep. He became financially involved and left Indiana for the west.

The Commander in Chief request Lt. Col. [James] Miller and all the officers and soldiers of the 4th U. S. Regiment and the Rifle Company attached to it to accept his thanks for the exertions they had used in ascending the Wabash. It is certain that their arrival here has anticipated the expectation of all those who know the difficulties to be encountered in ascending the River in the present low state of the water. The conduct of the Troops on this occasion has been highly meritorious and is honorable to themselves and the school in which they have been trained. No Guards will be necessary as long as the troops remain in town but such as are necessary for the Police, of which the commanding officer of Corps will judge.

A Militia General Court Martial will sit tomorrow at Ten o'clock to consist of Thirteen members for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before it, Major Rezin Redman[4] President five Captains and seven Sub. will be detailed for the above duty.

The Quarter Master will procure small orderly books to be delivered to the companies immediately.

All the sick of the regular troops are to be sent to Fort Knox and to be placed under the command of Doctor [Jacob] Kuykendall. Doctor [Josiah D.] Foster[5] surgeon of the 4th U. S. Regiment is to be considered senior surgeon of the Army. He will have the superintendence of all the stores and medicine and to him application will be made to the surgeons for those articles.

The Quarter Master will furnish any articles which Doctor Foster may think necessary, as well as the means of transportation.

By the Commander in Chief

Signed, H. HURST, *A. D. C.*

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[4] Rezin Redman was an early settler of Utica, Clark Co. Sept. 20, 1803, he was commissioned an ensign in the militia under Col. Bartholomew, Jan. 7, 1814 he was appointed a judge for the Clark Co. court. He was a miller it seems in Utica. *Executive Journal*

[5] Josiah D. Foster came from Mass. with the 4th Regt. having enlisted Dec. 12, 1808. He remained with it till his death Dec. 22, 1812. Heitman, *Register*, 432

DETACHMENT ORDER

U. S. Detachment Main Quarters,
VINCENNES, Sept. 20th 1811
Burton, *Historical Collection, 168*

It is with unfeigned satisfaction that the Col. commanding again meets the detachment assumes the command Offers his best thanks to Lieut. Col. [James] Miller and the officers of his late command, whose persevering exertions only meet difficulties to surmount them.

Every exertion will now be made to prepare for actual service. Major George R. C. Floyd having reported himself for duty will be pleased to join his Regiment, where he will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

Signed JNO. P. BOYD, *Col. 4th Reg. Infy. C. D.*

DETACHMENT ORDER

U. S. Detachment Main Quarters,
VINCENNES, Sept. 22nd 1811
Burton, *Historical Collection, 168*

Pursuant to the Commander in Chief's order the officer commanding Fort Knox will hold the troops under his Command in readiness to join the camp at Vincennes tomorrow morning excepting one Sergeant and the sick of the Garrison.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD, *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.*

AFTER ORDERS

Head Quarters, VINCENNES, 22nd Sept. 1811
Burton, *Historical Collection, 170, 171*

The army being formed in the order of march prescribed by the General order of this day, if an attack should be made on the right flank, the whole will face to the right and it will then be in two lines parallel to the line of march, the right column forming the front line and the left the rear. Should an attack be made on the left flank, the reverse of what is here directed will take place till the whole will face to the left, the left column acting as the front line, the right as the rear. If the attack is made on both flanks at the same time both columns face outward. To resist an attack in the rear the same manoeuvre as is directed for an attack in front, with this difference only, that the leading grand division of each battalion will form by the filing up of each man in succession and the second grand division by doubling round its front guide and displaying to the left. To resist an attack in the front and rear, the five leading battalions will perform the manoeuvre directed for the front attack and the five others that which has been last described. In all cases where there is an attack other than a front or rear or flank guards according to the situation they may be placed in relatively to the rear of the army and perform the duties which those situation respectively require as heretofore directed.

Signed, H. HURST, *A. D. C.*

DETACHMENT ORDER

VINCENNES 25th September, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 172*

Agreeable to the General order of yesterday the Troops under my command will be ready to march at 10 o'clock this morning the commanding officers of each company will cause to be delivered twenty four rounds fixed ammunition three flints and one priming wire to each man fit for duty. All servants liable to bear arms will be furnished and accoutred as other privates and will be on duty with their officers. The commanding officers of companies will be held responsible that the guns are put in the best possible order, for action and kept so. They will also cause a careful inspection of all the ammunition flints priming wires and breeches to be made every morning and if any waste is committed or any loss by unavoidable accident, it shall be their duty to report the same to the commanding officer of the Detachment. If waste be committed the offender will be immediately confined and punished according to the nature of his offence.

The Quarter Master will receive all the arms and accoutrements of the sick, box them and put them on board the Boat to ascend the river. They will be immediately collected and delivered by the officers commanding companies.

The officers of each company are allowed one wall tent, one common tent, is allowed to six non commissioned officers, musicians and privates, and one wall and one common tent will be furnished for the medical department.

Each non commissioned officer Musks [?] and Privates will have two days provisions cooked and packed in their haversacks. Sergeant Wright and nine men will be detailed to take charge of the boat to ascend the river to the point of destination.

The Lt. Colonel commanding the Detachment has the fullest confidence in the officers and soldiers of his command and firmly trusts that their conduct in the contemplative expedition will be honorable to themselves and to their country.

Signed, JAMES MILLER, *Lt. Col. C. D.*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 25th Septr. 1811

Har. Pa. 486-490

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th of August, mine of the 18 Inst will have informed you that I had anticipated your last instructions by the Employment of a larger militia force than was contemplated by your favour of the 22nd ultimo. The regular Troops under Colonel [James] Miller arrived here on the 19th at night. Their sick at that time very little increased from the time of their departure from Louisville. Within a day or two however a considerable number have been added to the sick reports. Their complaints are intermittent of the slightest kind and Dr. [Josiah] Foster assures me that the greatest part of them which are on the sick report will be able to march. This was intended to have taken place on this day, but an uncommonly heavy rain which is now falling has induced me to postpone it until tomorrow. As the militia are entirely without tents and the saving them even one severe wetting is an object of some consequence. We shall however take up our line of march tomorrow morning at Reville rain or not. The Cavalry were sent off yesterday to Busseron (20 miles in advance) where Forage can be more easily procured. The 20th inst. had been fixed by me to commence our movements and the troops were here on that day, but it was not until yesterday that a Boat load of Flour arrived for the Contractor, this added to what he had here on hand amounts to little more than 12,000 rations. He has however more coming up the Wabash which will follow us. Our whole force will amount to about one thousand men including one hundred and forty dragoons and 60 mounted riflemen.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, Sir, that the speech which I sent to several of the Tribes by the Potawatimi Chiefs and the report of a considerable assemblage of Troops being about to be moved at this place has brought forward a deputation from the Prophets Town full of professions of peace and that I have extorted from them a promise to comply with our demands. But I must previously inform you of a circumstance of a very different character which happened about twelve days ago but which has only entirely developed since my last letter. As Capt. [William] Piatt was coming from Louisville to this place his Horses and that of another traveller were taken from the stable on the White River 35 miles from this and the night after four others from the Busseron settlement. The Trail of the Horses from the latter place was very visible, and two white men and a free negro who speaks some of the Indian languages went immediately in pursuit of them. They crossed the Wabash and on the second day near night they came to the Indian Camp. There were but three Indians in the camp and they soon discovered their own horses, Captain Piatt's and a number more. After some consideration they agreed to give up the four horses which were taken from Busseron. Our People then commenced their return and had gotten but a few miles when they perceived the Indians in pursuit of them, having but one gun amongst them they endeavored to escape by flight but the two foremost Indians soon came so near as to fire on them and the negroe would have been killed if he had not thrown himself from his horse. They had no other alternative than to abandon all the horses (even those which they rode) and betake themselves to a thick swamp which luckily presented itself. They separated and after having suffered much from Hunger and fatigue they all arrived home. The Hostility and the Spirit of determined aggression upon us manifested by the above transaction called for some energetic measure. And I had resolved as soon as I had erected a work at the point contemplated on the Wabash that would admit of defence to make a demonstration towards the Prophets Town and even to march into it unless satisfaction was made.

The apparent head of the mission from the Prophet's Town above mentioned is the old hereditary chief of the Kickapoo tribe who has been deprived of his authority by the Prophet and not supposed to act as a chief since he signed the last Treaty two years ago, but the efficient character of the party is a war chief of talents, entirely devoted to the Prophet. In his first speech he expressed his astonishment at seeing such warlike preparations that it had excited great alarm, that his women and children were all in Tears, that his heart and the hearts of all the Prophets party were warm toward the United States that their establishment had no other object than peace and that he wanted to know what were our intentions. In my answer I declared the great reluctance with which their Father would draw the sword against his red children but that the injuries which his own people had sustained were such that he could no longer put up with them. I recapitulated all the instances of hostility which they had manifested towards us and informed him that it was the President's positive determination to have retribution for the past and some security for the future. In the Council of yesterday I informed them that the army would march in a day or two, that I should go up the Wabash shortly and if they were inclined to join our friends who were endeavouring to have the persons who had killed our people taken and the stolen horses returned they might meet us on the way. He answered that the time was too short, that nothing could be done this Fall that we must wait until the next spring and then they would get all the Indians together and endeavour to find out who had injured us. I then informed him peremptorially that the army would march today and that the distance they would go up the Wabash would depend entirely on the Indians themselves, that if they would not deliver up those who had murdered our people and restore the stolen property we must take on ourselves the trouble of finding them altho it might be the means of doing some injury to some innocent persons. A Potawatimi war chief whom I had employed to take one of my speeches in to the Indian country at that moment arrived and I seized the occasion of telling the Kickapoo that that man knew of the hostile intentions of the Prophet's party and was present (the Kickapoo himself being also present) when the speech from the British Agent was delivered to the Prophet telling him that the time had arrived for them to take up arms. But notwithstanding we had such full evidence of their bad designs against us we would again receive them as our children upon their compliance with our just demands. I gave until this morning to consider of what I had said "he wanted no time—he could answer them—everything that I wished should be complied with as far as possible. The stolen horses should be restored he did not know where the murderers were but would endeavour to find them—he would go up to his Town, do what he could to satisfy me and return to meet me. The Hour of the closing the mail is so near that I have only to add that I am with greatest consideration

your obt. servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

I have not yet had an Interview with the Potawatimi Chief. He declines saying anything until Winemac's arrival which is every moment expected.

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esqr. *Secy. of War*

GENERAL ORDERS

Headquarters, BOSSERON CREEK, Sept. 27th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 173*

Parole *Washington;* Countersign *Hancock*

The detail for camp guard will be until further orders two captains guards consisting of one captain, two sergeants, two corporals, and forty privates each. Two subaltern guards consisting of one subaltern, one sergeant one corporal and 21 privates each. One subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal and twelve privates for the guard of the Commander in Chief, one select corporal three men for a contractor's guard. A field officer of the day. The Guards will be warned every morning at roll call and to mount immediately upon the halting of the army at night, Capt [James] Bigger's,[1] [Walter] Wilsons, [Richard M.] Heths,[2] and [Thomas] Berry's[3] companies are not to be included in the detail, they are however to be under the command of the officers of the day, and when within the line of sentinels are to form such a portion of the chain as the officer of the day may assign to them. When without the chain of sentinels they will furnish guards for their own security only when the troops fall into the line of march. Upon the beating of the long Roll the Guards will be conducted into camp and will join their several companies a Sergeants guard of the regular troops only excepted which will be detached to form a baggage guard, and for the purpose of picking up stragglers. The order of march will be in Two lines as the army is now placed. Capt Biggers riflemen in front of the column, in line across the direction of the line of march at one hundred and fifty yards distance. Capt. [Benjamin] Park's troop 50 yards in the rear of this Company and drawn up in the same order, Capt. Wilsons riflemen in the same order and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the rear of the column, Capt. [Charles] Beggs troop in the same order at 100 yards from the rear of the column, Capt. [Peter] Funks troop on the right flank at the distance of one hundred yards from the column and in a line parallel to it. Capt. Berrys and Heths companies will be for the present on the left flank at one hundred yards distance from the column. The spies and guides will be considerably advanced and will receive particular directions from the commander in chief. The order of encampment will depend on the nature of the Ground which is to be occupied, the Dragoons will encamp within the lines of Infantry in such order as may be assigned. They will furnish a picquet to remain in or out of camp the officer of the day may direct to consist of one subaltern one sergeant one corporal and twenty privates, one orderly drum will be detailed for the Deputy Adjutant General, and one orderly sergeant for the Commander in Chief. All signals will be given from the quarters of the Deputy Adjutant General excepting those which relate to the signals of the several Corps, the taps

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[1] James Bigger served on the Tippecanoe campaign as captain of a company of riflemen from Clark county. Later in the War of 1812 he was in charge of one of the three companies of rangers on the Indiana frontier. Though he was well known

in five or six counties and by half the settlers in southern Indiana no details of his life are at hand.

2. This seems to be Richard M. Heth of Corydon. July 26, 1811 he was appointed a captain in the Harrison Co. militia. He bought the farm opened up by Squire Boone near Corydon. His name is not on the roster of the Tippecanoe army and no explanation is offered of the difficulty.

3. Thomas Berry was appointed a captain in the Harrison county militia March 7, 1811. He led a detachment of mounted riflemen to Tippecanoe where he was killed Nov. 7, 1811. No biographical details are available.

will be beaten ten minutes before the Drummers call which precedes the reveille and tattoo and these will succeed the drummers call five minutes. At the Taps which precedes the Reveille the whole army will rise, the Dragoons will saddle and prepare to mount, at the beating of the reveille the whole army will parade until they are dismissed. Col. Boyd will please to direct that on the line of march the music to be equally divided between the heads of the two columns.

By the Commander in Chief

Signed, WM. MCFARLAND, *Adj. Gen. of the Army*

REGIMENTAL ORDER

Headquarters, TIERMANS, Sept. 29th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 174*

Capt. W. C. Baen[1] having reported himself will join his company, and Lieutenant [Oliver G.] Burton[2] will join his own company until further orders,

Signed, JAMES MILLER,
Lt. Col. of the 5th Reg. Commanding

DETACHMENT ORDERS

Head Quarters,
BATTELLE DES ILLINOIS [Terre Haute] 4th Oct. 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 175*

A command to consist of one subaltern one sergeant, one corporal and 20 privates from the regular troops and 1 subaltern 2 sergeants 2 corporals and thirty privates from Capt. [Spier] Spencers company of rifle is to parade this evening at 2 o'clock. These troops are to take with them their blankets and to draw five days provisions exclusive of this day, the two subalterns will apply at Head Quarters for orders.

By the Commander in Chief,

Signed, H. HURST, *A. D. C.*

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[1] William C. Baen joined the 4th Infantry from R. I. He was born in N. H. He was wounded at Tippecanoe and died two days later.

Heitman's *Register*

[2] Oliver G. Burton of Vt. joined the 4" Inf. Mar. 20, 1807. He was promoted to a captaincy Aug. 15, 1811. Died Feb. 22, 1821.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

CAMP ON THE WABASH 65 miles from VINCENNES
October 6th 1811
Har. Pa. 491-3

SIR:

I have the Honor to inform you of the arrival of the Troops under my command at this place on the 2nd Inst. The regular Troops stood the march surprisingly well. There are a good many sick but most of them of very slight complaints and there is not an individual who can be called ill. I have reconnoitred the country nearly to the boundary line and have fixed upon this as the most eligible situation for a fort. The timber is now preparing and it will be finished with all possible dispatch. We have as yet seen no Indians. Those excepted who were at Vincennes previously to the commencement of our march. I expect a deputation from the Prophets Town in five or six days. If I do not I shall send one to him and make a movement with the Troops in that direction. Those scoundrels have been again plundering our citizens. They took eight horses from a detached settlement in the Illinois Territory about thirty miles above Vincennes nine or ten days ago in open day light. I sincerely wish that my instructions were such as to authorise me to march immediately to the Prophets Town. The Troops which I command are a fine body of men and the proportion of Regulars, Irregulars, Infantry and Dragoons such as I could wish it. I have no reason to doubt the issue of a contest with the savages and I am much deceived if the greater part of both officers and men are not desirous of coming in contact with them. I bear constantly in mind your injunctions on the subject of the return of the 4th Regiment to Pittsburg this winter. I fear however that the thing is Impracticable. Both men and officers (the colonel excepted) are extremely desirous to winter in this Territory, and if they have not time to reach Pittsburgh before the Freezing of the Ohio it certainly would be advisable, rather than to occupy any intermediate point upon the Ohio when they could do no manner of service. This Regiment is in great want of clothing. It arrived at Newport shortly after the departure of the Regiment from there. Col. Boyd consulted me upon the subject of the orders to be given respecting it and I recommended that it should be sent to the mouth of the Wabash because the wants of the men were represented to be so great as to make it a considerable object to get the clothing as soon as possible even if their ascent of the Ohio were certain. I shall dispatch the 4th Regiment as soon as I can make any satisfactory arrangements with the Indians. But if any change of circumstances should render it less necessary at the point to which it was originally destined I am persuaded that its being placed in winter quarters here would be greatly beneficial to the public service. I beg you however to believe, Sir, that I shall endeavour to the utmost of my power to execute your instructions without suffering my own views and opinions to have any influence in producing a necessity for deviating from those which you may do me the Honor to communicate.

With perfect respect I have the Honor to be
Your Humbl. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esqr. *Secretary of War*

FIELD REPORT HARRISON'S ARMY

A General Return of the State of the Army under the Command of His Excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor and Commander in chief of Indiana Territory.

12th October 1811. Camp at Battelle des Illinois, Indiana Territory. *Har. Pa. 494*

	PRESENT																								
																Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates									
	Commander in Chief	Aides de Camp	Sgt. of Army	Brigadier Major	Forage Master	Colonels	Lieut. Cols.	Majors	Capts.	Subalterns	Paymaster	Adjutants	Quartermasters	Surgeons	Surgeon's Mates	Sgt. Majors	Quarterm. Sgt.	Sergeants	Corporals	Trumpeters	Musrs.	Saddlers	Farriers	Pack Horse Men	Privates
Field and Staff	1	2	1	1	1																				
Colonel Boyd's regulars						1	1	1	6	9	1	1		1		1	1	24	21		12				265
Lieut. Col. Bartholomew's Militia							2	2	5	14	14	2	2		2	1	2	25	25		5				314
Major Daviess' Squadron of horse								1	3	5		1	1			1	1	12	7	1		1	1		85
Capt. Spencer's Mounted Riflemen									1	4								6	4		2				67
Capt. Dubois' Spies and Guides									1															1	11
Total	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	4	16	32	1	4	3	1	2	3	4	67	57	1	19	1	1	1	762

N eut. Col. Miller reported fit for duty is at present sick.

	PRESENT												Total Non Com. Offrs. Muscs. & Privates Present and Absent	ABSENT									Total Non Com Offrs. Musrs & Privates Present and Absent	Aggregate
	Sick						On Extra Duty							Com. Off. Non Com. Off. and Privats										
	Capts.	Subalterns	Sergeants	Corporals	Musrs.	Privates	Capts.	Subalterns	Sergeants	Corporals	Musc.	Privates		Lieut. Col.	Capt.	Subaltern	Qr. Masters	Sergt. Majors	Sergeants	Corporals	Musc.	Privates		
Commander-in-Chief	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Field and Staff	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5
Colonel Boyd's regulars	....	2	3	6	2	36	....	....	1	1	....	31	404	1	2	3	1	....	7	4	2	85	502	533
Lieut. Col. Bartholomew's Militia	1	....	2	....	....	14	1	....	....	1	....	25	414	....	....	1	....	1	1	2	....	15	433	464
Major Daviess' Squadron of horse	....	2	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	111	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	112	125
Capt. Spencer's Mounted Riflemen	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	79	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	79	84
Capt. Dubois' Spies and Guides	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	13
Total	1	4	5	6	2	51	1	....	1	2	....	56	1020	1	2	4	1	1	8	6	2	101	1138	1225

I do hereby certify upon honor that the above return is correct and true, given under my hand the day aforesaid.

WM. McFARLAND Adj. to the Army.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

CAMP BATTLE DES ILLINOIS,
13th Octr. 1811

Har. Pa. 495-501

SIR:

Your letter of the 18th ultimo I had the Honor to receive yesterday. My views have hitherto been limited to the erection of the Fort which we are now building and to a march by way of feint in the direction of the Prophet's Town as high perhaps as the Vermillion River. But the powers given me in your last letter and circumstances which have occurred here at the very moment on which it was received call for measures of a more energetic kind. I had always supposed that the Prophet was a rash and presumptuous man but he has exceeded by expectations. He has not contented himself with throwing the gauntlet but has absolutely commenced the war. His parties were in our neighbourhood for the first time on the night of the 10th inst. our Centinals were fired on and one of the best men of the 4th U. State Regiment badly tho not mortally wounded. The army was immediately turned out and formed in excellent order in a very few minutes. Patrols were dispatched in every direction but the darkness was such that pursuit of the enemy was impracticable. Other alarms took place in the course of the night probably without good cause but the Troops manifested an alertness in taking their positions which was highly gratifying to me. Previously to my leaving Vincennes I had sent to the Delaware Towns to request some of their Chiefs to meet me upon the march that I might employ them in Missions to the several Tribes which have a part of their warriors with the Prophet. All the Chiefs of this faithful tribe that were able to march set out from their Towns on the 6th Inst. They had proceeded but a few miles when they were met by a deputation from the Prophet's Town requiring from the Tribes a catagorical answer to the question "Whether they would or would not join them in the war against the United States—that they had taken up the Tomhawk and that they would lay it down only with their lives. They had however positive assurances of victory and when they had beaten the Americans, those Tribes who refused to join them would have cause to repent it". The Delaware Chiefs immediately dispatched the Interpreter Mr.

[John] Connor and four of their men to inform me of this circumstance and "that they had determined to go immediately to the Prophet's Town to endeavour to divert him from his purpose, that they would be with me in a few days and communicate the result of their mission, and that if they were unsuccessful in their endeavours to prevent the Prophet from striking us they would abandon him to his fate". From this statement of Facts, Sir, you will no doubt be of opinion with me that the return of the Troops under my command without effecting the dispersion or humiliation of the Prophet's Party would be attended with the most fatal consequences. If he is thus presumptuous upon our advance our return without chastising him or greatly alarming his fears and those of his followers would give him an eclat that would increase his followers and we would have to wage through the Winter a defensive war which would greatly distress our Frontiers. With this conviction thoroughly impressed upon my mind it is with the greatest mortification I have to observe that my advance to the Prophets Town depends upon circumstances which are entirely without my control. The supply of provisions on hand is by no means sufficient and the means of land transportation for it altogether inadequate. We have hitherto depended upon water transportation but it is impossible to rely upon it in our advance from this. From the winding course of the rivers and the nature of the ground near it the ascending Boats cannot be protected by the army. Defending them, by detachments is equally impracticable because I could not make them sufficiently large without weakening my main body so as to expose it to certain defeat. As soon as I received your letter therefore I directed the Contractor to send down to Vincennes for five or six waggons and upon the arrival of these must depend in a great measure the practicability of our advance. The Fort is in such forwardness as to enable me to leave it in three days but it is necessary that we should wait for the waggons. The necessity of this delay suggested the idea of obtaining a reinforcement. I have certainly the highest opinion of the bravery of the Troops under my command and the composition of this little army is entirely to my mind, but with regard to actual service they are altogether raw and inexperienced. The Militia are the best I ever saw and Col. Boyd's Regiment is a fine body of men. But like all men who are about to engage a strange and untried Enemy many of the privates have imbibed such ideas of Indian address and Ferocity that it was found a matter of some difficulty to keep the centinels to their posts the night after the alarm. Two of the Delawares who are now in camp speak good English and before I was aware of it an opinion had been pretty generally imbibed from them amongst the men and by most of the officers that our force was too small to attack the Prophet with success. From the return which is herewith enclosed [Oct. 12, above] you will observe that our effectives are but little above nine hundred. From these must be deducted a small garrison for this fort and perhaps twelve or fifteen more sick than the report recognizes. From all the information which I have received I cannot estimate the Prophet's force at less than 600 men. Whatever precautions I may use it will be in his power to attack us when and where he pleases and precipitate the whole of his force upon our weakest point. With raw Troops I found upon my march hither that it was impossible to preserve that order and precision in our movements which is so desirable and necessary. The menouver which I have adopted for forming an order of Battle from the order of march altho extremely simple the men are not sufficiently expert in performing altho every opportunity has been embraced of practising it. A panic or confusion from an attack at that particular moment might be fatal. From Mr. Connor I learn that all the Delawares were impressed with a belief that the Prophet would attack us and that he and his followers were confident of success. I know not from whence this confidence can be derived, it is certain that it was not felt four weeks ago. I cannot learn that he has received any accession of strength and the ridiculous and superstitious pranks which he is practising inspire his followers with a belief in his supernatural powers can impose upon them only. Whatever may be the cause of this confidence the probability of its existence is sufficient to inspire caution. I do believe most sincerely that the Troops I have now with me are equal to the task of beating all the force the prophet can muster altho admitting him to have 600. The relative proportion is less favourable to us than it has ever been in any general action with the Indians. but I am not so ambitious of military fame as to subject the troops under my command to any unnecessary hazard to obtain it. A few companies more would make success entirely unequivocal. I have the Honor to inclose to you the result of a Council which I have held with my superior officers on the occasion. With their opinion I entirely coincide. I have sent for four Companies. Three only were contemplated by me but to secure them it was necessary to send for four. I shall not wait for them but move with cautious steps for twenty-five or thirty miles higher up so that we shall not have but forty or forty five miles to march when the reinforcement comes up. I have directed them to come on mounted. In the meantime my own and the exertions of my officers shall be used to inspire the men with confidence in themselves and contempt for the enemy.

I would have believed that the message which was sent by the Prophet was an empty boast if his parties had not been sent to fire on our centinels. But however unsuccessful our advance may have been in making a favourable impression upon the prophet it is certain that it has made such a one on the Weas and Miamis. The Chiefs of the former who have just returned from Malden are now collecting their women and Children (who had fled on our approach) at their village about two miles from us. The Miami Chiefs are also on their way to visit me, and the Weas say that the Wyandots have opened the Eyes of them all and that they will never again listen to the Prophet.

I am extremely glad that the return of Colonel Boyd's Regiment to Pittsburg may be dispensed with. It will certainly be of considerable service here and the season will be so far advanced before they can commence their voyage as to leave scarcely a probability of their being able to get them, and it would be exceeding harrassing to the men. This Regiment is not more sickly than when I wrote to you last week altho the weather has been uncommonly warm and consequently unfavourable. Two men have indeed died in camp within this week and one within a few hours after my last letter was written but he was so well in the morning as to be able to walk out and killed himself by eating heartily of fried liver.

I have the Honor to enclose to you herewith a letter from Dr. [Josiah] Foster. He says that his private affairs so imperiously require his presence that unless he can get a Furlough he must resign. I think him so valuable an officer that he ought if possible to be kept in service. His presence can be dispensed with for you may rest assured that the autumnal frosts will restore his regiment to perfect Health, and respectable medical men can be procured here if the Regiment should remain with us. Lt. Colonel [James] Miller has been very much indisposed but is better. He will not however I fear be able to march with us a circumstance infinitely to be regretted, for the experience which he has had. I have known no better officer and he is so much beloved by the officers and men of the 4th Regiment that I am persuaded that they would follow him to the Devil. Col. Boyd commands all the infantry as a Brigadier. There is not an officer of the regular troops (Col. Miller excepted) who cannot eat his rations as heartily as he ever could. The two that were left at Vincennes (one with an accidental hurt) are well and are coming up.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect, Sir,
Your Humble. Servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

The Honble. WILLIAM EUSTIS, Esqr. *Secretary of War*

PROCLAMATION: POSTPONING THE ASSEMBLY

October 14, 1811
Executive Journal, 33

The Governor Issued his proclamation further postponing the meeting of the Legislature of the Territory until the Eleventh day of November next. [Abstract]

REGIMENTAL ORDERS

CAMP, BATTLE DES ILLINOIS, Oct. 16th, 1811
Burton, *Historical Collection, 175*

REGIMENTAL ORDER

The officers commanding the different companies will be very particular in the execution of the General order of this day relative to the inspection of the arms, etc., as quick as possible it is to be understood that the examination of the arms and ammunition is to be thus particularly attended to every day, by the officer commanding the different companies and to make their report to the Commanding officer of the Regiment daily.

Signed, G. R. C. FLOYD, *Major 4th Infantry*

BRIGADE ORDERS

CAMP BATTLE DES ILLINOIS, October, 25th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 176*

BRIGADE ORDER

Pursuant to the General order of yesterday the Brigade will commence their march on 27th inst. The moment not being distant when they will be called to actual duty enforced it on the commander of Corps to see their arms and ammunition in perfect order and for that purpose a daily inspection will be made and all deficiencies immediately replaced.

In the event of meeting the enemy the Brigade will be ordered to make a vigorous and successful charge, the enemy will retreat in confusion, the horse will pursue and complete the victory.

Officers and soldiers will remember what their country expects from them and what a determined body are capable of performing against an inferior number of Indians. Soldiers must be obedient to their officers prompt and resolute in execution of their duty. Lieutenant Colonel [James] Miller's ill health deprives him the honor of leading the Regulars; that duty devolves on Major [Geo. R. C.] Floyd, and by the direction of the Commander in Chief Capt. [William C.] Baen will perform the duty of Major. He will be mounted and lead the left wing of the regulars.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. A. C. G.*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

CAMP BATTELLE DES ILLINOIS 29th Octr. 1811

Har. Pa. 502, 503

SIR:

The want of provisions and waiting to know the result of the Delaware mission to the Prophet has detained me here until this time. The Fort has also taken much more work than I had expected and the great deficiency of axes and the bad quality of those which we had had protracted the finishing it to double the time that it would have taken otherwise. It is now however completed and is a very handsome and strong work. The Baggage is now loading and the General will be beaten as soon as a Boat load of Flour which can at this moment be but a few miles from us make the appearance. The Delaware Chiefs arrived in Camp yesterday and gave an account of their efforts to induce the Prophet to lay aside his hostile designs in presence of all the officers. They were badly received, ill treated and insulted and finally dismissed with the most contemptuous remarks upon them and us. The party which fired upon our Centinels arrived at the Town when the Delawares were there, they were Shawanees and the Prophet's nearest Friends. Nothing now remains but to chastise him and he shall certainly get it. One of the companies which I have ordered on will join me today and another tomorrow. I cannot account for the conduct of the Prophet upon any rational principle. Many of the Potawatimies have left him; from the best accounts I can get he has not more than 450 men. But these are desperadoes wound up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by his infernal arts. The Delawares left him practising his magic rites and performing their war dances day and night.

I am still in hopes that the Kickapoos will abandon him on our approach. The Sick amongst the Militia have greatly increased since the last report but the regular Troops which are on the sick report are generally better. I am happy to inform you that the whole of the Troops are in fine spirits and eager to come in contact with the Enemy. I have used every exertion in my power to perfect them in the manouvers which they are to perform. I have exercised them myself almost daily, and their progress has been such that I do not hesitate to pronounce them so perfect as Genl. Wayne's army was on the day of his victory over the Indians. I promise you Sir that all the objects intended by the Expedition shall be effected.

[William] Well's account of the manner in which the murders in the Illinois Territory were perpetrated is absolutely false. The truth is that they were directed by the Prophet for the purpose of forcing the Indians of the Illinois River to unite with him. He has determined to commit to the flames the first of our men whom he can take in person.

I have the Honor to enclose herewith a return of the troops under my command.

I am with sincere respect Sir your humble servt.

WILLM. HENRY HARRISON

P. S. The Miami Chiefs have just arrived. They are entirely humbled.

The Honble WILLM EUSTIS Esqr. *Secy. of War*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

CAMP NEAR THE VERMILION RIVER Nov. 2nd 1811

Har. Pa. 504-506

SIR:

I arrived at this place with the Troops under my command last evening. I crossed the Wabash about ten miles below this and have been this day employed in the erection of a small blockhouse upon the bank of the Wabash for the protection of the provisions and boats which I shall be obliged to leave here as the best and more direct road to the Prophets Town passes so much to the north ward of the River that the Boats can be no longer protected in ascending. Indeed I was not able to cover them as completely as I could have wished in the ascent to this place. And I was in constant apprehension of their being attacked when we were not in a situation to defend them. I was congratulating myself on their arrival when a letter from Col. [James] Miller (whose indisposition was such as to oblige me to leave him at the new Fort) announced the unfortunate intelligence of an attack upon a boat loaded with corn which was ascending the river from the fort to this place. It was fired on four miles above the fort and one man killed. The crew immediately returned to the fort. This circumstance has caused me much apprehension for the settlements below. I have therefore sent off a small detachment of mounted riflemen to patrol round the settlements and have directed the senior militia officer at Vincennes to put every man upon the alert and to call out one or two companies should he think it necessary. The country round me has been examined for a considerable distance. Some signs of Indian parties passing southwardly have been discovered but in the attempt to trace them up the best woodsmen I have were baffled.

I am now from the best information I can get about 40 or 50 miles from the Prophet Town. The Country is generally open and there are as I understand a few places only where we can be advantageously attacked by the enemy. This information shall not however lull my vigilance. We march tomorrow morning & shall reach one of the most difficult passes (called Pine creek) on the 4th Inst. the anniversary of General St. Clair's defeat. Should we be attacked on that day I hope to alter the Color with which it has been marked in our callender for the last twenty years. I have been joined by two out of the four Companies of Mounted Riflemen which I ordered on. There is no probability of the others coming up. The spy which I sent to the Prophets Town has not returned & I very much fear that he has fallen a victim to his confidence in the friendship of the Indians for him.

Captain [Paul] Wentworth[1] has sent in his resignation through Col. Boyd. I was consulted on the occasion & gave my sanction to the measure because Eleven out of twelve of his brother officers expressed an opinion of his being entirely unfit for the service. I thought it best however to order him to take the immediate command of the new Garrison [Fort Harrison] as the extreme low state of Col. Miller's health made it necessary that there should be another officer. I remained at the Garrison a few hours after the march of the army and the Captain took that opportunity to request my permission to leave the Fort and return to Vincennes. I pointed out the necessity of his staying and referred him to Col. Miller who was so weak as to be unable to walk without the assistance of a stick. The Colonel's answer was that he hoped I would permit him to go as he had rather spare the Captain than the meanest soldier in the Garrison. I mention this in the hope that the Captain's pay and Emoluments may cease on the 29 Ultimo the day he left the Fort.

It was my intention to have named the Fort after one of the Heads of the Departments who performs his duties not more advantageously to the public interests than satisfactorily to those who have the Honor to receive their Orders from him, but recollecting that it was a temporary work and would be only wanted for a few years it occurred to me that I should do injury where I meant to do honor. At the request of my officers therefore I gave them permission to name the Work and they were pleased to call it Fort Harrison

I have the Honor to be With great respect Tr your Hble Sevt

WILLM HENRY HARRISON

The Honble WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secretary of War*

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[1] Paul Wentworth was from New Hampshire. He was made a captain in the 4th Inf. May 3, 1808 and resigned Oct. 29, 1811. No reason is given but the inference is that he feared the Indians.

BRIGADE ORDERS

ENCAMPMENT AT PRAIRIE GROVE, Nov. 3rd, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 176*

BRIGADE ORDERS

With the approbation of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, George Croughan[1] Esq. is appointed volunteer-aid-de-Camp to the acting Brigader General. All orders therefore delivered through him will be obeyed and respected according.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.*

The Battle of Tippecanoe[1] [Nov 7, 1811]

Dawson, *Harrison, 204-208*
McAfee, *The Late War, 22 seq*

On the evening of the 5th November, the army encamped at the distance of nine or ten miles from the prophet's town. It was ascertained that the approach of the army had been discovered before it reached Pine creek. The traces of reconnoitring parties were very often seen, but no Indians were discovered until the troops arrived within five or six miles of the town on the 6th of November. The interpreters were then placed with the advanced guard, to endeavor to open a communication with them. The Indians would, however, return no answer to the invitations that were made to them for that purpose, but continued to insult our people by their gestures. Within about three miles of the town, the ground became broken by ravines and covered with timber. The utmost precaution became necessary, and every difficult pass was examined by the mounted riflemen before the army was permitted to enter it. The ground being unfit for the operation of the squadron of dragoons, they were thrown in the rear. Through the whole march, the precaution had been used of changing the disposition of the different corps, that each might have the ground best suited to its operations. Within about two miles of the town the path descended a steep hill, at the bottom of which was a small creek running through a narrow wet prairie, and beyond this a level plain partially covered with oak timber, and without under-brush. Before the crossing of the creek, the woods were very thick and intersected by deep ravines. No place could be better calculated for the savages to attack with a prospect of success, and the Governor apprehended that the moment the troops descended into the hollow, they would be attacked. A disposition was therefore made of the infantry, to receive the enemy on the left and rear. A company of mounted riflemen was advanced a considerable distance from the left flank to check the approach of the enemy; and the other two companies were directed to turn the enemy's flanks, should he attack from that direction. The dragoons were ordered to move rapidly from the rear and occupy the plain in advance of the creek, to cover the crossing of the army from an attack in front. In this order the troops were passed over; the dragoons were made to advance to give room to the infantry, and the latter having crossed the creek, were formed to receive the enemy in front in one line, with a reserve of three companies—the dragoons flanked by mounted riflemen forming the first line. During all this time, Indians were frequently seen in front and on the flanks. The interpreters endeavored in vain to bring them to a parley. Though sufficiently near to hear what was said to them, they would return no answer, but continued by gestures to menace and insult those who addressed them. Being now arrived within a mile and a half of the town and the situation being favorable for an encampment, the Governor determined to remain there and fortify his camp, until he could hear from the friendly chiefs, whom he had dispatched from fort Harrison, on the day he had left it, for the purpose of making another attempt to prevent the recurrence to hostilities. These chiefs were to have met him on the way, but no intelligence was yet received from them. Whilst he was engaged in tracing out the lines of the encampment, major Daveiss and several other field officers approached him, and urged the propriety of immediately marching upon the town. The Governor answered that his instructions would not justify his attacking the Indians, as long as there was a probability of their complying with the demands of the government, and that he still hoped to hear something in the course of the evening from the friendly Indians, whom he had dispatched from fort Harrison.

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[1] George Croghan was a member of one of the pioneer families of the west. His home was at Louisville. He volunteered for this expedition along with Jo. Daviess, John OFallon, and other young Kentuckians. He later became a hero of the army and won a congressional medal for the defence of Fort Stephenson, O. Died Jan. 8, 1849.

[1] This description of the battle is taken from Robert McAfee, *History of the Late War,* and may be considered as the work of General Harrison. He not only furnished the substance to the author but in 1824 when Moses Dawson wrote his narrative this was quoted with the approval of General Harrison. The same facts are found in the *National Intelligencer,* Mar. 4, 1817. Following this there will be a number of descriptions of the battle, without the usual regard for chronological sequence.

To this it was observed, that as the Indians seen hovering about the army, had been frequently invited to a parley by the interpreters, who had proceeded some distance from the lines for the purpose; and as these overtures had universally been answered by menace and insult, it was very evident that it was their intention to fight; that the troops were in high spirits and full of confidence; and that advantage ought to be taken of their ardour to lead them immediately to the enemy. To this the Governor answered, that he was fully sensible of the eagerness of the troops; and admitting the determined hostility of the Indians, and that their insolence was full evidence of their intention to fight, yet he knew them too well to believe, that they would ever do this, but by surprise, or on ground which was entirely favorable to their mode of fighting. He was therefore determined not to advance with the troops, until he knew precisely the situation of the town, and the ground adjacent to it, particularly that which intervened between it and the place where the army then was—that it was their duty to fight when they came in contact with the enemy—it was his to take care that they should not engage in a situation where their valor would be useless, and where a corps upon which he placed great reliance would be unable to act—that the experience of the last two hours ought to convince every officer, that no reliance ought to be placed upon the guides, as to the topography of the country—that relying on their information, the troops had been led into a situation so unfavorable, that but for the celerity with which they changed their position, a few Indians might have destroyed them: he was therefore determined not to advance to the town, until he had previously reconnoitred, either in person, or by some one, on whose judgment he could rely. Major Daveiss immediately replied, that from the right of the position of the dragoons, which was still in front the openings made by the low grounds of the Wabash could be seen; that with his adjutant Davis Floyd, he had advanced to the bank, which descends to the low grounds, and had a fair view of the cultivated fields and the houses of the town; and that the open woods, in which the troops then were, continued without interruption to the town. Upon this information, the Governor said he would advance, provided he could get any proper person to go to the town with a flag. Captain T. Dubois of Vincennes having offered his services, he was dispatched with an interpreter to the prophet, desiring to know whether he would now comply with the terms, that had been so often proposed to him. The army was moved slowly after in order of battle. In a few moments a messenger came from captain Dubois informing the Governor that the Indians were near him in considerable numbers, but that they would return no answer to the interpreter, although they were sufficiently near to hear what was said to them and that upon his advancing, they constantly endeavored to cut him off from the army. Governor Harrison during this last effort to open a negotiation, which was sufficient to show his wish for an accommodation, resolved no longer to hesitate in treating the Indians as enemies. He therefore recalled captain Dubois, and moved on with a determination to attack them. He had not proceeded far, however, before he was met by three Indians, one of them a principal cousellor to the prophet. They were sent, they said, to know why the army was advancing upon them—that the prophet wished if possible to avoid hostilities; that he had sent a pacific message by the Miami and Potawatamie chiefs, who had come to him on the part of the Governor—and that those chiefs had unfortunately gone down on the south side of the Wabash. A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed upon; and a meeting was to take place the next day between Harrison and the chiefs, to agree upon the terms of peace. The Governor further informed them, that he would go on to the Wabash, and encamp there for the night. Upon marching a short distance further he came in view of the town, which was seen at some distance up the river upon a commanding eminence. Major Daveiss and adjutant Floyd had mistaken some scattering houses in the field below, for the town itself. The ground below the town being unfavorable for an encampment, the army marched on in the direction of the town, with a view to obtain a better situation beyond it. The troops were in an order of march, calculated by a single conversion of companies, to form the order of battle, which it had last assumed, the dragoons being in front. This corps, however, soon became entangled in ground, covered with brush and tops of fallen trees. A halt was ordered, and major Daveiss directed to change position with [Spier] Spencer's rifle corps, which occupied the open fields adjacent to the river. The Indians seeing this manoeuvre, at the approach of the troops towards the town, supposed that they intended to attack it, and immediately prepared for defence. Some of them sallied out, and called to the advanced corps to halt. The Governor upon this rode forward, and requested some of the Indians to come to him, assured them, that nothing was farther from his thoughts than to attack them—that the ground below the town on the river, was not calculated for an encampment and that it was his intention to search for a better one above. He asked if there was any other water convenient besides that which the river afforded; and an Indian with whom he was well acquainted, answered, that the creek, which had been crossed two miles back, ran through the prairie to the north of the village. A halt was then ordered, and some officers sent back to examine the creek, as well as the river above the town. In half an hour, brigade major Marston Clarke[2] and major Waller Taylor returned, and reported that they had found on the creek, everything that could be desirable in an encampment—an elevated spot, nearly surrounded by an open prairie, with water convenient, and a sufficiency of wood for fuel. An idea was propagated by the enemies of Governor Harrison after the battle of Tippecanoe, that the Indians had forced him to encamp on a place, chosen by them as suitable for the attack they intended. The place, however, was chosen by majors Taylor and Clarke, after examining all the environs of the town; and when the army of general [Samuel] Hopkins[3] was there in the following year, they all united in the opinion, that a better spot to resist Indians, was not to be found in the whole country.

The army now marched to the place selected, and encamped late in the evening, on a dry piece of ground, which rose about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front, towards the town, and about twice as high above a similar prairie in the rear; through which, near the bank, ran a small stream clothed with willows and brush wood. On the left of the encampment, this bench of land became wider; on the right it gradually narrowed, and terminated in an abrupt point, about one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear. The right flank being about eighty yards wide, was filled with captain Spencer's company of eighty men. The left flank, about one hundred and fifty yards in extent, was composed of three companies of mounted riflemen, under major general [Samuel] Wells,[1] commanding as a major. The front line was composed of one battalion of United States' infantry, under the command of major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia infantry, under captain [W. C.] Baen, commanding as a major; and four companies of militia infantry, under lieutenant colonel [Luke] Decker;[5] the regulars being stationed next the riflemen under Wells, and the militia on the other end of the line adjoining Spencer's company. The cavalry under Daveiss were encamped in the rear of the front line and the left flank. The encampment was not more than three fourths of a mile from the town.

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[2] Marston Clark was born in Va. 1774. About 1800 he settled near Louisville. From there he moved into Ind. and finally located at Salem. His father was perhaps a brother of Geo. R. Clark. He was well known as a militia officer and served in the legislature as well as U. S. Indian agent. He was grand master of the Indiana masons in 1825. He died at Salem in 1842. McDonald, *Freemasonry in Indiana,* 335.

[3] Samuel Hopkins was a native of Albemarle Co. Va.; a soldier of the Rev. surrendered with Lincoln at Charleston, May 20, 1780. Came to Ky. 1797. Located at Red Banks, now Henderson. Served in congress 1813-15 and died Oct. 1819. Collins, *Kentucky,* 350. Lossing, *War of 1812,* 335-8.

The order given to the army, in the event of a night attack, was for each corps to maintain its ground at all hazards till relieved. The dragoons were directed in such a case, to parade dismounted, with their swords on and their pistols in their belts, and to wait for orders. The guard for the night consisted of two captain's commands of twenty four men and four non-commissioned officers; and two subalterns' guards of twenty men and non-commissioned officers—the whole under the command of a field officer of the day.

TAYLOR TO NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER

February 22, 1817

Niles Register, XII, 90

THE above account taken from McAffee's *History of the War in the Western Country,* as it relates to the situation of

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[4] Samuel Wells was a well known Kentucky Indian fighter. He advanced with Harrison to the relief of Fort Wayne in 1812, led the detachment which destroyed the village of Five Medals on Elkhart river, and marched with Winchester to the Raisin, but had returned for reinforcements.

[5] Luke Decker came from Va. to Knox Co. Ind. before 1783. He was a slave holder and brought his slaves with him. Decker was in office or connected with the public service throughout his life. In politics he supported Harrison. *History of Knox County* (1886).

the camp occupied by the army under the command of governor Harrison, on the night between the 6th and 7th of November, 1811, is entirely correct. The spot for the encampment was selected by col. [Marston] Clarke, (who acted as brigade major to general Boyd,) and myself. We were directed by governor Harrison to examine the country up and down the creek until we should find a suitable place for an encampment. In a short time we discovered the place on which the army encamped, and to which it was conducted by us. No intimation was given by the Indians of the wish that we should encamp there, nor could they possibly have known where the army would encamp until it took its position. The only error in the above extract is, in saying that major Clarke and myself were sent back, by which it would appear that the army retrogaded to take up its encampment; this is not the fact, the army filed off in front of the town at right angles to the Wabash to reach its encampment. It has ever been my belief that the position we occupied was the best that could be found anywhere near us, and I believe that nine-tenths of the officers were of that opinion. We did not go on the Wabash above the town, but I am certain that there was no position below it that was eligible for an encampment.

WALLER TAYLOR

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

Head Quarters Near the PROPHETS TOWN Nov. 8th 1811

Har. Pa. 508

SIR

I have the honor to inform you that the dawn of yesterday terminated an action between the Troops under my command and the whole of the Prophet's forces. Their precipitate retreat leaving a number of the warriors dead on the field and the subsequent abandonment of their Town (which was partially fortified) attest for us a complete and decisive victory. It has however been dearly purchased—a number of brave and valuable men have fallen victims to their zeal for their country's service. The behavior of both regulars & Militia Troops was such as would have done honor to Veterans. I arrived at my present position (a mile from the Town) on the evening of the sixth Instant. A correspondence was immediately opened with the Prophet and there was every appearance of a successful termination of the expedition without bloodshed. Indeed there was an agreement for the suspension of hostilities until a further communication should take place on the next day. Contrary however to this engagement he attacked me at half past four oclock in the morning so suddenly that Indians were in the Camp before many of the men could get out of their tents. A little confusion for a short time prevailed, but aided by the great activities of the officers I was soon enabled to form the men in order. The companies which were hard pressed were supported, several successful charges made, and about daylight the enemy were finally put to flight after having penetrated to, and killed men in the very center of our Camp. Our killed and wounded amounted to 179, of these 42 are now dead and seven or eight more will certainly die. I believe that the Prophet's force is so entirely routed that he will not be able to collect a sufficient number to harrass us on our return. But should this be the case it may be in his power encumbered as we are with the wounded to do us considerable injury. We are moreover destitute of every article of provisions excepting the corn (which we have taken) and about four days issues of flour at the short allowance of ¾ of a pound per man. Indeed the army have drawn no more than this for three weeks and all our beef cattle broke from us the night of the action and were dispersed and driven off by the Indians. You may rest assured Sir, that I shall make every exertion in my power to conduct the Troops in safety to the settlements. I have not been able to ascertain the number of Indians in the action, it must however have been considerable. The principal chief of those Potawatamies who have joined the Prophet is wounded and in our possession. I have taken care of him and shall send him back to his tribe. At a more leisure moment I shall do myself the honor to transmit a more particular account of the action and of our previous movements and am with the highest respect Sir

your Hble. Sevt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Honorable WILLIAM EUSTIS *Secretary of War*

ELLIOTT TO BROCK

AMHERSTBURG 12th January, 1812
(Nov. 8, 1811)

Wood, *Canadian War of 1812, I, 280*

SIR

I have the honor to inform you, that just as I had finished writing you yesterday, a Kickapoo Chief who was in the action on the Wabache arrived here, and reports that without having sent any previous message, Governor Harrison advanced from his Fort against the Indians with intention of surrounding the Village on all sides, that none might escape if they proved refractory. He completely surrounded it on the Land side, and attempted it by the River, but the Indians boldly ordered him to desist, or it would not go well with him—He then asked where he could Camp, and was told, "wherever he pleased except round their Village . . ." All this time the Officers and Cavalry had their swords ready drawn and the Infantry were drawn up ready to fire upon them.

He however retreated about a Quarter of a mile over a little rising ground and Camped by a small Rivulet; but before he retreated the Indians took a Negro and threatened to put him to death if he did not inform them of the Governors intention. The Negro told them that he intended to deceive them, and they let him go. And the Governor after he had encamped, sent the same Negro back to them to desire them to sleep sound and be at ease, and not approach his Sentinals lest they should be shot, and that he would not allow any of his people to go near them.

The Indians however had their Piquets to prevent surprise and often, during the night ordered the American Spies to retire from their Posts, without doing them an injury—Two young Winibiegoes, no doubt out of curiosity (for it appears the Indians had no intention to attack but to defend themselves if attacked) went near some of the American Sentinals and were shot at, and fell as wounded men, but on the Sentinals coming up to dispatch them they arose and Tomahawked them.

This insult roused the indignation of the Indians and they determined to be revenged and according commenced the attack at Cock Crowing—They had the American between two fires, driven by the Winibiegoies, they were received by the Kickapoos, alternately, until about 9 o'clock when the Indians gave way for want of Arrows and Ammunition. It appears, that not above one hundred Indians fired a shot, the greater number being engaged in plundering and conveying off horses.

The women and children saved themselves by crossing the river during the engagement.

The Americans burned the Prophet's Village and all the Corn of the Shawanoes, but the Kickapoos saved theirs by having had it previously buried. Twenty-five Indians only are killed; the Kikapoo does not know the number of Americans killed, but he says their loss must have been considerable, not less than one hundred.

The Prophet and his people do not appear as a vanquished enemy; they re-occupy their former ground.

From this man's report, the Chiefs of these Tribes have determined to come here early in the Spring to make a demand of ammunition and Arms.

The Prophets brother, who went to the Southward in Winter 1810-11 is reported by this man to be on his return and has reached the farthest Kickapoo Town, and is there in Council with the different Nations. He passed Vincennes on his way home, and met the Army of Governor Harrison retreating, but no insult was offered to him or his few friends who accompanied him.

When the Messenger I sent, returns, I no doubt will receive further intelligence respecting the views of the Indians and will lose no time in transmitting it to you—or perhaps be the bearer of it myself.

The following is an account of the numbers of the Different Nations killed in the action viz.

Kickapoos	9	25
Winibiegoes	6	
Potewatemies	4	
Ottawas	3	
Creeks	2	
Shawanoes	1	

From the manner in which the Kickapoo relates his story I sincerely believe his account to be correct.

I have the honor to be Your Honor's Most Obedient & Most Humble Servant

(Signed) M: ELLIOTT *S. I. A.*

P. S. The Indian Forces consisted of from 250 to 300 and not more than 100 were ever engaged.[1]

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 18th Nov. 1811

Har. Pa. 524-536

SIR:

In my letter of the 8th Instant, I did myself the Honor to communicate the result of an action between the Troops under my command and the confederation of Indians under the Shawanee Prophet. I had previously informed you in a letter of the 2nd Instant of my proceedings previously to my arrival at the Vermilion River where I had erected blockhouse for the protection of the Boats which I was obliged to leave and as a depository for our heavy baggage & such part of our provisions as we were unable to transport in Waggons. On the morning of the 3rd Instant I commenced my march from the Block house. The Wabash above this turning considerably to the eastward I was obliged in order to avoid the broken and woody country which borders upon it to change any course to the westward of North to gain the prairies which lie to the back of those woods. At the end of one day's march I was enabled to take the proper direction (N. E.) which brought me on the evening of the 5th to a small creek at about eleven miles from the Prophet's Town. I had on the preceding day avoided the dangerous pass of Pine creek by inclining a few miles to the left where the Troops and Waggons were crossed with expedition and safety. Our route on the 6th for about 6 miles lay through prairies separated by small points of woods.

My order of march hitherto had been similar to that used by General Wayne, that is, the Infantry were in two columns of files on either side of the road and the mounted Riflemen & Cavalry in front in the rear and on the flanks. Where the ground was unfavorable for the action of Cavalry they were placed in the rear but where it was otherwise they were made to exchange positions with one of the mounted Rifle Corps. Understanding that the last four miles were open woods and the probability being greater that we should be attacked in front than on either flank I halted at that distance from the Town & formed the army in order of battle. The United States Infantry placed in the center, two companies of Militia Infantry and one of Mounted Riflemen on each flank formed the front line. In the rear of this line was placed the baggage drawn up as compactly as possible and immediately behind it a reserve of three companies of Militia Infantry. The Cavalry formed a second line at the distance of three hundred yards in the rear of the front line and a Company of mounted Riflemen the advanced guard at that distance in front. To facilitate the march the whole were then broken off in short columns of Companies, a situation the most favorable for forming in order of battle with facility & precision. Our march was slow and cautious & much delayed by the examinations of every place which seemed calculated for an ambuscade. Indeed the ground was for some time so unfavorable that I was obliged to change the position of the several Corps three times in the distance of a mile. At half past two o'clock we passed a small creek at the distance of one mile and a half from the Town and entered an open wood when the army was halted and again drawn up in order of battle. During the whole of the last days march parties of Indians were constantly about us and every effort was made by the Interpreters to speak to them but in vain. New attempts of the kind were now made but proving equally ineffectual a Capt. [Touissant] Dubois of the Spies & Guides offering to go with a flag to the Town, I dispatched him with an Interpreter to request a conference with the Prophet. In a few moments a messenger was sent by Capt. Dubois to inform me that in his attempt to advance the Indians appeared on both his flanks and altho he had spoken to them in the most friendly manner they refused to answer but beckoned to him to go forward and constantly endeavored to cut him off from the army. Upon this information I recalled the Capt. and determined to encamp for the night & take some other measures for opening a conference with the Prophet. Whilst I was engaged in tracing the lines for the encampment Major [Joseph] Daviess who commanded the Dragoons came to inform me that he had penetrated to the Indian fields, that the ground was entirely open and favorable, that the Indians in front had manifested nothing but hostility and had answered every attempt to bring them to a parley with contempt and insolence. I was immediately advised by all the officers around me to move forward. A similar wish indeed pervaded all the army, it was drawn up in excellent order and every man appeared eager to decide the contest immediately. Being informed that a good encampment might be had upon the Wabash I yielded to what appeared the general wish & directed the troops to advance, taking care however to place the interpreters in front with directions to invite a conference with any Indians they might meet with. We had not advanced above four hundred yards when I was informed that three Indians had approached the advanced Guard & had expressed a wish to speak to me. I found upon their arrival that one of them was a man in great estimation with the Prophet. He informed me that the Chiefs were much surprised at my advancing upon them so rapidly, that they were given to understand by the Delawares and Miamis whom I had sent to them a few days before that I would not advance to their Town until I had received an answer to my demands made through them. That this answer had been dispatched by the Potawatamie Chief Winemac who had accompanied the Miamis & Delawares on their return —that they had left the Prophet's Town two days before with a design to meet me but had unfortunately taken the road on the south side of the Wabash—I answered that I had no intention of attacking them until I discovered that they would not comply with the demands which I had made—that I would go on and encamp at the Wabash and in the morning would have an interview with the Prophet & his chiefs and explain to them the determination of the President—that in the mean time no hostilities should be committed. He seemed much pleased with this and promised that it should be observed on their parts. I then resumed my march. We struck the cultivated grounds about five hundred yards below the Town but as these extended to the bank of the Wabash there was no possibility of getting an encampment which was provided with both wood and water. My Guides and Interpreters being still with the advanced Guard and taking the direction of the Town the army followed and had advanced within about 150 yards when 50 or 60 Indians salied out and with loud exclamations called to the Cavalry & to the Militia Infantry which were on our right flank to halt. I immediately advanced to the Front caused the army to halt and directed an Interpreter to request some of the Chiefs to come to me. In a few minutes the man who had been with me before made his appearance. I informed him that my object for the present was to procure a good piece of ground to encamp on where we could get wood and water. He informed me that there was a creek to the North West which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately dispatched two officers to examine it and they reported that the situation was excellent. I then took leave of the Chief & a mutual promise was again made for suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day. I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it. It was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of Regular Troops that were opposed to Regulars but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry Oak Land rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in Front (towards the Indian Town) and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which and near to this bank ran a small stream clothed with willows and other brush wood. Towards the left flank this bench of high land widened considerably but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank terminated in an abrupt point. The two columns of Infantry occupied the front and rear of this ground at the distance of about one hundred & fifty yards from each other on the left and something more than half that distance on the right flank. These flanks were filled up, the first by two Companies of Mounted Riflemen amounting to about one hundred and twenty men under the command of Major General [Samuel] Wells of the Kentucky Militia who served as a Major, the other by [Spier] Spencer's Company of mounted Riflemen which amounted to eighty men. The front line was composed of one Battalion of United States Infantry under the command of Major [Geo. R. C.] Floyd, flanked on the right by two Companies of Militia and on the left by one Company. The rear line was composed of a Battalion of United States Troops under the command of Capt. Baen acting as Major and four Companies of Militia Infantry under Lieut. Col. [Luke] Decker. The Regular Troops of this line joined the mounted

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[1] Compare this with Shabonee's account in *Indiana Magazine of History XVII*, 353-364; Isaac Naylor's account in the same magazine, II, 164; and John Tipton's Journal in the same II, 170.

Riflemen under Gen. Wells on the left flank & Col. Decker's battalion formed an angle with Spencer's Company on the left.

Two Troops of Dragoons amounting to in the aggregate about sixty men were encamped in the rear of the left Flank & Capt. [Benjamin] Parkes Troop, which was larger than the other two, in the rear of the front line. Our order of encampment varied little from that above described excepting when some peculiarity of the ground made it necessary. For a night attack the order of encampment was the order of battle and each man slept immediately opposite to his post in the line. In the formation of my Troops I used a single rank or what is called Indian file, because in Indian Warfare where there is no shock to resist one rank is nearly as good as two and in that kind of Warfare the extension of line is a matter of first importance. Raw Troops also manoeuvre with much more facility in single than in double ranks. It was my constant custom to assemble all the field officers at my Tent every evening by signal to give them the watch word and their instructions for the night. Those given for the night of the 6th were that each Corps which formed a part of the exterior line of the encampment should hold its own ground until relieved. The Dragoons were directed to parade dismounted in case of a night attack with their pistols in their belts and to act as a Corps de reserve. The Camp was defended by two Captain's Guards consisting each of four non-commissioned officers & 42 privates and two Subaltern guards of twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. The whole under the command of a field officer of the day. The Troops were regularly called up an hour before day and made to continue under arms until it was quite light. On the morning of the 7th I had risen a quarter after 4 oclock and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes when the attack commenced. It began on our left flank—but a single gun was fired by the Centinals or by the guard in that direction which made not the least resistance but abandoned their office & fled into Camp, and the first notice which the Troops of that flank had of the danger was from the yells of the Savages within a short distance of the lines, but even under these circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake or were easily awakened seized their arms and took their stations, others which were more tardy had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon Capt. [Robert C.] Barton's Company of the 4 U. S. Reg. and Capt. [Frederick] Geiger's[1] Company of mounted Riflemen which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was excessively severe & they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them. Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed. I believe all the other Companies were under arms and tolerably formed before they were fired on. The morning was dark and cloudy, our fires afforded a partial light which if it gave us some opportunity of taking our positions was still more advantageous to the enemy affording them the means of taking a surer aim, they were therefore extinguished as soon as possible. Under all these discouraging circumstances the Troops Nineteen-twentieth of whom had never been in action before behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise and with less confusion than could have been expected from Veterans placed in a similar situation. As soon as I could mount my horse I rode to the Angle that was attacked I found that Barton's Company had suffered severely and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. I immediately ordered [Joel] Cook's[2] Company & the late Capt. [Paul] Wentworth's under Lieut. [George P.] Peters[3] to be brought up from the centre of the rear line where the ground was much more defensable and formed across the angle in support of Barton's & Geigers, My attention was there engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line where were stationed the small Company of U. S. Riflemen (then however armed with muskets) and the Companies of Bain, [Josiah]

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[1] Frederick Geiger was born near Hagerstown, Md. June 8, 1753, a German from the Mohawk valley. He and wife came to Ky. about 1790 and located at Louisville. He raised a company of men for the Tippecanoe campaign and caught up with Harrison just above Fort Harrison. Geiger brought a new British musket home with him from the battle. On the night of the battle Indians entered his tent and were run out by the captain. He died on his farm near Louisville Aug. 28, 1832.

Pirtle, *Battle of Tippecanoe, 17*

[2] Joel Cook of Conn. was an ensign in the 3d infantry in 1798 but discharged when the army was reduced June 15, 1800. June 13, 1808 he became a captain in the 4th Inf. and served till Sept. 2, 1813.

Heitman, *Register, 323*

[3] George P. Peters joined the 4th Inf. from N. H. Dec. 3, 1807. Became a 1st Lieut. Oct. 29, 1811, eight days before the battle of Tippecanoe. He continued in the service till his death Nov. 28, 1819.

Heitman, *Register, 786*

Snelling[4] and [Geo. W.] Prescott[5] of the 4th Reg. I found Major Daviess forming the Dragoons in the rear of those Companies and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemies fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those Companies, I directed the Major to dislodge them with a part of the Dragoons. Unfortunately the Major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient which enabled the enemy to avoid him in Front and attack his flanks. The Major was mortally wounded and his party driven back. The Indians were however immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position by Capt. Snelling at the head of his Company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack the fire extended along the left flank the whole of the Front, then right flank and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted Riflemen and right of [Jacob] Warwicks[6] Company which was posted on the right of the rear line it was successively severe. Capt Spencer and his first and second Lieutenant were killed and Capt. Warwick mortally wounded. Those companies however still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencer's had suffered so severely and having originally too much ground to occupy I reinforced them with [David] Robb's Company of Riflemen which had been driven or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank towards the center of the Camp and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescott's Company of the 4th U. S. Regt. My great object was to keep the lines entire to prevent the enemy from breaking into the Camp until day light should enable me to make a general and effective charge. With this view I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself I withdrew from the front line Snelling's, Posey's (under

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[4] Josiah Snelling enlisted in the 4 Inf. from Mass. May 3, 1808 as a lieutenant. Served with distinction during the War of 1812. Later he commanded on the western frontier. Fort Snelling is named in his honor. Died in service Aug. 20, 1828.

Heitman, *Register, 906*

[5] George W. Prescott joined the 4th Inf. from N. H. June 18, 1808, as a captain. He served till Aug. 15, 1813 when he resigned.

Heitman, *Register, 805*

[6] Jacob Warrick was a pioneer of Gibson county Indiana. He was appointed captain of militia May 21, 1808. He with his father-in-law Thomas Montgomery came from Ky. and settled near Owensville in 1807. He lived on this farm until 1811 when he led his company to Tippecanoe where he was killed.

Stormont, *Gibson County, 53*

Lieutenant [Jacob] Albright)[7] & Scott's and from the rear line [Walter] Wilson's Companies and drew them up upon the left flank and at the same time I ordered [Joel] Cook's and [William C.] Baen's Companies the former from the rear and the latter from the front line to reinforce the right flank foreseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts. Major Wells who commanded on the left flank not knowing my intentions precisely had taken the command of these Companies and charged the enemy before I had formed the body of Dragoons with which I meant to support the Infantry, a small detachment of those were however ready and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the Infantry at the point of the Bayonet and the Dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh where they could not be followed. Capt. Cook and Lieut. [Charles] Larabee[8] had agreeably to my order marched their Companies to the right flank, had formed them under the fire of the enemy and being then joined by the Riflemen of that flank had charged the Indians, killed a number and put the rest to a precipitate flight. A favorable opportunity was here offered to pursue the enemy with Dragoons but being engaged at that time on the other flank I did not observe it until it was too late.

I have thus, Sir, given you the particulars of an action which was certainly maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity uncommon even with them, to their savage fury our Troops opposed that cool and deliberate valour which is characteristic of the Christian Soldier.

The more pleasing part of my duty (that of naming to you the Corps and Individuals who particularly distinguished themselves) is yet to be performed. There is however considerable difficulty in it. Where merit was so common it is almost impossible to discriminate.

The whole of the Infantry formed a small Brigade under the immediate orders of Col. Boyd. The Col. throughout the

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[7] Lieutenant Jacob Albright of the First Inf. was commanding a company of the Seventh Inf. formerly under Captain Thornton Posey. There is mentioned a captain John Posey in the militia under Decker but it is hardly probable a captain of the regulars would have been placed in command in his place.

[8] Charle Larrabee was a native of Conn.; enlisted June 13, 1808; Lieut. in 4" Inf. June 12, 1809. Served throughout war of 1812. Lost an arm at Brownstown. Resigned Apr. 7, 1825.

Heitman, *Register*

action manifested equal zeal and bravery in carrying into execution my orders, in keeping the men to their posts & exhorting them to fight with valour. His Brigade Major, Clark, & his Aid de Camp George Croghan Esq. were also very heroicably employed. Col. Joseph Bartholomew[9] a very valuable officer commanded under Col. Boyd the Militia Infantry. He was wounded early in the action and his services lost to me. Major G. R. C. Floyd the Senior officer of the 4th U. S. Regt. commanded immediately the Battalion of that Regt. which was in the Front line. His conduct during the action was entirely to my satisfaction. Lieut. Col. [Luke] Decker who commanded the Battalion of Militia on the right of the rear line preserved his command in good order. He was however but partially attacked. I have before mentioned to you that Major General Wells of the 4th Division of Kentucky Militia acted under my command as a Major at the head of two Companies of Mounted Volunteers. The General maintained the fame which he had already acquired in almost every Campaign and in almost every battle which has been fought with the Indians since the settlement of Kentucky. Of the several Corps the 4th U. S. Regt. and the two small Companies attached to it were certainly the most conspicuous for undaunted valour. The Companies commanded by Captain Cook, Snelling and Barton, Lieutenants Larabee Peters & Hawkins were placed in situations where they could render more service and encounter more danger and those officers eminently distinguished themselves. Captains Prescott, & [Return B.] Brown[10] performed their duty entirely to my satisfaction as did Posey's Company of the 7th Regt. headed by Lieut. Albright. In short, Sir, they supported the fame of American Regulars and I have never heard that a single individual was found out of the line of his duty. Sev-

[9] Joseph Bartholomew was born in New Jersey March 15, 1766. At the age of 5 his father moved to Laurel Hill, Pa. Here he married and in 1788 moved to near Louisville. For some years he was a surveyor in the Northwest Ter. In 1798 he settled near Charlestown, Ind., where he raised a family of 10 children. He led a company of 120 men to join Harrison in 1811. He served as a captain of Rangers during the war of 1812. In 1820 he was in the legislature. In 1817 he helped organize the grand lodge F. & A. M. at Corydon. Helped locate the capital at Indianapolis in 1820. In 1830 he lost his farm on a security debt and moved to McLean Co. Ill. He died Nov. 2, 1840, the next day after Harrison's election and is buried beside his comrade in arms Capt. James Bigger.

Geo. Pence in *Ind. Mag. of Hist. XIV, 287*

[10] Return B. Brown was from Vt. Enlisted as a Capt. in the 4th Inf. Mar. 18, 1809; became a major Mar. 9, 1814 and was honorably discharged June 15, 1815.

Heitman, *Register*

eral of the Militia Companies were in no wise inferior to the Regulars. Spencer's, Geiger's and Warwick's maintained their posts amidst a monstrous carnage, as indeed did Robbs after it was posted on the left flank, its loss of men (17 killed and wounded) & keeping its ground is sufficient evidence of its firmness. Wilson's, Scott's Companies charged with the Regular Troops & proved themselves worthy of doing so. Norris's Company also behaved well, Hargrove's and [Andrew] Wilkin's[11] Company were placed in a situation where they had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves or I am satisfied they would have done it. This was the case with the Squadron of Dragoons also. After Major Daviess had received his wound knowing it to be mortal I promoted Captain Parke to the Majority than whom there is no better officer.

My two aids de Camp Majors [Henry] Hurst and [Waller] Taylor with Lieut. [Nathaniel F.] Adams of the 4th Regt. the adjutant of the Troops, afforded me the most essential aid as well in the action as throughout the Campaign.

The arrangements of Capt. [William] Piatt in the Quarter Masters department were highly judicious and his exertions on all occasions particularly in bringing off the wounded, deserved my warm thanks. But in giving merited praise to the living let me not forget the gallant dead. Col. Abraham Owen,[12] Commandant of the 18th Kentucky Regt. joined me a few days before the action as a private in Capt. Geiger's Company, he accepted the appointment of Volunteer aid de Camp to me, he fell early in the action. The Representatives of his State will inform you that he possessed not a better citizen nor a braver man. Major J. H. Daveiss was known as an able lawyer and a great Orator. He joined me as a private Volunteer and on the recommendation of the officers of that Corps was appointed to command the Troop of Dragoons. His conduct in that capacity justified their choice. Never was there an officer possessed of more ardour and zeal to discharge his duties with propriety and never one who would have encountered greater danger to purchase Military fame. Captain Baen of the 4th U. S. Regt. was killed early in the action. He was unquestionably a good officer and valiant soldier. Captains Spencer & Warwick and Lieutenants [Richard] McMahon[13] and [Thomas] Berry[14] were all my particular friends, I have had the utmost confidence in their valour and I was not deceived. Spencer was wounded in the head, he exhorted his men to fight valiantly, he was shot through both thighs and fell still continuing to encourage them he was raised up and received a ball through his body which put an immediate end to his existence. Warwick was shot immediately through the body, being taken to the Surgery to be dressed as soon as it was over being a man of great bodily vigor and still able to walk he insisted upon going back to head his Company although it was evident that he had but a few hours to live.

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[11] Andrew Wilkins was appointed a 1st Lieut. in the Knox Co. militia Feb. 14, 1810; June 16, he became a captain; Oct. 24, 1814, he became a major in the 1st Reg. I. M.

[12] Abraham Owen was born in Va. in 1769 and moved to Ky. 1785. He was with Wilkinson in 1791 on the raid to the Wabash; served at St. Clair's defeat, wounded twice; with Harrison to White river; in Ky. Con. Con. and legislature. He was killed at Tippecanoe, riding a white horse, and possibly mistaken by the Indians for Harrison who also usually rode a white horse but on that night mounted a bay. Daviess also is said to have ridden a white horse. Pirtle, *Tippecanoe, 64*

All these Gentlemen, Sir, Capt. Baen excepted have left wives and five of them large families of children. This is the case too, with many of the privates among the Militia who fell in the action or who have died since of their wounds. Will the bounty of their Country be withheld from their helpless orphans, many of whom will be in the most destitute condition and perhaps want even the necessities of life? With respect to the number of Indians that were engaged against us I am possessed of no data by which I can form a correct statement. It must however have been considerable and perhaps not much inferior to ours, which deducting the Dragoons who were unable to do us much service was very little above seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates. I am convinced that there were at least six hundred. The Prophet had three weeks before four hundred and fifty of his own proper followers. I am induced to believe that he was joined by a number of the lawless vagabonds who live on the Illinois River as large trails were seen coming from that direction. Indeed, I shall not be surprised to find that some of those who professed the warmest friendship for us were arrayed against us, 'tis certain that one of this description came out from the Town and spoke to me the night before the action.

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[13] Richard McMahan was appointed 1st Lieut. in the Harrison Co. militia Jan. 31, 1811.

[14] Thomas Berry was appointed captain of this detachment March 26, 1811. This was an independent company of riflemen—all young men.

The Potawatemie Chief whom I mentioned to have been wounded and taken prisoner in my letter of the 8th Instant, I left on the Battle ground after having all the care of him in my power. I requested him to inform those of his own tribe who had joined the Prophet and the Kickapoos and Winnebagoes that if they would immediately abandon the Prophet and return to their own Tribes their past conduct would be forgiven and that we would treat them as we formerly had done. He assured me that he would do so and that there was no doubt of their compliance. Indeed he said that he was certain that they would put the Prophet to death. I think upon the whole that there will be no further hostilities; but of this, I shall be enabled to give you some more certain information in a few days.

The Troops left the Battle ground on the 9th Instant. It took every Waggon to transport the wounded. We managed however to bring off the public property altho almost all the private baggage of the officers was necessarily destroyed.

It may perhaps be immagined Sir, that some means might have been adopted to have made a more early discovery of the approach of the enemy to our Camp the morning of the 7th Instant but if I had employed two thirds of the army as our posts it would have been ineffectual. The Indians in such a night would have found means to have passed between them. Placed in the situation that we were there is no other mode of avoiding a surprise than by a chain of centenals so close together that the enemy cannot pass between without discovery, and having the army in such readiness that they can get to their alarm posts at a moment's warning. Our Troops could not have been better prepared than they were unless they had been kept under arms the whole night, as they lay with their accoutrements on and their arms by their sides and the moment they were up they were at their posts. If the Centenals and the guards had done their duty even the Troops on the left flank would have been prepared to receive the Indians.

I have the Honor to enclose you a correct return of our killed and wounded, the wounded suffered very much before their arrival here but they are now comfortably fixed and every attention has been and shall continue to be paid to them. Doct. Foster is not only possessed of great professional merit but is moreover a man of feeling and honor.

I am convinced Sir, that the Indians lost many more men than we did. They left from thirty six to forty on the field. They were seen to take off not only the wounded but the dead. An Indian that was killed and scalped in the beginning of the action by one of our men was found in a house in the Town. Several others were also found in the Houses and many graves which were fresh dug, one of them was opened and found to contain three dead bodies.

Our Infantry used principally cartridges containing twelve buck shot which were admirably calculated for a night action.

I have before informed you Sir, that Col. Miller was prevented by illness from going on the expedition. He rendered essential service in the Command of Fort Harrison. He is an officer of great merit.

There are so many circumstances which it is important for you to know respecting the situation of this country that I have thought it best to commit this dispatch to my aid de Camp Major Taylor who will have the honor of delivering it to you and who may be able to give you more satisfaction than I could do by writing. Major Taylor (who is also one of our Supreme Judges) is a man of integrity and Honor, and you may rely upon any statements he may make.

With the Highest Respect I have the Honor to be Sir,
your Hble. Sevt.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

P. S. Not a man of ours was taken prisoner & of three scalps which were taken two of them were recovered.

The Honorable W. EUSTIS *Secret. of War*

A general return of the killed and wounded of the army under the command of his excellency William Henry Harrison, governor and commander in chief of the Indiana Territory, in the action with the Indians near Prophet's town, November 7, 1811.

Killed—One aid-decamp, one captain, two subalterns, one sergeant, two corporals, thirty privates.

Wounded, since dead—One major, two captains, twenty-two privates.

Wounded—Two lieutenant-colonels, one adjutant, one surgeon's mate, two captains, three subalterns, nine sergeants, five corporals, one musician, one hundred and two privates.

Total of killed and wounded—188.

Names of officers killed and wounded, as per general return.

General Staff

Killed—Colonel Abraham Owens, aid-de camp to the commander in chief.

Field and Staff

Wounded—Lieutenant-colonel Joseph Bartholomew, commanding Indiana militia infantry; lieutenant colonel Luke Decker, of do; major Joseph H. Daviess, since dead, commanding a squadron of dragoons; Doctor Edward Scull, of the Indiana militia; Adjutant James Hunter, of mounted riflemen.

United States Infantry, including the late captain [Moses] Whitney's rifle company

Wounded—Captain W. C. Baen, acting major, since dead; Lieut. George P. Peters; Lieut. George Gooding; ensign Henry Burchstead.

Colonel Decker's detachment of Indiana militia

Wounded—Captain Jacob Warrick, since dead.

Major [Regin] Redman's detachment of Indiana militia

Wounded—Captain John Morris.

Major Well's detachment of mounted riflemen

Wounded—Captain Frederic Geiger.

Captain Spencer's company, including lieut. Berry's detachment of mounted riflemen

Killed—Captain Spier Spencer; First Lieutenant Richard M'Mahan; Lieut. Thomas Berry.

NATHL F. ADAMS, *Adjt. of the army*

RESOLUTIONS, TIPPECANOE

Nov. 18, 1811

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 271*

The Territorial Legislature [of Indiana] adopted the following preamble and resolutions on the eighteenth of November:

Whereas, The services of His Excellency, Governor Harrison, in conducting the army, the gallant defense made by the heroes under his immediate command and the fortunate result of the battle fought with the Confederacy of the Shawnee Prophet near Tippecanoe on the morning of the seventh of November, highly deserves the congratulations of every true friend to the interest of this Territory and the cause of humanity—

Resolved therefore, that the members of Legislative Council and the House of Representatives will wait upon His Excellency the Governor, as he returns to Vincennes, and in their own name and of those of their constituents, welcome him home.

and that General W. Johnson be, and is hereby appointed a committee to make the same known to the Governor, at the head of the army, should not unforeseen causes prevent.

BRIGADE ORDERS

Brigade Main Quarters
VINCENNES, Nov. 18th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 176, 177*

The General order of this day dissolves the Brigade which I have had the honor to command.

In taking leave of many of my comrades in arms I cannot more strongly evince my exalted opinion of the troops composing the Brigade than by exhorting them when their country calls for their aid to make it their determination to preserve unblemished the reputation acquired on the morning of the 7th when they gallantly defeated the combination of Indians. Sacred be the memory of our gallant brothers who gloriously sacrificed their lives for their country on that day.

Brigade Major [Marston G.] Clarke will be pleased to accept of my thanks for his indefatigable zeal in performing the duties assigned him. Capt. [George] Croghan's (aid de camp to the acting Brigader) firmness on the morning of battle and attention to duty merits and receives my warmest thanks.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. A. B. G.*

Log of the Army to Tippecanoe

Sept. 26 to Nov 18, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 186*

The army moved from Vincennes the 26th September and on the 30th encamped at—

1st October, Encamped at Battle des Illinois (now Fort Harrison)

29th Oct. Moved from Fort Harrison for the Prophets town that evening encamped 6 miles from thence.

30th. encamped about twenty miles

31 Crossed the Wabash and encamped.

Nov. 1. Marched about ten miles (10) miles encamped and on the 2nd built a Block House.

3rd. Marched and encamped on an Island of high ground in the S. W. Part of the big Prairie.

4. Crossed Pine creek and encamped on the opposite bank.

5th. Marched within about 12 miles of the Prophets town.

6th. Marched and when within about three miles of the Prophets town divested the troops of their knapsacks and moved on expected battle—approaced near the town when two Chiefs came out, halted for ¼ hour. The Gov. proposed to encamp but was advised to move and immediately attack the enemy. Three cheers were given and the army advanced and encompassed three parts of the town, the Indians indicating by gestures and yells their determination to fight. Two Chiefs again came out which unfortunately occasioned a parley and the troops received orders to incline half a mile to the left and encamp. The Commander in Chief refused to take hostages, altho advised so to do by the second in command.

7th. Two hours before our Camp was attacked by the united force of the Shawanoe Prophet, who were repulsed with much slaughter.

8th. Destroyed the Town of Tippecanoe and large quantities of grain.

9th. Commenced a return, marched about 8 miles, conveying our numerous wounded in wagons.

10th. Encamped about 5 miles above Pine Creek.

11th. Encamped on the old encampment in the big Prairie.

12th. Arrived at the Block House.

13th. Put the most severely wounded on board boats and recrossed the Wabash at the former place and encamped on the opposite bank.

14th. Made a long march and encamped within about three miles of Fort Harrison.

15th. After halting a few hours at Fort Harrison moved about 8 miles below and encamped.

16th. Moved about —— miles.

17. After a march of —— miles, encamped at Bosseron.

18th. Arrived at Vincennes. The regular troops were placed at Fort Knox. A few days after some companies were cantoned at Vincennes where the general Hospital had been established.[1]

STATEMENT BY OFFICERS

Nov. 19, 1811

Har. Pa. 536

The undersigned Field officers during the action at Tippecanoe the morning of the 7th inst. desirous of stating their opinion with respect to the conduct of the Commander in Chief on that occasion, do hereby certify, that the Governor was calm and deliberate—that his orders were precise and distinct—that he performed duties that might have been devolved on subordinates—that he directed and marched reinforcements to points where aid was necessary and posted them himself—that he never avoided the post of danger. That the victory was obtained by his vigilance and activity—In a word that his conduct in every respect was worthy the General and the soldier.

JOSEPH BARTHOLOMEW *Col. 2d Ind. Reg.*
LUKE DECKER *Col 4 Ind Reg Infantry*
G. R. C. FLOYD *Major 4th U. S Inf Com, Regt.*
SAMUEL C. WELLS *Major Gen of the 6th Division of the Kentucky Militia. Now a major of the Mounted Riflemen Indiana Terr.*
B. PARKE *Major Light Dragoon*
NOAH PURCELL *Major 4 Inft. Reg.*

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[1] Compare this with John Tipton's *Tippecanoe Journal, Indiana Magazine of History, II, 170-185.*

I do hereby certify that the above was correctly copied from the original by me.[1]

H. HURST *A O C*

MESSAGE TO ASSEMBLY

Nov. 19, 1811

Niles' Register, 1, 321

Gentlemen of the LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, and Gentlemen of the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES

The execution of an order received from the President of the United States, at the head of a body of our troops, prevented me from meeting you at the time to which you were prorogued by my last proclamation. Although this circumstance may produce some personal inconvenience to you, and perhaps a little additional expense to the territory, it will not I am sure be regretted, when it is recollected that the result of the expedition which I had the honor to command is a complete victory over the hostile combination of Indians which had been formed by the Shawanese prophet. It is with equal pleasure and pride, gentlemen, that I have it in my power to inform you that in an action where undaunted valor was conspicuous in every corps, our own militia behaved in a manner to do credit to themselves as well as the territory.

The numerous duties which claim my attention at this time, gentlemen, will prevent me from giving my opinion upon such subjects as require legislative provision. The most important of these, however, you will find discussed at length in my former addresses. Permit me to recommend to you industry and concord in the discharge of your functions, and be assured of my cordial co-operation in every measure which may be calculated for the benefit of our constituents.

WM. H. HARRISON

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[1] "Three captains, four lieutenants, one ensign and the surgeon and assistant surgeon of the 4th United States' regiment of infantry, have published certificates and statements relative to the battle of Tippecanoe, near the Wabash, in which the character of governor Harrison is represented in the most honorable light. No man has had the temerity to impeach the conduct of the governor during the battle; but many have charged him with suffering himself to be surprised; having, perhaps, formed their opinions from the first rumors of the affair, in which it was stated the centinels were shot with poisoned arrows, etc. It seems the gallant little army was not surprised. It is true, they were attacked in the night, and that the Indians rushed upon them with very great rapidity. But the whole of the men slept on their arms, with their accoutrements upon them, and the lines were formed in from four to six minutes after the firing of the first gun, with astonishing regularity and order—this could not have been accomplished in a dark night without a precise arrangement predicated upon a supposed attack." Niles' *Register, II, 56*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO HARRISON

November 19, 1811

Niles Register, I, 322

To his excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, governor and commander-in-chief in and over the Indiana territory

SIR—The house of representatives of the Indiana territory in their own name, and in behalf of their constituents, most cordially reciprocate the congratulations of your excellency on the glorious result of the late sanguinary conflict with the Shawanoe prophet, and the tribes of Indians confederated with him: when we see displayed in behalf of our country not only the consummate abilities of the general, but the heroism of the man; and where we take into view the benefits which must result to that country, from those exertions; we cannot for a moment withhold our meed of applause.

We shall cordially and industriously endeavour to co-operate with you sir, in such measures as may best comport with the immediate interests of our territory—and although we may lament the occasion which gave rise to the necessary delay of legislative business, yet we feel it to be our duty as patriots, as representatives, and as men, to submit without a murmur to any inconvenience which the good of our common country may require.

GEN. W. JOHNSTON,
Speaker of the house of representatives

HARRISON TO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Nov. 19, 1811

Niles Register, I, 322

GENTLEMEN of the house of representatives

Believing as I do that the highest reward which a republican soldier can receive, is the approbation of his fellow-citizens, I cannot be otherwise than highly gratified at the applause which you have been pleased to bestow on my conduct as commander of the late expedition. It has ever been my wish, gentlemen, to deserve the confidence of your constituents. To promote their welfare and happiness, has been, for years, the great object of my cares and if in the late action it had pleased the Almighty to seal with my life the victory, which was to ensure their safety, the sacrifice would have been cheerfully made.

WM. H. HARRISON

A General Return of the Killed and Wounded of the Army under the Command of His Excellency William Henry Harrison: Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory in the Action with the Indians near Prophets Towne November 7th, 1811

Nov. 19, 1811
Har. Pa. 535

	KILLED									WOUNDED SINCE DEAD								WOUNDED									
	Aid de Camp	Lt. Colo	Majors	Captains	Subalterns	Sergeants	Corporals	Music	Privates	Lt. Colo.	Major	Captains	Subalterns	Sergeants	Corporals	Music	Privates	Lt. Colos.	Adjutant	Surg. Mate	Captain	Subalterns	Sergeants	Corporals	Music	Privates	Total
General Staff	1																										
Field and Staff											1							2	1	1							5
U. S. Infantry							2		5			1					14					3	6	2	5	43	77
Colo. Decker's Militia									4			1					1						2			16	24
Major Redman's Do						1			6								5				1					5	14
" Davies' Dragoons									4														1	1		5	10
" Wells' Mount. Rifle									6								3				1			2		19	31
Capt. Spencer's Do				1	2				5								3						5			12	24
Spies Guides and Wagoners																										2	2
Total	1			1	2	1	2		30		1	2					26	2	1	1	2	3	9	5	5	102	188

Names of Officers Killed and Wounded as per Gen. Return.

General Staff

Killed Colo. Abraham Owens Aid de Camp to the Commander in Chief.

FORT KNOX
Nov. 19th, 1811
Har. Pa. 526

Report of the Killed and Wounded of the U. S. Regiment Infantry in the Action with the Indians of the 7th November, 1811 on the Wabash River

COMPANIES	KILLED							DIED SINCE OF WOUNDS							WOUNDED NOW IN HOSPITAL							
	Captain	Subaltern	Sergeant	Corpl.	Musician	Private	Total Killed.	Captain	Subaltern	Sergeant	Corpl.	Musician	Private	Total died since of wounds.	Captain	Subaltern	Sergeant	Corpl.	Musician	Private	Total in Hospital	Aggregate
Capt. Wentworth						1	1						1	1		1		1		9	11	13
" Cooks													3	3			1			5	6	9
" Prescott													1	1								1
" Brown													1	1						2	2	3
" Snelling						1	1													2	2	3
" Barton													3	3						5	5	8
" Late Welch				2		1	3						2	2		1	1	1		5	8	13
" Albright						1	1										2			3	5	6
" Late Whitneys						1	1									1	2		1	6	10	11
" Baens								1					1	2						8	8	10
Total				2		5	7	1					12	13		3	6	2	1	45	57	77

J. L. EASTMAN *A. Adjutant 4th Inft.*

FIELD AND STAFF

Nov. 19, 1811
Har. Pa. 534

Wounded Lieut. Colo. Joseph Bartholomew Commanding Indiana Militia Infantry
" Lieut. Colo. Luke Deeker Of. Do Do
" Major Joseph H. Daviess Since Dead Commanding Squadron Dragoons
" Doctor Edward Scull of the Indiana Militia
" Adj. James Hunter of Mounted Riflemen

U. S. Infantry including the Late Capt. Whitneys Rifle Company
Wounded Capt. W. C. Baen acting Major, Since Dead
" Lieut. George P. Peters
" Lieut. George Gooding
" Ensign Henry Burchstead

COLONEL Deckers Detachment of Indiana Militia
Wounded Capt. Jacob Warrick since Dead

Major Redman's Detachment of Indiana Militia
Wounded Capt. John Morris

Major Well's Detachment of Mounted Riflemen
Wounded Capt. Frederick Geiger

Captain Spencers Company Including Lieut. Barrys Detachment of Mounted Riflemen
Killed Captain Spier Spencer
" 1st Lieut. Richard McMahan
" Lieut. Thomas Berry

To His Excellency The Commander in Chief.
Nath. F. Adams Adj. of the Army.

Adj. Eastman's Report of the Killed with their Names of the 4th Regt. U. S. Infantry Fort Knox Nov. 14th 1812

FORT KNOX

NOVEMBER 19th 1811
Har. Pa. 533

Killed in the Action, 2 Corporals, 5 Privates, died since of wounds 1 Captain 12 Privates. Wounded now in Hospital 57, Total 77.

J. L. Eastman A. Adjutant 4th Reg. Tupz.

List of Killed & Wounded of the 4th U. S. Regiment in the action with the Indians on the 7th November, 1811 Wabash River

Captain Wentworth Compy
Wounded. Lieut. George P. Peters
Corpl. Solomon Johnson
Private Curtis Phipps
" Charles Wait
" William Layman
" Caleb Critchet
" Jacob Keyser
" Noah Furnald
" Joseph Burdett
" Stanton Smilie
" Nathl. Harris
" Isaac M. Nutz died since
Killed " William H. King 13

Captain Baen Company

Wounded,	Captain	William C. Baen	died since	
	Private	Dexter Earl	died since	
	"	Sylvester Dean		
	"	John Donahue		
	"	Timothy Foster		
	"	John D Jones		
	"	Daniel Redman		
	"	John Mahannah		
	"	Francis Nelson		
	"	Isaac Rathbone		10

Captain Snelling Company

Wounded	Leathiel Hathaway		
	Rufus Goodman		
Killed	Joseph Tibbetts		3

Captain R. B. Brown Company

Wounded	Private	Augustus Bradford	
	"	Bliss Lovell	
	"	John Yeoman,–died since.	
			3

Late Captain Welche's Company (Under command of Capt. Burton)

Wounded.	Lieut.	George Gooding		
	Sergt.	Montgomery Orr		
	Corpl.	John Rice		
	Private	Jona Crowell	died since	
	"	Daniel Gillman	died since	
	"	Stephen Pettis		
	"	William Pomroy		
	"	Lucias Sollis		
	"	James Stepheson		
	"	Samuel Tibbetts		
Killed	Corp.	James Mitchell		
	"	David L. Thompson		
	Private	Levi Cary		13

Captain Barton's Company

Wounded.	Private	David Carnes	died since	
	"	Lewis Taylor	Do	
	"	Lemon E. Welch	Do	
	"	John Clark		
	"	Robert Douglass		
	"	William Foster		
	"	Samuel Louther		
	"	William Turner		8

Captain Prescott's Company

Wounded	Private	John Sanborn	died since	
				1

Captain Cooke's Company

Wounded.	Sergt.	Harvey Munn		
	Private	Nathan Snow	died since	
	"	Dennison Crumby		
	"	Robert Thompson		
	"	Charles Coger		
	"	Wm. M. Saunderson		
	"	Daniel Rogers		
	"	Amos Roice	died since	
	"	Daniel Lee	died since	
				9

Lieut. Albright Detachment			
Wounded.	Sergt.	Alecott Babbet	
	"	Nathan Fairbanks	
	Private	Samuel Potter	
	"	Lewis Mangum	
	"	Elisha Napp	
Killed	"	Israel Butler	6

Late Whitney's Company Rifle			
Wounded.	Ensign	Henry Burchsted	
	Sert	Reuben Newton	
	Do	Aaron Furbush	
	Private	Eben T. Andrews	
	"	William Brigham	
	"	Ephraim Hall	
	"	Israel Newhall	
	"	Edward E. Tuck	
	"	Samuel Thing	
	Musician	Adam Walker	
Killed	Private	Ira T. Toowbridge	11

A Report of the sick and wounded at Fort Knox. Under the Command of Capt. Cook, December 17th. 1811

Har. Pa. 525

Companies	Names	Total	Remarks
Capt. Cook	Sanderson.......	1	Wounded Invalid
Barton's	Perry............		Interm. fever, Convalescent
	Wilson...........		" "
	Poland..........		Hypochondriac
	Foster...........	4	Wounded Convales.
Lieut. Baens	Leonard.........		Interm. fever Convalescent
	Hall.............		Scalded foot Invalid
	Ballow..........		Wounded "
	Foster...........	4	" "
Welche's	Spaulding........	1	Interm. fever, convalescent
Whitney's	Segt. Philips.....		Interm. fever
	Dutton..........		Interm. fever, Convalescent
	Hair.............		" "
	Johnson.........		" "
	Russell..........	5	Paralytic Stroke
Posey's Detachment	Segt. Fairbanks..		Wounded Invalid
	Corp. Hicks.....		Interm. fever Convalescent
	Corp. Bolan.....		" "
	Clark...........		" "
	Ryans...........		" "
	Page............		" "
	Comons.........		" "
	Sheldon.........		Stiff Knee Invalid
	Benson..........		General Debility
	Gibbs...........	10	Dropsy Convalescent
Total....	....	25	

Ja Kuykendall asst. Surgeon's mate

Report—Continued

Report of the Sick, Wounded and Invalids of the United States Troops in the General Hospital at Vincennes and of the Sick in Quarters of three Companies Stationed in Town.

Har. Pa. 527–529

Names	Where Wounded or what disease	Remarks
1. Hall	Arm Fractd.	
2. Newhall	Side	
3. Tuck	Thigh	
4. Thing	Thigh	
5. Orr, Sergt	Body	
6. Rice, Corp	Thigh & Hand	
7. Tibbetts	Thigh	
8. Pomroy	Thigh	
9. Johnson	Thigh	
10. Smiley	Arm	
11. Waite	Side	
12. Rodman	Hand	
13. Dunehue	Thigh	
14. Mahannah	Arm Amptd.	
15. Dean	Arm Amptd. Joints	
16. Lovelle	Thigh Amptd.	Dangerous
17. Crumley	Thigh Amptd.	Dangerous
18. Lauthers	Leg	
19. Clark	Arm	
20. Goodman, Ch.	Hand	
21. Harris	Arm Fractd.	
22. Douglass	Loins	
23. Potter	Body	
24. Mangam	Leg	
Militia		
25. Mahan	Privates	
26. Bateman	Arm Amptd.	
27. Minor	Leg. Amptd.	
28. Weathers	Thigh	
29. Buskirk	Side	
30. Collins	Leg	
U. S. Troops sick in Hospital		
31. King	Debility	
32. Emmerson	“	
33. Clark	Fever Intermt.	
34. Hilyard	“	
35. McDuffy	“	
36. Walden	Pneumonia	
37. Peterson	“	Very Sick
Sick in Quarters.		
38. Colby	Cold	
39. Parker	Diarrhea	
40. Wells	Diarrhea	
41. Griffin	Fever Intermt.	
(Name torn off)		
43. Watson	Diarrhea	

Report—Continued

Names	Where Wounded or what disease	Remarks
44. Mears	Diarrhea	All the Sick & Wounded opposite whose names no remarks is made are considered safe & convalescent.
45. Smith	Diarrhea	
46. Rice	Debility	
47. Knight	"	
48. Pierce	"	
49. Greeny	Slight Wound	
50. Bradford	"	

Josiah D. Foster Surgeon 4 Rt. Infty
Hosea Blood A. Asst. Surgeon 4th Regt. Infantry.

SNELLING TO HARRISON

FORT HARRISON, Nov. 20th 1811
Har. Pa. 543

SIR:

M. [Touissant] Dubois a young man in the contractor [department] being about to make a journey to Vincennes has offered me an opportunity of communicating to your Excellency the substance of a conversation I had with a chief [Little Eyes] of the Miami tribe who visited me yesterday. He informed me that when the Delawares went with your last messages to the Prophet town he accompanied them and with them returned in expectation of meeting you until they discovered that you had crossed the River they followed and on the morning of the action were encamped about one mile from us where they distinctly heard the report of our guns; after the action was over (as he says) he proposed to his companions that they should come to our camp but his proposal was rejected through that the Kentucky people not knowing them for friend might shoot them. He therefore went to the Prophet's town where he found the Indians very much exasporated at their loss and reproaching the Prophet in bitter terms for the defeat he had brought upon them accusing him of the murder of their friend who had fallen &. It seems that after pronouncing some enchantment over a composition he had prepared on the night preceding the action, he assured them that by the power of his art half the army was already dead and the other half bewildered or in a state of distraction and they had nothing to do but rush into the Camp and complete the work of destruction with the tomahawk.

You are a liar said one of the Winebagoes to him for you told us that the white people were dead or crazy when they were all in their senses and fought like the Devil. He appeared much crest fallen or as Little Eyes described it held his head down between his knees, but attempted to pacify them by saying that the virtue of his composition was lost in consequence of it being with his wife the time of her monthly visitation, which circumstance he was unacquainted with until after the actions and earnestly entreated them to suffer him once more to try his skill, but not withstanding his entreaties they bound him with cords and it was the opinion of Little eyes they would sacrifice him. The little Kickapoo who spoke in council at Vincennes would have shared his fate had he not made his escape—parties of their young men were daily out in pursuit of him—when they wanted him. First they marched only twenty miles and encamped on the Waters of Wild Cat Paunch Creek[1] where they now are. The Pottawattamie Chief who was left wounded on the ground made a faithful report of what you said to him and it appeared to have a good effect upon them.

All the confederated tribes had abandoned their faith in the Prophet except about forty Shawanose who still adhered to him. Many of their warriors remained very sick who were wounded with buck shot, four of them were wounded with a sabre, two severely. From the account given I imagine by Capt. [W. C.] Baen, Little Eye says they told him one of them had shot a soldier and was stooping to scalp him when he received a severe wound on his posterior from a stout warrior who was immediately surrounded and slain by four others, but not before he had wounded them all, one of them with his pistol which shot away all the flesh and muscles from the upper part of his arm of which wounds he died the next day.

It gives me pain to inform your Excellency that the bodies of our deceased friends were the next day dispossessed of their graves and the slain Indians supplied their places and it is still more to be regretted that they should have occasion to plead the white men's example who they said had disturbed the graves of their dead. Little Eyes said a Winnegabo told him they found fifty slain which was contradicted but I suspect by the shrewd looks of the Indian when I spoke that he had occular demonstration of the fact.

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[1] Wild Cat Creek was usually called Ponce Passau—Panse au Pichou. The writer translates it very well into Wild Cat Paunch creek. It joins the Wabash a few miles above Lafayette, from the south.

He requested me to tell his father the Governor that he was convinced he was a good and true man that you had told them you would go to the Prophet Town but that you would not turn aside to the right or left to injure your children, the Miamis which promise you had faithfully kept, which the Prophet had told them nothing but lies. He also wished me to inform your Excellency that in about twenty days there would be a great Council of the Delawares, Potawatomies, Hurons, and Miamis at a place about sixty miles from this post for the purpose of talking of good things, that it was their desire to become one people and live in perpetual peace with the United States. The Chippeways and Ottoways were to meet at the same time on the water of Tippecanoe river, that it was their intention to send a deputation to Vincennes to inform your Excellency of the result of their Council and hear a talk from you. He represented to me that he was in a suffering condition for want of powder and earnestly requested a small supply. I told him it was not in my power to furnish him nor could I suffer him to purchase it of any person in the Garrison until I had received your instructions on the subject.

Mons. Brulette informs me that just as Little Eye was about to depart he told him that Lapoucher, Negro Legs, Stone eater, Pecan, The Big Chief, Lorain, and Gamlin[2] say they will not receive annuities from the U. S. because they like their land too much to part with it. All the rest of the Chiefs are willing to take.

I know not but all these things I have related may be mere trifles but deeming your Excellency knows much better than myself in what estimation to hold them, I conceive I should be wanting in my duty did I not communicate them.

Suffer me to intrude on your patience one moment more and I have done. I observed in your instructions that I was occasionally to furnish the Indians who visit me with provisions, have I authority to draw on the contractor for them and if so, does it extend to whiskey and Tobacco.

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[2] Little Eyes or Chiquia was a Wea; as were Lapoussier and Negro Legs (or Quequa), Pecan was a Miami, as were Stone Eater (or Sanama honga) Big Chief (or Me she ke le a ta) and Louison—all passed as Miamies.

With sentiments of the Highest Respect I am
your Excellenceys most obedient servant
R. I. SNELLING *Capt. 4th R. Inf.*

REGIMENTAL ORDER

Regimental Head Quarters, VINCENNES Nov. 20th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 177, 178*

Fourth Regiment (in which I desire to include the 25 Riflemen attached to the Regiment and the 16 men of Capt. Poseys Company) you have closed a campaign brilliant in success and highly advantageous to your country, in which you are no less distinguished for the intrepid bravery of the Privates than for the gallant spirit and proud honour of the officers. The Glories you have gained on the morning of the 7th inst., when your camp was surprised shall be recorded in time's eternal tablet, and no suspension of praise shall silence your just merits, my Brothers. Your conduct on that day can never be effaced from my gratitude, your contempt of danger and determined courage saved the camp and to you the candid militia ascribe the glorious victory obtained. It shall be my duty to make your merits known to the honorable Secretary.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.*

REGIMENTAL ORDER

Head Quarters, VINCENNES, Nov. 23rd, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 177*

The Campaign having closed and the troops taken winter quarters, the following arrangement of officers will take place.

Lieutenant [Oliver G.] Burton will take charge of the late Capt. Welch's company. Lieutenant [Charles] Fuller, Capt. [Paul] Wentworth and Lieutenant [Charles] Larrabee the late [W. C.] Baens. Lt. [Lewis] Peckham[1] will join his own company and Lt. [Ebenezer] Way[2] will do duty in Capt. [Robert C.] Barton's company. Lt. [John] Smith will take charge of the boat to ascend the Wabash with clothing, report himself to Captain [Josiah] Snelling and join his company. Ephraim D. Dackham and John Silver of Captain [George W.] Prescott's company from the recommendation of their Captain are promoted to the rank of Corporals from the 1st October 1811.

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[1] Lewis Peckham enlisted as an ensign in the 4th Regt. from R. I. Dec. 15, 1808; he was made a 1st Lieut. Nov. 9 after Tippecanoe; became a captain and was mustered out at end of the War of 1812.

[2] Ebenezer Way joined the 4" Regt. from Conn. June 18, 1808. He became a 1st Lieut. June 15, 1809; captain Jan. 20, 1813; discharged June 15, 1815.

Samuel Fowler of the same company for his good conduct while at Fort Harrison and the recommendation of Lieut. Co. [James] Miller, is promoted to the rank of a corporal from 1st November 1811. Major Mantor of the late Welch's Company for his soldier-like conduct is reinstated as a sergeant to rank from 1st October 1811. William Turner of Captain [Robert C.] Barton's company for his good conduct in the late action with the Indians is reinstated as a corporal to rank from 1st October 1811.

Signed JN. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.*

VANDERBURGH AND OTHERS TO BOYD

VINCENNES Nov. 25, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 182*

At a meeting of the citizens of Vincennes and its vicinity the following address was unanimously agreed to and ordered to be presented to Colonel Boyd and that Henry Vanderburgh Esq., Chairman of the Meeting and John Baddolet[1] Esq. be a committee to present the Same.

HENRY VANDERBURGH, *Chairman*
JOHN JOHNSON, *Clk.*

Colonel JNO. P. BOYD,
4th Reg. U. S. Inf.

Sir,

Permit us to convey to you and through you to the officers and men of the Regiment you command the exalted sense we entertain of the masterly and spirited conduct which you have displayed in the engagement with the Indians at Tippicanoe and to express the gratitude which fills our hearts for so many lives which your gallant exertions have contributed to preserve. Your near departure from this country prevent a more general and public manifestation of these sentiments, which are not peculiar to ourselves; we find them universally entertained, and those grave regular's expressions repeated with enthusiasm by that spirited but untutored Militia who witnessed and emulated you cool intrepidity, evince at once the importance of the service you have rendered and the warmth of their gratitude.

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[1] John Badollet was born in Geneva, 1758; came to America 1776 with Gallatin who appointed him register of the land office at Vincennes, an office he held from 1807 to 1836. He represented Knox Co. in the Con. Con. of 1816. Died July 29, 1837. Cauthorn, *Vincennes, 184*

In endeavouring thus to portray our feelings on the present occasion, we present you the only reward it is in our power to bestow, the homage of thankfulness and truth, not the less gratifying to noble minds for being spontaneous and artless.

A great good Sir will follow from your example, our fellow citizens will be convinced that valour without science cannot however duly exerted lead to certain success and may eventually cause an useless effusion of blood, that an armed force without the military knowledge is little better than an inefficient multitude, and they will learn to submit with cheerfulness to that discipline and subordination which alone can render its efforts consentaneous and irresistible.

In addressing you thus Sir, we are satisfied that we are discharging a duty of sacred justice and will reluctantly take leave of you with prayers to the Author of all good, that he may long preserve you and your gallant companions in arms for the honor and defence of our common country. [See Dec. 21, below]

Henry Vanderburgh, *Chairman*

Jno. Johnston, *Secretary*

Boyd to Vanderburgh and Others

Vincennes, Nov. 25, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection*, 183

To Henry Vanderburgh Esq., *Chairman*, and the other Gentlemen, Citizens of Vincennes and vicinity:

Gentlemen,

We are honored by your notice of this day which conveys to us the officers and privates of the 4th Regt. your high approbation of our conduct in the action of the 7th Ins. With dignified pride we acknowledge this meed of merit. It is the soldiers boon, and if we have deserved of our country we are gratified by your public approbation of our exertions which are ever ready to meet the commands of our country. .

With much consideration and respect in the name of the Reg., I have the honor to be Gentlemen

Your Obedient Servant,

JNO. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Reg. U. S. I.*

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 26th Nov. 1811

Har. Pa. 540

SIR:

Before this reaches you I hope you will have received from the hands of my Aid de Camp Major Taylor my official account of the late action with the Indians. On examining my letter to you of the 5th inst. I find that I had omitted to mention the circumstance of my having sent another mission of Indians to the Prophet after the return of the Delaware chiefs. The day that the army left Fort Harrison I remained behind for some hours for the purpose of holding a conference with the Delaware Miami chief. I had no reason to doubt the information I had received of the intention of the Prophet to burn the first prisoner he should take and was apprehensive that I should find much difficulty in opening a communication with him as my interpretors had become so alarmed that I could scarcely get them to the front of the army. I proposed to the Delawares that they should send three or four of their young men with me to be the bearers of an other speech to the Prophet. They agreed to the proposal and the Miamis then offered to go with all their chiefs and young men to make another effort to induce the Prophet to comply with my demands. I assented to their offer excepting as to the number of persons to be employed. I wanted only a few to go they were extremely desirous of going in masse and I was obliged peremptorily to declare that not more than twenty four should go. This number was at length agreed on. The demands which they were to make to the Shawanoe—were that—the Winibagoes Potawatomos & Kickapoos who were with him should return to their respective Tribes. That all the stolen horses in his possession should be delivered up—that all the Murderers of our citizens should either be given up or satisfactory proof given that they were not nor lately been under his control. I did not think proper to say anything at that time upon the subject of Hostages. I have never had any account of those Indians until I received the inclosed letter from Capt. Snelling whom I left in command at Fort Harrison—the account given to the capt of the course pursued by these is most assuredly false and I should not be surprised to find that our good friends the Miamis assisted the Prophet not only with their council but with their guns—during the whole of engagement a shower of balls was poured into our encampment from persons who were at a considerable distance from us in the marshy Prairie in front. They were either cowards who did not wish to come into danger or person who did not wish to be discovered. I have determined however to dissemble my suspicions and if possible prevent any further hostilities. I fear however that the attitude of our own citizens may defeat my intentions. They are prodigiously exasperated and raising of our dead will make them more so. To increase their forbearance I have commanded, threatened and entreated. I have written to Governor Edwards and Gen. Clark to request them to send speeches to the Kickapoos of the Prairie urging them to withdraw their warriors from the Prophet and have despatched an express to Fort Wayne with instructions to Messrs. [John] Shaw and [William] Wells.

I left Capt. [Josiah] Snelling in the Command of Fort Harrison with his own & Posey's Company. The two at that time making little more than fifty present fit for duty. The rest of the Regular Troops are in quarters in Fort Knox and in this Towne. The Militia that were employed upon the expedition have all been mustered and discharged but I have thought it expedient to retain a company of mounted Riflemen amounting to about fifty which had been turned out a few days before I arrived here to patrole round the settlements. They are posted at Busseron twenty miles above this and are still employed in that service. I fear if the other Indians commit no depredations that the Winebagos before their departure may break into our settlement and steal horses if not take scalps. To make it the interest of the Miamis & Potawatomies to get these fellows out of the country as speedily as posible I have informed them through

Messrs. Wells and Shaw that if we were obliged to send another army against them we would keep as our own the country which we should drive them from. I am at a loss to know what to require of them in regard to the Prophet—whether to insist upon his being given up—put to death or driven off. The objection to the latter is that he may establish himself else where but this I am certain will never happen in a manner to be productive of much injury. The Veil under which he has practiced his imposture has been completely rent and must discover his true character to the most ignorant of the Indians. He has indeed by his avowed determination to stop the progress of our settlements acquire astonishing popularity amongst all the Tribes—a few chiefs excepted who were personally opposed to him perhaps there was not an Indian who did not wish well to his cause and hence I suspect that altho his warriors were in the prime of the late action will be found that he was supported by an host of those who call themselves friends. Nothing proves more clearly the treachery of the Miamis than the false information they gave me. They reported positively that the Potawatimies had abandoned the Prophet whereas the fact is that they had obtained much strength from the Tribe. All the information I received from the Indian Country I shall immediately transmit to you that the President may be made to determine the course which is to be pursued. Under the circumstances in which the country is placed I have thought it expedient to retain the Command of the Regular Troops as well as the Militia and had directed Capt. Snelling to receive his order from me.

All the muster rolls of the Militia Companies will be forwarded immediately to the accomptant's office. I have never known what pay is due to Dragoons when they furnish their own horses. I promised the mounted Riflemen that they should receive the same. If I am not mistaken there is a law which provides for the payment of horses killed in battle—but not for those which were lost or taken. In the course of the action a number of the Horses broke loose and ran off and were taken by the Indians. An account of these have been taken as well as of the saddles that were destroyed. On the morning that the Troops marched from the battle Ground two wagons were appropriated to bring off the public property the baggage of the officers, the saddles of those who had lost their horses. It was soon however discovered that it would require every Waggon for the wounded—it became therefore necessary to destroy all the private property and I had no other alternative to save the Guns of the killed and wounded men than to oblige each Dragoon to take one. The persons who have lost their horses and saddles in the manner above described flatter themselves that remuneration will be made them by the Government and I most sincerely hope that they may not be disappointed. I am not on this occasion an interested advocate. I lost no horse but one that was shot dead under my Aid de Camp Major Taylor. That is a case which I suppose to be already provided for and with regard to my baggage which was destroyed I shall never make a charge of it. But many of the men are in such circumstances that the loss of a horse and saddle will be severely felt. Every description of troops which compose my little army have certainly deserved well of their country. Not only for their bravery in the field but for their patience under fatigue and hunger exposed too to the inclemency of the weather without tents and many of them without shoes and with clothing by no means suited to the season. I can also state that this is the only campaign in the Western country in which the Militia were made to work in the erection of forts—For the building of Fort Harrison the Militia were regularly detailed with the other Troops and besides their quota they furnished two small parties of Volunteers who were on constant duty at the more particular work of hewing timber and sawing. All the additional expence encured by the Public was for the daily fatigue an extra gill of whiskey for man and for those on constant duty and extra half.

I am sorry to inform you that several of the wounded men have died since Major Taylor left this and several have lost their limbs. By some unaccountable accident no bark has been sent on in the medicine chests for the 4th Regt. I was obliged yesterday to send to Louisville for some. 27th—A report reached town yesterday that more mischief had been done by the Indians about twenty miles off. It is however I am confident entirely false.

With great Respect I am Sir
your humble servant

WM. HENRY HARRISON

HON. WM. EUSTIS, *Sec. of War*

SCOTT TO HARRISON

Nov. 27, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison, 243*

MY DEAR HARRISON,

It is with sincere pleasure I have heard of your safe arrival at Vincennes with the troops under your command, after the rough play you have been engaged in. You have, so far as I can learn, acquitted yourself like a man, and the men you commanded have really done wonders, considering the circumstances.

That you would not be wanting on your part was what every one who knew you would naturally expect, and especially one who knew your worth as well as I do. I should before this have answered your two favors from camp but for want of opportunity. My ignorance of the nature and extent of your orders, could alone have produced any hesitation in the line of conduct I should adopt, as to the supply of volunteers solicited from this state.

For I had taken up the idea you had a right to call for them officially, or rather that I should have been warranted in ordering them. For you may rest assured, I should be the last to throw cold water on any enterprize you were ordered to execute; for I feel a lively interest in your fame and fortunes. Your first letter alone would have been entirely sufficient, as to any explanation necessary toward me. I have only to regret, you had not more sufficient means to complete the chastisement of a treacherous enemy, and to entirely disappoint the views of our old enemy, who have too plainly urged them on. I should be pleased to be favored by you with as detailed an account of your engagements as your convenience will permit; and I the more wish this, to be enabled to do you justice against the cavils of ignorance or presumption. I am, as I ever shall be, your sincere friend.

CHARLES SCOTT

NEILLY TO SECRETARY OF WAR

CHICKASAW, November 29th, 1811

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 802

The Shawanese Indians and some of the Kickapoos, solicited the king of this nation for men to join the Prophet's party. I am told that there are some Creeks gone to join the Prophet's party; how many, I have not heard.

I have been constanly advising this nation against, and showing them the consequences of, joining the prophet.

J. NEILLY

DETACHMENT ORDER

U. S. Detachment Main Quarters
VINCENNES, Nov. 29th, 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 178*

DETACHMENT ORDER

The campaign having closed every exertion of the Quarter Master is required to procure and arrange comfortable quarters for the Troops, who are immediately to put their arms and accoutrements in the best possible order.

The Detachment Garrison order of the 27th June will be considered in force except that part which alludes to drills.

The orderly Sergeants will make their reports at the adjutants quarters, at 12 o'clock each day. The senior officer at the Barracks at Fort Knox will make a General report daily of the Troops quartered there.

Officers commanding companies will agreeable to the General order of yesterday deliver to the surgeon of the 4th Regiment the medicines hospital stores Furniture and bedding which has been sent on to them, for which they will take his receipt. He will also account to the several officers from whom he has taken clothing. His report of the sick and wounded Regulars is expected on Sundays and Wednesdays at Detachment Main Quarters.

Per order J. L. EASTMAN[1]
A. Adjutant 4th U. S. Regt. Infy.

LEGISLATURE TO BOYD

December 4, 1811

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 275*

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory that the thanks of this house be given Colonel John

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[1] John Langdon Eastman from N. H. joined the 4" Regt. Dec. 12, 1808 as a Lieut. He served till Nov. 4, 1823; died June 12, 1865.

P. Boyd the second in command, to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers, comprising the Fourth U. S. Regiment of Infantry together with all the United States troops under his command, for the distinguished regularity, discipline, coolness and undaunted valor so eminently displayed by them in the late brilliant and glorious battle fought with the Shawnee Prophet and his confederates on the morning of the seventh of November, 1811, by the army under the command of His Excellency, William Henry Harrison. [See Nov. 25, above]

Resolved, that the said Colonel John P. Boyd be requested to communicate the foregoing to the officers and non-commissioned officers and private belonging to the said Fourth Regiment and that a copy of these resolutions signed by the speaker of this house be presented to the said Colonel Boyd by a committee of this house.

Resolved by the House of Representatives, of the Indiana Territory that the thanks of this house be presented to Col. Luke Decker and Colonel Joseph Bartholomew, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men composing the militia corps under their command, together with the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers composing the volunteer militia corps from the State of Kentucky, for the distinguished valor, heroism and bravery displayed by them in the brilliant battle fought with the Shawnee Prophet and his confederates on the morning of the seventh of November, 1811, by the army under the command of His Excellency, William Henry Harrison.

BOYD TO LEGISLATURE

December 4, 1811

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 275*

To the Honorable House of Representatives, Indiana Territory.

GENTLEMEN:

I have the honor for myself, the officers, and soldiers comprising the fourth regiment, the rifle company attached, and the small detachment of Posey's company, to return you thanks for the distinguished notice you have been pleased to take of our conduct in the battle with the Shawnee Prophet and his confederates on the morning of the seventh of November, 1811, by your resolution of this day. If our efforts in the discharge of our duties shall have resulted in advancing the public good we are gratified and to believe that we have merited this tribute of applause from the assembled representatives of this very respectable portion of our country, renders it peculiarly flattering to our honor and our pride.

JOHN P. BOYD

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 4th December, 1811

Har. Pa. 544-546
Burton, *Historical Collection, 264*
Annals, 12 Cong., II, 2123

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that two principal chiefs of the Kickapoos of the Prairie arrived here bearing a flag on the evening before last. They informed me that they came in consequence of a message from the Chief of that part of the Kickapoos which had joined the Prophet requiring them to do so and that the said chief is to be here himself in a day or two. The account which they give of the late confederacy under the Prophet is as follows—The Prophet with his Shawanoes is at a small Huron village about twelve miles from his former residence on this side of the Wabash, where also were twelve or fifteen Hurons. The Kickapoos are encamped near to the Tippecanoe—the Patawatomees have scattered and gone to different villages of that Tribe—the Winnebagoes had all set out on their return to their own Country excepting one chief and nine men who remained at their former village. The latter had attended Tecumseh in his tour to the Southward and had only returned to the Prophet's Town the day before the action. The Prophet had sent a messenger to the Kickapoos of the Prairie to request that he might be permitted to retire to their town. This was positively refused and a warning sent to him not to come there. He then sent to request that four of his men might attend the Kickapoo chief here—this was also refused. These chiefs say on the whole that all the Tribes who lost warriors in the late action attribute their misfortune to the Prophet alone. That they constantly reproach him with their misfortunes and threaten him with death. That they are all desirous of making their peace with the United States and will send deputations to me for that purpose as soon as they are informed that they will be well received. The two chiefs further say that they were sent by Gov. [Benjamin] Howard [of Mo.] and General [William] Clark some time before the action to endeavor to bring off the Kickapoos from the Prophet's Town. That they used their best endeavor to effect it but unsuccessfully. That the Prophet's followers were fully impressed with a belief that they could defeat us with ease. That it was thus intended to have attacked us at Fort Harrison if we had gone no higher —that Raccoon Creek was then fixed on and finally Pine Creek and that the latter would probably have been the place if the usual road had not been abandoned and a crossing made higher up. That the attack made on our centinels at Fort Harrison was intended to shut the door against accommodations. That the Winnebagos had forty warriors killed in the action and the Kickapoos eleven and ten wounded—they have never heard how many of the Potawatomies and other Tribes were killed. That the Potawatimie Chief left by me on the battle ground is since dead of his wounds, but that he faithfully delivered my speech to the different Tribes and warmly urged them to abandon the Prophet and submit to my terms.

I cannot say Sir how much of the above may be depended on. I believe however that the statement made by the Chief is generally correct particularly with regard to the present disposition of the Indians. It is certain that our frontiers have never enjoyed more profound tranquility than at this time. No injury of any kind that I can hear of has been done either to the persons or property of our citizens. Before the expeditions not a fornight passed over without some vexatious depredation being committed.

I am sorry to inform you that three of our wounded men have died in the General Hospital since I last wrote and several have had their limbs taken off. The difficulty which is experienced in healing many of the wounds which appear at first of no great consequence has excited in Doctor [Josiah] Foster's mind as well as my own a suspicion that some of the balls were poisoned. It is certain that more of them were chewed before they were inserted into rifles for the purpose of enlarging the wound and lacerating the contiguous flesh. I saw myself numbers of them in the pouches that were taken from the dead Indians. The Kickapoo chiefs certainly tell an untruth when they say that there were but eleven of their Tribe killed and ten wounded. It is impossible to believe that fewer were wounded than killed. They acknowledge however that the Indians have never sustained so severe a defeat since their acquaintance with the white people.[1]

I have the honor to be with great Respect Sir
your Humble Servant

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

P. S. The chief of the Vermillion Kickapoos has this moment arrived.

WILLIAM EUSTES Esq. *Sec. of War*

DETACHMENT ORDER

DETACHMENT Main Quarters
VINCENNES, Dec. 6th, 1811
Burton, *Historical Collection, 179*

The col. views the cutting off the pantaloons of the soldiers presumptuous and contrary to the intentions of the Government, he therefore positively forbids it. The Regimental orders of June and October 1810 relative to clothing is considered in force, and there will be a rigid inspection of arms and accoutrements on Sunday next, when it is expected they will be in the best possible order.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.*

DETACHMENT ORDER

Detachment Main Quarters
VINCENNES, Dec. 6th, 1811
Burton, *Historical Collection, 179*

Frequent complaints have been made about the sutling at the cantonment of Fort Knox. The Colonel forbids any person sutling for the troops of that cantonment but those mentioned in the order of the 22nd November 1811, and they will regulate their prices by the retailers at Vincennes.

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[1] In Burton, *Historical Collection, 265*, the last paragraph, excepting the last six lines, is omitted. Dec. 19, 1811, President Madison laid the letters from Harrison before congress and these letters were read. Whether the reference to the poisoned bullets was omitted from the copy sent by the president to congress intentionally or not cannot be determined, but in the copy printed in the *Annals, 12 Cong. II, 2123* it is omitted. The idea expressed here was current on the frontier following the battle.

Till further arrangements are made for quarters, the regular suttlers will occupy the room now occupied by the contractor as a counting room, but one room can be allowed for the contractor. All articles deposited by the Quarter Master will not be used but by order of the officers commanding the Detachment.

Signed, JNO. P. BOYD *Col. 4th Regt. Infy. C. D.*

ASSEMBLY TO HARRISON

Dec. 7, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison, 241*

To His Excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, *Governor, and Commander in Chief, in, and over the Indiana Territory*

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for a nation to unsheath the sword in defence of any portion of its citizens—and any individual of society becomes entrusted with the important charge of leading an army of his country into the field to scourge the assailants of its rights—and it is proved by the success of that army, that that individual possesses superior capacity, accompanied by integrity and other qualities of the mind, which adorn the human character in a superlative degree, it has a tendency to draw out the affections of the people, in a way that must be grateful to the soldier, and the man. Such is the light, Sir, in which you have the honor to be viewed by your country, and one which the legislative council, and house of representatives of this territory think you justly entitled to.

And, Sir, in duly appreciating your services, we are perfectly sensible of the great benefits and important services rendered by the officers and soldiers of the United States infantry under your command. And it is with pleasure we learn that the officers and militiamen of our country acted with a heroism more than could be reasonably calculated upon from men, (such as they generally were) undisciplined, and unaccustomed to war.

Resolved; That a joint committee attend to the insertion of the foregoing address in the *Western Sun* for one week.

Signed, JAMES BEGGS
GENERAL W. JOHNSTON

ELLIOTT TO CLAUS

AMHERSTBERG, 9th December, 1811
Niles Register, VI, 359

The Hon. William CLAUS, deputy superintendent general and deputy inspector general of Indian affairs.

DEAR SIR:—Yesterday I received yours of the 27th ult. by two Indians; and until I am furnished with certain intelligence respecting the Prophet and the Americans, I can only inform you that on the third of this month, the report of an action between them was contradicted by a Putawatomie (Winamaigo) [Winamac] from near the Prophet's village, and of his adherents. He says that the Americans are constructing a fort on the Vermillion river, which falls into the Wabash below them; but that when he left that place (eight days before he arrived here) nothing had been done on either side; although the Indians expected soon to be attacked, as they had been threatened with being driven out of that country, and had sent to all the surrounding nations to call them to their aid. I have great reason to believe that what has been inserted in the public prints was the same report we had here; which, after the lapse of some days without some of my confidential Indians arriving, I give no longer credit to. I have men among the different nations who will at all times give me information of anything of importance; but in addition to those, I now dismiss to the Wabash and to the country west of that river, some more faithful men to obtain all information possible of the movements of the Americans and the Indians.

I am informed that the collector from Detroit is watching the opposite shore to us, from a suspicion of the Indians having received ammunition from us, and to seize it.

As to the attack upon Detroit, which I am told is garrisoned by only 30 or 40 men (at all events not near 100) under captain Whistler, who was formerly a British drummer, the attempt would be useless unless we struck the first blow, and take it by assault or surprise. If the Americans commence hostilities first, they will previously reinforce Detroit with some more regular troops or militia from the state of Ohio or Kentucky (for I do not believe they would trust the Canadians above Detroit;) and that would be no difficult matter in winter when the roads are frozen, when they might also bring forward as much provision and as many pieces of artillery as they would want.

My plan would be to have a respectable body of troops here to give the Indians confidence in our sincerity; and with five hundred of the former, and the same number of the latter, who could soon be collected, seize Detroit in the first instance. That once done, the Indians, with some regular troops, would keep the Americans at bay until all the nations were assembled; which they would do immediately.

The road by which the Americans might and would advance from Kentucky, and which is all cleared, passes by the fallen timber at Ottaway town on the Auglaive, which falls into the Miami of the lake, where the road from Fort Pitt joins it. It passes the Miami Bay in the woods, and from Otter Creek on the Lake follows said lake to Big Rock and Brownstown. Perhaps near where Fort Miami stood would be the best station for annoying an advancing enemy. All the Indians, with the exception of a few tragglers, of all the nations within the limits of your sketch, may be depended upon; the exact number of whom I cannot at present give you; but the following is what I have been able to collect of those living from St. Croix river to the Wabash, viz,

Chippewas	300
Nodouessies	1000
Saukies	1000 and upwards, because 1000 in one party went against the Osages.
Foxes	1000
Mashoutas	500
Iowas	200
Menaumindis	300
	4400

The situation of their villages it is out of my power to ascertain.

The part of the country I was formerly acquainted with has entirely changed its face with its masters, and the Indians have moved to other parts. The Ottawas of the Miami Bay and branches of that river and about Sandusky, are about 300 men.

The Americans at Detroit are repairing their fort and mounting their cannon thereon, of which they received last year twelve 24 pounders and about 20 tons of shot, as I have been informed. They have also embodied their militia, and keep picquets out round the town.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant.

M. ELLIOTT

HARRISON TO LEGISLATURE

December 9, 1811

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana*, 275-7

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

Your speaker has transmitted to me two resolutions of your house expressive of your thanks to Colonel John P. Boyd and the officers and soldiers of the Fourth U. S. Regiment, to Colonels Bartholomew and Decker and the officers and privates of the militia under their command; also the Kentucky volunteers for their bravery and good conduct in the action of the seventh of November at the battle of Tippecanoe. [See Dec. 4, above]

It has excited my astonishment and deep regret to find that the mounted riflemen of the Territory, who so eminently distinguished themselves and the squadron of Dragoons whose conduct was also so highly meritorious have, on this occasion, been totally neglected.

I cannot for a moment suppose gentlemen, that you have any other wish than that of rendering impartial justice to all the corps. I cannot believe that you have the smallest tincture of that disposition which certainly elsewhere prevails to disparage the conduct of the militia and to deprive them of their share of the laurels which have been so dearly purchased by the blood of some of our best and bravest citizens.

No! I can never suppose that it was your intention to insult the shades of Spencer, McMahan, and Berry by treating with contempt the corps which their deaths have contributed to immortalize, nor will I believe that a Davis, a White, a Randolph and a McMahan have been so soon forgotten, nor that the corps to which they belonged and which faithfully performed its duty was deemed unworthy of your notice.

The ommission was certainly occasioned by a mistake but it was a mistake by which, if it is not rectified, the feelings of a whole country and part of another, now abounding with widows and orphans the unhappy consequence of the late action, will be wounded and insulted.

The victory of the seventh of November, Gentlemen was not gained by any one corps but by the efforts of all. Some of them indeed, more particularly distinguished themselves and of this number was the U. S. Regiment. In my official report to the Secretary of War I have mentioned them in such terms of approbation that if stronger are to be found in the English language, I am unacquainted with them, but I have not given them all the honors of victory. To have done so I should have been guilty of a violence of truth, of injustice and of a species of treason against our Republic itself whose peculiar and appropriate force is its militia.

With equal pride and pleasure, then do I pronounce that, notwithstanding the regular troops behaved as well as men ever did, many of the militia companies were in no wise inferior to them. Of this number were the mounted riflemen, commanded by Captain Spencer. To them was committed the charge of defending the right flank of the army. That it could not have been committed to better hands, their keeping their grounds, (indeed gaining upon the enemy) for an hour and a half with unequalled arms, against superior numbers, and amid a carnage that might have made veterans tremble, is sufficient evidence. Nor can I say that Captain Robb's company after it was placed by the side of Spencer's was at all inferior to it. It is certain that they kept their post and their great loss shows that it was a post of danger. The dragoons also did everything that could have been expected from them in the situation in which they were placed. Before they were mounted, they certainly kept the enemy for a considerable time from penetrating the camp by the left flank and when mounted, they remained firm at their post although exposed to the fire of the enemy at a time when they were necessarily inactive and consequently placed in a position most trying to troops.

The failure of the charge made by Major Davis was owing to his having employed too small a number, but even with these it is more than probable that he would have been successful if he had not unfortunately mistaken the direction in which the principal part of the enemy lay. A successful charge was made, by a detachment of the dragoons at the close of the action and the enemy was driven into a swamp into which they could not be followed.

You may perhaps, Gentlemen, suppose that I ought to have given you the information necessary to your forming a correct opinion of the merits of each corps. Military etiquette however and the custom of our country forbade this. It is to the Government of the United States alone that a detailed account of an action is made. In this communication I have given you such information only as was necessary to enable you to correct mistakes which, I am sure, were unintentional on your part.

My sense of the merits of the other corps of the army will be known when my official account is published.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON
Governor of Indiana Territory

TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

December 9, 1811

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 273*

FELLOW CITIZENS:

The joint address of the two houses which was delivered to me on the fifteenth inst. by your committee, was received with feelings which are more easy for you to conceive than for me to describe. Be pleased to accept my sincerest thanks for the favorable sentiment you have been pleased to express of my conduct as Commander-in Chief of the expedition and be assured that the good opinion of the people of Indiana and their representatives will ever constitute no small portion of my happiness. If anything could add to my gratitude to you, Gentlemen, it is the interest you take in the welfare of those brave fellows who fought under my command. Your memorial in their favor to the Congress of the United States does equal honor to the heads and hearts of those in whose name it was sent and is worthy of the Legislature of the Indiana Territory.

WM. HENRY HARRISON

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 11th Dec. 1811
Ha. Pa. 547

SIR:

To show you to what a pitch the Spirit of the Western Country has risen I enclose you one out of many letters, on the same subject and containing similar offers, which I am almost daily receiving from Kentucky and Tennessee.

General Jackson (the writer) bears a high Character as a Soldier and a Patriot.

I have the Honor to be with your Respect Sir
your Humble Servant

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Hon. WILLIAM EUSTES Esq. *Sec. of War*

JACKSON TO HARRISON

HERMITAGE, 28th November 1811
Har. Pa. 549

With deep and heart felt regret I received the information of the loss you sustained on the morning of the seventh instant, by the attack of the Indians upon your encampment. Upon the receipt of this information and hearing that you were slowly retreating I issued orders to my respective Brigades to hold themselves in readiness to march to your support, in case the safety of your frontier and your request might make it necessary and proper.

Should the aid of part of my division be necessary to enable you to revenge the blood of our brave heroes, who fell by the deceitfull hands of those unrelenting barbarians—I will with pleasure march with five hundred or one thousand brave Teneseans. *The blood of our murdered countrymen must be revenged.* That banditti ought to be swept from the face of the earth. I do hope that government will see that it is necessary to act efficiently, and that this hostile band, which must be excited to war, by the secret agents of Great Britain, must be destroyed. Should any services be necessary to your safety, and that of your Country, by notifying me thereof, and at what point I can meet with supplies, I will have the number required at a short day at the appointed place.

Being called by imperious business from home for a short time, I have directed my aids Major Anderson and Major Coffee, to attend Nashville, receive letters to my address and should you require men to have them ready and prepare to march at my return. You will please address me at Nashville.

Accept assurances of my esteem & respect

ANDREW JACKSON
Major General 2 Division Tennessee

Governor HARRISON

HARRISON TO SCOTT

VINCENNES 13th Dec. 1811
Har. Pa. 559

MY DEAR SIR:

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 27th ultimo. by the mail of Wednesday last and beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the friendly sentiment it contains.

You wish me to give you some account of the late action that you may be the better enabled to do me justice against the cavils of ignorance and presumption. I would do this with great pleasure but the legislature of this Territory being about to close its session and having an unusual press of business I am unable to give you such an account as would be satisfactory. There is however less need of this as my official account to the Government will probably reach you nearly as soon as this letter. It appears to me from the hints contained in some of your newspapers that the charge of error in the planning or the execution of the late expedition has been more particularly aimed at the President than myself. I most sincerely thank this Gentlemen for placing me in such good company and it is hardly necessary to inform you that the charge against the administration in this instance is as unfounded as in all the others which have flowed from the same source. The orders of the Government with regard to the expedition wins as much wisdom as humanity. It was determined to protect its citizens but if possible to spare the effusion of human blood. This last object was prevented. But by whom? Why in a great measure by those very persons who are now complaining because a battle cannot be won without loss. At least in this Territory the clamour is confined to those who opposed the Expedition to the utmost of their power and by whose exertions in circulating every falsehood that malice or rivalry could invent. The Militia were prevented from turning out—and instead of a force of from 12 to 1500 men which I expected to have had I was obliged to march from Fort Harrison with less than 880. My personal enemies here united with the British agents in representing that the expedition was entirely useless and the Prophet as one of best and most pacific of mortals, perfect shaker in principle who shuddered at thoughts of spilling blood. Every one of his aggressions upon us was denied or paliated and excused with as much eagerness as is the conduct of Great Britain by this same description of people in the Atlantic States. A party sent by the Prophet fired upon and wounded one of our centinels upon our own ground. The fact was at first boldly denied—the man was shot by one of our own people—and I believe it was even supposed that he shot himself when the whole circumstance was brought to light—these indefatigable gentry shifted their ground and asserted that the poor Indian fired in his own defence and that he was merely gratifying an innocent curiosity in creeping up to see what was going on in camp and that if he had not shot the Sentry the Sentry would have shot him.

I regret exceedingly that the friends of Col. Daviess should think it necessary to his fame to suppose a difference of opinion between him and myself which never existed that I had slighted advice from him which was never given and that to give color to this had listened to stories with regard to the operation of the army which were absolutely without foundation. If the utmost cordiality and friendship did not exist between the Colonel and myself from the time of his joining the army until his death I have been very much deceived. If our Military opinions were not almost always in unison those which he expressed (and no man who knew him will accuse him of hypocracy) was not his own. The Colonel's mess-mate, Major G. R. C. Floyd and Capt. Piatt are well acquainted with the entire confidence which existed between us. They are acquainted with circumstances which indisputably establish the fact and they and others know that I was the object of his Eulogy to an extent which it would be indelicate in me to repeat. Col. Daviess did indeed advise me to a measure the day before the action on which he was joined by all the officers around me. Whether the advice was good or bad is immaterial to the present description since it was followed to the extent that it was given. It is not necessary to express my opinion of the Col.'s merits at this time since it will be found in my official letter and I have no doubt that it will be satisfactory to his friend.

With regard to my own conduct my dear Sir it is not in my power to enter into a defence of it unless I were to know in what particular it has been arraigned. However I may with safety rely for my defence upon the opinion of my army, believing most sincerely that you do feel that lively interest in my fame and fortunes, which you profess. I am sure you will receive with interest the enclosed declaration signed by all the field officers of the Army one only excepted who was absent and the Resolution entered into by the Militia of this country who served on the expedition. The testimony of men who fought and suffered by my side ought I should suppose to be conclusive.

The idea seems to prevail in your state that in the action of the 7th u. the whole army was completely surprised and that they were placed in a situation where bravery only decided the contest and where there was no opportunity whatever for the exercise of military skill of any kind. This was however far from being the case. It is true that the two companies forming the left angle of the rear line (Bartons & Geigers) were attacked before they were formed and that some of the men were killed in coming out of their tents but it is equally true that all the other companies were formed before they were fired on and that even these two companies lost but a very few men before they were able to resist. Notwithstanding the darkness the order of Battle (such as had been previously prescribed) was taken by all the Troops. The Officers were active the men cool and obedient and perhaps there never was an action fought where (for the number of men engaged) there were so many changes of position performed. Not in disorder and confusion but with military propriety. The companies of the Regulars and Militia were extended, contracted, wheeled, marched and made to file up by word of command. My orders, and these were not a few, were obeyed with promptness and preciseness and if I am not more grossly deceived that mutual dependence which ought to exist between a commander and his army was reciprocally felt.

It has been said that the Indians should have been attacked upon our arrival before their town on the evening of the 6th. There were two reasons which prevented this, first that the directions which I received from the Government made it necessary that I should endeavour if possible to accomplish the object of the expedition (the disposition of the Prophets force) without bloodshed and secondly—that the success of an attack by day upon the Town was very problematical. I certainly did not understand my instructions to mean that I should jeopardize the safety of the troops by endeavoring to bring about and accommodation without fighting. But if I had commenced and attack upon them after they had sent a chief to inform me that they were desirous of an accommodation and that they had three days before sent a deputation to me for that purpose who can doubt but that a much greater clamour would have been raised than exists at present—the cruelty of attacking those innocent people would have been pourtrayed in the strongest colors, the administration would have been represented as murderers and myself as their wretched instrument. But the army were exposed to the "nightly incursions" of the Indians. It has been well observed by a writer in the Argus? that if "a nightly incursion" was really so much to be dreaded by the army it had no business there. But the author of those objections perhaps will be still more surprised when he learns that "a nightly incursion" was precisely what I wished because from such a one only could I hope for a close and decisive action. If they had attacked us by day they certainly would have done it upon ground favorable to their mode of fighting. In night attacks discipline always prevails over disorder; the party which is able to preseve order longest must succeed. I had with me 250 regulars that were highly disciplined and my militia had been taught to form in order of battle to receive any enemy in any direction with facility and precision. "But in the neighborhood of the enemy why were not the Troops made to continue under arms throughout the night"? I answer that Troops can only bear a certain portion of fatigue and when in the presence of the enemy it is a matter of calculation with the Commander when they should be kept under arms and when permitted to rest. Upon the occasion I must acknowledge that my calculations were erroneous. In common with the whole army I did believe that they would not attack us that night. If it was their intention to attack us why had they not aimed upon our march where situation favorable to them might easily have been found. Indeed within three miles of the town we passed over ground so broken and disadvantageous to us that I was obliged to change the position of the Troops several times in the course of a mile. They had fortified their Town with care and with astonishing labour for them, and indicating that they there meant to sustain the shock. It was the scene of those mysterious rites which were so much venerated and the Prophet had taught his followers to believe that both his person and his Town were equally inviolable. I expected that they would have met me the next day to hear my terms but I did not believe however that they would acceed to them and it was my determination to attack and burn the Town the following night. It was necessary therefore that the Troops should be as much refreshed as possible. But altho the men were not made to remain all night under arms every other precaution was used as if an attack had been certain. In fact the troops were placed precisely in that situation that is called by military men "lying upon their arms," the Regular Troops lay in their lines with their accoutrements on and their arms by their sides the Militia had no tents they slept with their pouches on and their arms under them to keep them dry. The order of encampment was the order of Battle for a night attack and as every man slept opposite to his post in the line there was nothing for them to do but to rise and take their post a few steps in the rear of their fires and the line was formed in an instant. So little time was required for this operation that if the guard on the left flank had done its duty as well as the rest of the army the troops in that flank would have been formed before the Indians came near them. It was my custom every evening as soon as the army halted to examine the ground of the encampment and environs and afterwards to call together the field officers of the army and give them their directions for the night. At these meetings (where everyone was required freely to express their sentiments) every contingency that was likely to happen was discussed. The advice that were proper to be given to them were then by the field officers reported to the Captains. Everyone being by those means possessed of my intentions there was no reason left for mistake or confusion. The orders given on the night of the 6th was solely directed to a night attack—the officers were directed in case of such an attack to parade their men in the order in which they were encamped and thus each Corps should maintain its self upon its own ground until other orders were given. With regulations such as these and with such a state of discipline as we claim you must allow my dear Sir we had no reason to dread a "night incursion" more than an attack by day. Indeed it was preferable because in no other could it have been so completely decisive. In the latter we might have lost as many men as we did loose without having killed a third as many of the enemy. In my letter to the Secretary it is asserted that the Indians had penetrated to the center of the encampment I believe however that not more than two Indians got within the lines. Men were certainly killed near the Center of the Camp but it must have been from balls fired from without.

From this letter and my official despatch to the Secretary of War you will be enabled my dear General to form a correct opinion of the battle of Tippecanoe. When an action is over and we have time to meditate upon the circumstances that attended it there is no great judgment necessary to discover some error in the conduct of it. Something that was done which might have been better done or something that was omitted which if done might have produced great advantages. I believe the greatest Generals had admitted that they could fight a second battle upon the same ground much better than the first. If this is true with respect to them ought it not to be a motive to shield me from that severity of Criticism with which some of my fellow Citizens are desirous of scanning my conduct. A victory has been gained and the army which gained it is due in part at least to the measures of the Commander—but this is not sufficient—it should have been achieved without loss on our side. There is certainly no man more fully impressed with the excellent merits of those brave ones who fell in the action than I am; amongst them were many for whom I felt the warmest regard and friendship. But they were exposed to no dangers but what was common to the whole army and if they were selected by divine providence as the price of an important victory there is nothing left us but to honor their memory and to bow submissively to a decree which we cannot alter. It would however bitter the remaining part of my life if I could suppose that their fate was produced by any misconduct of mine. But upon this subject I have nothing to accuse myself. I am satisfied that all my weak powers were exerted to the utmost for the safety and glory of my Troops. Indeed no Commander had ever greater reason to do so—for none ever received greater marks and confidence and all attachment from an army than I did. Many of the Corps forgetful of their own danger seemed only anxious for me and a sentiment springing from personal attachment alone was imputed by them to a belief that their fate was intimately connected with mine. For such Troops it was impossible that I should not be willing to shed the last drop of my blood.

Your friendship my dear General will pardon egotism contained in this letter. Perhaps I ought to disregard the idle tales that have been circulated to my prejudice—knowing as I do that there are not four persons who served under me upon the late expedition that will not be ready to contradict them. I have not sufficient control however to rest easy under enumerated reproach and with the conciousness of haveing rendered some services to my country. I cannot bear to be deprived of the good opinion of my fellow Citizens.

With the greatest Regard I am Sir
Your friend and Humble Servant.

WM. HENRY HARRISON

Gov. Charles Scott[1]

P. S. I should have covered my troops every night with breast work of trees but axes were too scarce (after having procured everyone that the Territory afforded) that it was with difficulty there a sufficiency of wood could be procured to make the men comfortable—and the Militia were without tents and many of them without blankets. The story circulated in some of the papers of officers fighting in their [shirt tails] is absolutely untrue.

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[1] General Charles Scott was born in Cumberland Co. Va., served with Braddock at his defeat in 1755; commanded a regiment under Washington; was with Wayne when he stormed Stony Point; surrendered to the British at Charleston, was with St. Clair in 1791; commanded a wing under Wayne at Fallen Timbers; led an expedition to the Wabash in 1791; Gov. of Ky. 1808-1811; died about 1820.

Collins, *Kentucky*, 516

HOUSE TO HARRISON

December 17, 1811

Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana, 278*

His Excellency, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, *Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Indiana Territory*

Sir:

When this house addressed that portion of the troops to which you refer in your communication of the ninth *inst.* it was not the intention of this body to cast a shade over any portion of the troops which were under the command of Your Excellency in the late engagement nor to take from the Commander-in-Chief, any of that honor which he so nobly acquired in the late victory. [Dec. 4, above]

In the joint address of both houses to you their notice of the militia in general terms was thought sufficient as it was out of their power to notice every man who distinguished himself, therefore it was considered that any evidence of respect paid to the Commander-in-Chief was an evidence of approbation to all. It is not to be supposed that those gentlemen to whom particular respect has been paid, have done any more than their duty, or that they distinguished themselves any more than many private soldiers. Those gentlemen who fell, some of them did well and some others had not the opportunity, being killed to early in the battle, but there is not an individual in this body but acknowledges that it was a well fought battle and that praises are due; but they generally agree that the laurels won principally, ought to be the property of the Commander-inChief.

PRESIDENT TO CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18, 1811

Annals of Congress, 12th Con., Part I, 1811-1812, p. 85

The following Message was received from the President of the United States:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

I lay before Congress two letters [See Nov. 8, 18, above] received from Governor Harrison, of the Indiana Territory, reporting the particulars and the issue of the expedition under his command, of which notice was taken in my communication of November 5th.[1]

While it deeply lamented that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the 7th ultimo, Congress will see, with satisfaction, the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of the troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander, on an occasion requiring the utmost exertions of valor and discipline.

It may reasonably be expected that the good effects of this critical defeat and dispersion of a combination of savages, which appears to have been spreading to a greater extent, will be experienced not only in a cessation of the murders and depredations committed on our frontier but in the prevention of any hostile incursions otherwise to have been apprehended.

The families of those brave and patriotic citizens who have fallen in this severe conflict, will, doubtless, engage the favorable attention of Congress.[2]

JAMES MADISON

SECRETARY OF WAR TO CONGRESS

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 19, 1811

Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 797

SIR

In answer to the call of the honorable committee of the House of Representatives, contained in your letter of the 25th ultimo, for "all evidence tending to shew what agency the subjects of his Britannic Majesty may have had in exciting the Indians on the Western frontier to hostility with the United States; the evidence of hostility towards the United States, on the part of the Shawanee Prophet, and his tribe, and which, it is presumed, gave rise to the expedition under the command of Governor Harrison; and the orders, or authority, vested in Governor Harrison by the Government of the United States, under which the expedition is carried on:"

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[1] Such a disposition has been made of our land forces, as was thought to promise the services most appropriate and important. In this disposition is included a force, consisting of regulars and militia, embodied in the Indiana Territory, and marched towards our Northwestern frontier. This measure was made requisite by the several murders and depredations committed by Indians, but more especially by the menacing preparations and aspect of a combination of them on the Wabash, under the influence and direction of a fanatic of the Shawanese tribe. With these exceptions, the Indian tribes retain their peaceable dispositions towards us, and their usual pursuits.

Annals of Congress 12 Con. part 1, 1811-1812, p. 14

[2] Dec. 27 the president laid before congress a memorial from the legislature of Indiana territory asking for grants of land for those who were killed or wounded on the expedition.

I have the honor to state, that the information received by this Department, relative to the subjects of inquiry, is contained in the correspondence of the Governors of the Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois territories, and of other officers and agents of Government, on the Northern and Western frontier, extracts from which, embracing the objects of inquiry of the honorable committee, together with the memorials of the inhabitants of the Indiana and Illinois territories, are herewith transmitted.

On the information and representation of facts, therein contained, the 4th regiment of infantry, with one company of riflemen, under the command of Colonel [John P.] Boyd, were ordered from Pittsburg to Vincennes subject to the further orders of Governor Harrison, who was authorized, with this force and such additional number of companies from the militia as should be deemed necessary, to establish a new post on the Wabash, and to march against, and disperse, the armed combination under the Prophet.[1]

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,
your most obedient servant,
W. EUSTIS

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, VINCENNES, 20th December 1811

Burton, *Historical Collection, 179*

The Governor of the Indiana Territory having been directed by the President of the United States to take command of the Troops destined for an expedition upon the Wabash of which the 4th U. S. Regiment formed a part, thought proper from the events that had happened and from the General aspect of Indian affairs to retain the Command after the Troops had returned, and the Militia been dismissed; circumstances have however determined him to relinquish it and the U. S. Troops in the Territory are released from all obligation to receive orders from him; this order embraces Capt. [Josiah] Snelling the Commandant of Fort Harrison, so far at least as the Connection with the Indians is not concerned this Department being entirely under the control of the Governor the Capt. will still continue to communicate to him alone upon that subject. It is however to be considered as a voluntary duty but from the known patriotism of the Capt. the Governor has no doubt of his performing it with cheerfulness, until another arrangement can be made.

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[1] Along with this were communicated 47 letters or extracts from letters containing evidence of the Prophet's activity. These letters cover the period from 1807 to 1811. Extracts of many of these letters are to be found above in their proper place. All are given in *Am. Sta. Pa. Indian Affairs I, 797-802.*

It is almost superfluous for the Governor on this occasion to express his sense of the merit of the Troops the command of which he has now thought proper to decline; this has been done in a way to do them more honour than they could possibly derive from an order of his, the circulation of which would not extend beyond the limits of their quarters; he cannot however forbear to declare, that although the official tie which has for some time connected him with those gallant troops is now dissolved, he will ever retain for them a sincerely affectionate regard and that however distantly separated from him they may be, to whatever part of the world they may be sent to fight the battles of their country, their honor and glory will be always dear to them.

Doctor [Edward] Scull, [Hosea] Blood and Cummings employed by the Governor as Surgeons mates will report themselves to Col. [John P.] Boyd, to remain in the service if he should think proper.

Signed, NATHL. J. ADAMS, *Adjt. of the Army*

RESOLUTIONS AND NOTES TIPPECANOE

Dec. 21, 1811

Western Sun, December 21, 1811, January 4, 1812
Har. Pa. 564

On Thursday last the Owl a Miami chief arrived at this place, being sent by a party of Indians which are encamped about 40 miles from this place to know whether the governor would receive a deputation from the Kickapoos and Winebagos, who were in the late action, and who had sollicted the chiefs of the Wea tribe to intercede with the governor to grant them and interview. We are informed that the governor declined receiving this visit, and declared that he would listen to no propositions for peace until the Prophet and all his followers, who did not properly belong to the Wabash were removed from the country.

Last evening Mr. McCullough, [a surveyor] whom the Gov. had sent express to Ft. Wayne returned, he there saw the chief who came to meet the Governor from the Prophet's town the night before the action. This man informed McCullough that it was at first intended by the Indians to meet the Governor in a conference, as they promised, with the intention of assassinating him—That one of the Winebago warriors had agreed to devote himself for that purpose, when the conference ended he was to watch his opportunity, and kill the Governor—when this was done they supposed that the army could easily be defeated. The information given by the negro who deserted was the occasion of the attack being made at night.

Western Sun, Dec. 21, 1811

We are sorry to learn that Governor Harrison did, on yesterday[1] give up the command of the regular troops stationed at this place, and at forts Knox and Harrison—this is the more to be regretted, as we are not yet certain of the real disposition of the Indians towards us—should they attack us the Governor's services as commander, will, unquestionably be much needed—past experience so incontestibly proves the importance of his services, that we are of opinion the people, for their own sofety ought to unite in prayer to him to resume it—and thereby give them a man & a commander whom they know, & in whom they could justly confide—It is moreover to be lamented, because we understand that no immediate communication from the officer commanding at fort Harrison, can regularly be made to the Governor, as to any information he may obtain, and it is all important that communication of that kind should be made to one who understands Indian affairs, and has the interest of the territory, and the safety of people at heart. We are, however glad to have it in our power to say that the governor's conduct during the late campaign exhibited so conspicuously the general, and the man of worth that it endeared him to every officer of the regular troops, with perhaps only one exception [Boyd].

Western Sun, Dec. 21, 1811

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[1] See General Orders, Dec. 20, above.

RESOLUTIONS—Dec. 7, 1811

(At the request of a number of subscribers we are induced to republish the following:)

At a numerous meeting, (public notice for that purpose being given) of the Officers and Non-commissioned officers, or privates of the Militia corps (Hargrove's company excepted) of the county of Knox which served on the late campaign under Gov. Harrison met at Beckes's Inn in Vincennes on the 7th December, 1811, Col. Luke Decker was appointed Chairman and Maj. Benjamin Parke, Clerk.

A paper purporting to be "an address from a number of the citizen of Vincennes and its vicinity" and signed by Henry Vanderburgh, as Chairman to Col. John P. Boyd, being read, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to. [Nov. 25, above]

1. *Resolved unamiously,* that we cannot consider the said Address in any other light than as one amongst the *many* attempts which have flowed from the same source, to wound the feelings and injure the character of Governor Harrison.

2. *Resolved,* That the said Address in attempting to bestow the merit of the *masterly conduct* in the direction and manoevering of the troops in the late action to any other than the Commander in chief asserts a notorious untruth, which will be acknowledged as such by the whole army.

3. That our indignation is justly excited at the false and contemptuous manner in which the *Militia* who served under Governor Harrison are treated, in the said address; being there represented as an *untutored, undisciplined* band possessing indeed courage, but none of the other requisites of soldiers; and owing eternal gratitude to the Col. Boyd and his Regiment, for the preservation of their lives.

4. That the *Militia* which served under Governor Harrison were neither *untutored* nor *undisciplined,* but in common with the Regular troops, they shared the attention of the Commander in Chief, and that by his *personal exertions,* both the Militia and Regulars were brought to a state of perfection in that kind of manoevering calculated for Indian warfare, and that they were enabled to perform all the directions of the Commander in Chief with promptness, facility, and precision.

5. That it is a notorious fact, known to the whole army that all the changes of position made by the troops during the action of the 7th ult. and by which the victory was secured, were made by the direction of the Commander in Chief, and generally executed under his immediate superintendence.

6. That we cannot but view as a most dangerous usurpation, the meeting of a few individuals, not more than from seven to ten, in a private house, without any previous or public notice being given and to pass resolutions and addresses in the name of a neighborhood. And we do further view the conduct of said individuals (almost every one of whom are the avowed enemies of the Commander in Chief—and several of whom have uniformly discountenanced and opposed every measure of the government, in respect to the Shawanoe Prophet and his party, and none of whom were on the Campaign) in daring to speak in the name of the Militia, as highly presumptious and unwarrantable.

7. That it was owing to the skill and valor of the Commander in Chief that the victory of Tippecanoe was obtained.

8. That we have the most perfect confidence in the Commander in Chief, and shall always feel a cheerfulness in serving under him whenever the exigences of the country may require it.

9. That we would prefer serving under him to any person that could be designated by the government for that purpose.

10. That when commanded by him, honor will be achieved; and we have every confidence that victory will be obtained.

11. That in expressing the above opinions, in respect to the reprehensible conduct of the Addressers, we desire it to be definetly understood that we have no idea of wounding the feelings, or injuring the character of Col. Boyd that we are free to declare, that we believe his conduct during the action to have been that of a gentlemen and a soldier.

12. That we feel the highest respect, and shall always recollect with gratitude, our brothers in arms, the Officers and Privates of the U. S. Troops.—*We have often heard. We have now seen what Yankees can do!*

13. That in obeying our country's call we shall feel a proud satisfaction in being associated with *Kentucky volunteers.*

14. That the above resolutions be inserted in the *Western Sun*—and that such Printers as may give publicity to the

Addresses above mentioned, be requested to publish also the aforesaid resolutions.

LUKE DECKER, Chairman
B. PARKE, *Clerk*

The *Western Sun* Vincennes, December 21, 1811
Dawson's *Harrison*, 223

INDIAN LOSS AT TIPPECANOE

Captain [Josiah] Snelling, the commandant of Fort Harrison, arrived here a few days ago—the captain has had an opportunity of conversing with a number of the Indians, who were in the late action, and has taken much pains to ascertain the number that fought aginst our troops. He put down on paper the number of each tribe as gave by each individual. The one which gave the least, made the amount 569, and he who gave the most to upward of 700. They belonged to the Kickapoo, Wyandot, Potawatimies, Piankeshaws, Shawanoes, Muscos, Wyandots, (or Hurons) Ottawas and Chipewa tribes.

Western Sun, Jan. 4, 1812

RESOLUTIONS

Dec. 27, 1811

The mounted volunteer Riflemen at gen. Samuel Wells's[2] on the 27th of December, 1811, for the purpose of partaking a dinner with the general. After appointing capt. James Hunter[2] chairman and Major Isaac R. Gwathmey[2] secretary, a letter addressed to col. [John P.] Boyd with Henry Vanderburgh as signer—and also the resolutions adopted on the 7th of Dec. 1811, by the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the militia corps of Knox county, Indiana Territory were then read to capt. Geiger and his company—when the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

1. *Resolved*, That we the volunteers who fought in the late battle on the Wabash under the command of Col. Frederick Geiger, do with heartfelt satisfaction, highly approve of the resolutions adopted by our brother officers and soldiers at Vincennes, on the 7th of Dec. 1811.

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[2] Wells was major in the battalion of Kentucky light dragoons at Tippecanoe; James Hunter was adjutant and Isaac Gwathmey was a private in Captain Geiger's company.

2. *Resolved,* That that part of the letter of Henry Vanderburgh,[3] which says that the militia were an untutored and undisciplined band, is considered by us as a groundless and malicious falsehood, and is calculated to take from them (the militia) the never-fading laurels they won by their heroism, their bravery and their firmness.

3. *Resolved,* That we view the address of Henry Vanderburgh, as an unjustifiable attempt to wound the feelings of the commander in chief of the late expedition. And that we are ready and willing whenever our country calls, to volunteer under the same commander.

4. *Resolved,* That the Editor of the *Western Courrier,* be requested to give the proceedings of this meeting publicity in his paper.

JAMES HUNTER, *Chairman*
ISAAC R. GWATHMEY, *Secretary*

TOASTS

Dec. 27, 1811

After Dinner the Following Toasts were drank

1. Our departed heroes, who gloriously fell on the 7th of Nov. while fighting the battle of their insulted country, may their virtues ever be remembered and their patriotism imitated—*2 Cheers.*

2. Governor Harrison, the brave and consummate general, he deserves not only the praises but the benediction of his country—*7 cheers.*

3. The British Agents at Vincennes, if any there be, may they call forth the just indignation of their countrymen, and be treated as traitors by every honest man. *4 hisses.*

4. The brave sons of Kentucky, when their country calls, may they not hesitate to volunteer their services—*An everlasting cheer*

5. James Sommerville,[4] a brave and intreped Scotchman, whose heart was swolen with joy at the rapturous fount of liberty, while he manfully sacrificed his life for a boasted independence. 3 Cheers

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[3] A note in Dawson says "as this person [Henry Vanderburgh] is now dead, it was thought unnecessary to mention his name." He died April 5, 1812.

[4] James Somerville was a school teacher near Louisville. When Harrison called for volunteers Judge John Speed was unable to go but he fitted up young Somerville and he was killed at Tippecanoe.

Pirtle, *Tippecanoe,* 20

6. Stephen Mars,[5] a Kentucky volunteer, who with more than Ceasarian bravery, fell heroically fighting for his country.—3 cheers.

7. May the 7th of Nov. prove to our enemies that the spark of '76 is not yet extinguished.—9 cheers.

8. May the United States, no longer depend on fruitless negociations, but appeal to the God of Mars, to compel her enemies to respect her rights.—6 cheers.

9. The Eagle of America, when summoned from her peaceful rock, may she hurl destruction on the British Lion.—3 cheers

10. May the starry flag of 1812 float triumphantly over the ramparts of Quebec.—17 Cheers.

VINCENNES LODGE

December 2d, A. L. 5311, 1811 A. D.

Resolved unanimously, That the Members of the Lodge wear Crape on their left arm for the space of one month, as a testimonial of the respect in which this lodge hold our late M. W. Grand Master, Joseph H. Daviess. And the sincere regret the Lodge feel at the untimely and unfortunate fall of the said Joseph H. Daveiss, together with brothers Thomas Randolph and Isaac White; who were killed in the battle with the Savages on the morning of the 7th ult.

By orders of the Lodge.[6]

ROBT. BUNTIN, Jr. *Sec'y P. T.*[7]

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[5] Stephen Mars, of Louisville, was a corporal in Captain Geiger's company. He seems to have been the sentinel who first discovered the approaching Indians on the night of the battle of Tippecanoe. After firing at the creeping Indian he ran toward the camp giving the alarm but was killed before he reached it.

Pirtle, *Tippecanoe*, 53

[6] Vincennes, Lodge No. 1, was organized under a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Ky. dated Sept. 1, 1808. The charter is dated Aug. 31, 1809. The officers were installed, March 13, 1809. Daviess was Grand Master of Ky. and so of Vincennes. Secretary John Gibson was the first candidate to receive the third degree. In 1811 Jo. Daviess presided over the lodge and raised Col. Isaac White. They were buried together by masons on the battlefield.

McDonald, *Hist. of Freemasonry in Indiana*

[7] Two copies of the *Western Sun*, from which these items are copied, were enclosed by Harrison in his letter of Dec. 28, below.

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 24th Dec. 1811

Har. Pa. 553

SIR:

The enemies of the Administration in Kentucky have endeavored to raise a clammour from some supposed defect in the planning or in the execution of the late expedition. Altho, I believe that the people generally pay very little attention to what these gentry say, I have never yet thought it proper to elucidate some of the circumstances which have caused their animadversion in a letter to my friend, Gov. Scott, a copy of which I have the honor herewith to enclose. [See Dec. 13, above] I cannot believe that any man of judgment who is the least acquainted with Indian warfare and who knew the strength of the position occupied by the Indians, can suppose that we could have gained any thing by attacking the Town on the evening of our arrival We might have carried it, but I am fully persuaded that our loss would have been much greater than it was. Indeed had we fought them any where by day upon ground of their own choosing we should I believe have beaten them, but their loss of men would have been comparatively small to ours. This has been the case in every action of note that has been fought with the Indians. General [Josiah] Harmer plumed himself upon having killed one third or one fourth as many Indians as they killed of his men and in the action of Gen. [Anthony] Wayne, one hundred and thirty or forty of our men were killed and wounded and I am persuaded that there were not more than twenty Indians killed. When pressed by our troops they escaped with so much agility that altho there were little short of 2000 Dragoons and mounted riflemen they were not able to overtake them. So great were the advantages which I supposed we should derive in a night attack from our discipline, our bayonets and buckshot that I must confess I had no idea that we should ever be attacked in that way. I should however blush at my own want of prudence if any thing was omitted to guard against the success of such an attack which ought to have been done upon the probabilities which I had before me that it would be made. If I had placed pickets of observation without any chain of sentinels, it would have been easy for the enemy to evade them, or to have cut them off. Our safety consisted in having the

Troops prepared for action at a moments warning. They could not have been better prepared unless I had made them pass the whole night under armes. I confess that I had no idea that this was more necessary than it had been for many nights before. Indeed I thought it less so and I believe that I may with safety say that there was not an officer, perhaps not a man, in the Camp of a different opinion. But notwithstanding this the order of encampment was intended to resist a night attack. The orders given were directed to the same point. The great facility with which the troops were formed shows that they had been well instructed and well understood what they were to do and excepting the two Companies of Barton and Guiger, the rest of the Troops could not have been in better order than they were in when they were fired on, if they had stood at their posts the whole night

Since I had the honor to write to you by the last mail the Owl a celebrated Miami Chief arrived here, to know whether I would receive some Winnebagos and Kickapoos, who were waiting his return at about a days journey from this with several of the Wea Chiefs. My answer was that I did not wish to see them here at present—being anxious to know the Presidents determination with regard to them before I took any further measures. The Owl confirms the opinion which I had before entertained that all the Potawatamies who reside on the Wabash (excepting the Chief Winenac) were in the action. He says he saw the warriors from both the Villages above the Prophets Town going to join him the day before the action and that it was with the greatest difficulty that the young men of his own Tribe could be prevented from joining him also. Amongst the Potawatamies were some men whom I had particularly cherished—indeed the chiefs and warriors of both those villages had partaken more largely of the bounty of the U. States dispensed by my hand, than any other. Their conduct and that of the Miamis unequivocally prove that the inclinations of the Indians were entirely on the side of the Prophet and that it was high time their establishment was broken up. My opinion is that they should not too easily be admitted to our favor again and I regret exceedingly that Mr. [John] Johnson should have been so precipitate in delivering the annuities at Fort Wayne. I have temporized with the Indians for the purpose of gaining time, that the Government may decide what is to be done. The course that I would recommend is that the Miamis, Potawatamies and Kickapoos be made to drive off the Prophet and all the strange Indians from the Wabash. It may however be necessary to embody a respectable force to back them and to prevent those Vagabonds from turning upon our settlements. All the accounts that I have received from the Indian Country agree in stating the entire dispondence of the Prophets party and their disinclination for further hostilities It is however pretty certain that the Winegabos have not returned home as the Kickapoos asserted and it is possible that the return of Tecumseh, who is daily expected will produce other dispositions.

In my letter of the 26th ult. I had the honor to inform you that from the aspect of our relations with the Indians I had determined to retain the command of the troops until I should hear from you. As however the Militia have all been dismissed and no immediate danger apprehended I have relinquished the control over them which I had retained. But upon the occurrence of any event to make it necessary or upon the receipt of your orders to that effect I will with cheerfullness resume it. There is indeed but a *single circumstance*[1] which makes the command disagreeable to me.

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir
Your Humble Servant

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The Hon. WILLIAM EUSTIS *Sect. of War*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO HARRISON

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 25th, 1811

Dawson, *Harrison, 255*

SIR,

By the arrival of major [Waller] Taylor, on the 16th instant, your Excellency's despatches of the 18th of November, containing a particular account of the battle of the 7th, were received. The message of the president to congress, [See Dec. 18, above] herewith enclosed, will convey to your Excellency the high sense entertained by the executive, of the gallantry and good conduct of all the troops engaged in the expedition. And I am instructed, by the president, to communicate to you, Sir, and through you to the officers and men, of the respective corps, his thanks, for the persevering zeal and bravery displayed in the action. The encomium bestowed by your Excellency on the regular troops, appears to have been justly due to the discipline, firmness, and valor with which the action was sustained on their part, and reflects the highest honor on colonel Boyd and his officers.

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[1] This doubtless refers to the restlessness of Colonel Boyd and the agitation at Vincennes as shown by the Vanderburg letter. In Kentucky Humphrey Marshall was the chief and almost the only critic of Harrison.

It is presumed that the effects of this defeat will be experienced in a return of the Indians to their former friendly disposition, and in a prevention of future aggressions. The course remaining to be pursued with them will depend, in a great measure, on further indications of their meditated conduct, and is under consideration. In the meantime, your Excellency will continue to communicate every information, and to adopt such measures as exigencies may require.

I have the honor to be, your Excel'ys, most ob't servant.

W. EUSTIS

His Excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Vincennes

HARRISON TO SECRETARY OF WAR

VINCENNES 28th Dec. 1811

Har. Pa. 563

SIR:

A. W. Fowler arrived here from New Port the evening before last with some groceries, medicine, and other necessaries for the sick and wounded. Nothing of this kind has been wanting hitherto and I am happy to inform you that all the wounded, one perhaps only excepted, are in a fair way to recover and that there has been but one death within the last fortnight. The enclosed letter from Captain [Josiah] Snelling [See Nov. 20, above] with the Indian talks which it contains, came to me by an express since the Departure of the last mail. It is another evidence of the complete discomfiture of the Prophets party. I have desired Capt. Snelling to permit the Stone Eater only to come here, by whom I will send an answer to the others. Before he leaves this I hope to receive your directions with regard to the course which is to be pursued with the late hostile Indians.

It is impossible Sir, that I should be insensible to the torrent of abuse which has been levelled at me by some of the papers.

What we call here a glorious victory—such a one as in the opinion of Gov. Edwards, Gov. Howard, Gen Clark, and generally of the whole mass of citizens will produce the most important beneficial consequences to the western country and to the U. States, has been termed a "most distressing disaster", a "horible butchery". If these observations had been confined to the federal prints I should have disregarded them but none of them have been more rancourous than the paper called the Baltimore *Whig*. In my official accounts it has been my aim to conceal no circumstance whatever even if it should militate against myself. I have indeed made statements which have had that tendency when there was no necessity for it and which upon further enquiry I found to be totally incorrect. I have asserted that the Indians penetrated to and killed men near the center of the Camp. I was led to the error because I knew that a few Indians had entered camp. I now find that there [were] but two, at most, who had passed into the camp near the left angle but they were killed within twenty yards of the line and I knew also that men were killed and wounded quite in the Interior of the Camp but every one agrees that it must have been from balls that came from without.

I have said also that men were killed coming out of their tents. Capt. Barton informs me that the two Tents on the right of his Company were fired into before the men got out, but the rest were formed before they received any injury. Capt. Geiger had but one Tent—one of his men was killed in the mouth of this and another killed an Indian—and this with a slight wound himself, was all the injury his company received until they were formed in the rear of their fires. Thirteen men *who joined us the day before the action* were attached to Geigers Company and posted on his left, joining to Bartons were broken and run off on the first alarm, (two or three excepted) and it was this circumstance which caused the great injury to Bartons Company. I do aver that the Troops upon the front rear and right flank were completely formed before they were fired on. The left flank which suffered most were formed some minutes before they received a shot. It could not have been more than one minute and an half from the first alarm, (and Mr. Adams who attended me thinks it was not as long) before I led up myself two companies, completely formed to the assistance of Barton and Geiger. But admitting that something more might have been done by me to ascertain the approach of the enemy, it appears from the above statement, that we sustained very little injury by the suddenness of their attack. In my letter from the Battle ground I have said that there was at first some little confusion before the Troops were formed. I read this letter to Col. Boyd at the time and he asserted that there was none, that there never was an army formed quicker or in better order. It is possible that the Col. may since have changed his opinion —with regard to my own conduct and the measures taken to secure the victory after the action commenced. I must refer you to the Declaration of the field officers and the Resolutions of six Militia Companies herewith enclosed. I have been very much misinformed if the sentiments they contain are not common to all the Plattoon officers of the 4th Regt.

I have the Honor to be very respectfully Sir
Your faithful Servant

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

P, S. For the satisfaction of the people I have caused the letter from Capt. Snelling and the Indian Speeches to be published and having no one at hand to copy them I have enclosed herewith the newspaper which contains them. [See Dec. 21, above]

W. H. H.

The Honble Secretary of War

ADAMS TO HARRISON

(Dec. 1811)

Dawson, *Harrison*, 242

SIR,

In answer to the question, which your Excellency has put to me, 'Do you know, or have you ever heard, that any other companies than those of Bigger and Robb had abandoned their stations in the action?' I must state, that I neither know, nor have heard, of any other companies who had deserted their posts; nor do I conceive, that those companies can justly be considered to have abandoned their posts, as Bigger's was certainly attacked in front, flank, and rear; their captain on guard, and themselves overpowered by numbers. Robb's company, in common with the whole of that flank, may also justly be said to have given away before superior numbers. It was rallied and taken to the right flank, where they manfully sustained the repeated attacks of the savages until the close of the action, and suffered severely, as their list of killed and wounded will show, which answers, also, your Excellency's second question, viz: 'Do you not know, or have you sufficient reason to believe from what you have heard, that Robb's company was rallied and removed to the right flank, where in a post of great danger, it continued to discharge its duty until the close of the action?' In answer to the third question, 'Do you know, or have you ever heard, that any militia officer or soldier was killed or wounded behind, or under wagons, or behind trees, were on or near the line, and where, of course, it was proper for riflemen to be?' I must declare, I neither knew, nor ever heard, that any officer or soldier was wounded or killed behind trees or wagons. Most of those who were wounded, retired to the centre of the camp, which may have led those, who superficially observed things, to suppose that they were there wounded; such people, also, might have mistaken wagoners, men in the contractor's and quartermaster's department, who were but few, whose duty called them about the wagons, for those who had fled from their posts. It must be, indeed, a source of regret to your Excellency, to find people, who are, perhaps, not the most deserving, striving to rend in pieces the laurel wreath, which your little army so gallantly won, merely because they cannot be the exclusive owners. For them should be wove the wreath of discord, labelled with dissension, folly, and madness, on its front; that such may no more disturb where you command, is, Sir, the wish of your obedient servant.

NATH. W. ADAMS
Captain 4th regt., adjutant of the army on the expedition

HARRISON TO DR. JOHN SCOTT

(Dec. 1811)

Dawson, *Harrison, 234*

You say that you are astonished at my escape, and that you had calculated with certainty upon my fall in the event of an action with the Indians, from the circumstance of my being known to every Indian who was opposed to us. It is really astonishing to myself, and I consider my life as having been most providentially preserved. I had, indeed, many more chances to run than any other individual, as well from the circumstance which you mention as from the attempts of treachery, the first efforts of which would unquestionably have been directed against me. The first plan laid by the prophet and his chiefs was that which you have heard, of meeting me in council and procuring my assassination by means of two Winebagoes who had devoted themselves to that object. Had this plan been persevered in, whatever might have been the fate of the army, I, at least should have fallen. When this scheme was abandoned and an attack determined on, I am perfectly convinced that they intended to have first despatched me by means of the above mentioned negro, who was either to have done it himself, or conducted some of the Indians into camp for the purpose of effecting it. The latter is most probable, and would not have been very difficult of execution. A few Indians might have passed undiscovered between the militia centinels, who, you know, are not very remarkable for their vigilance, as the negro himself did; and being once within the lines, there was scarcely any further obstacle. For instead of the officer's guard to which my rank entitled me I had contented myself with a single dismounted dragoon centinel, and that more for the purpose of overlooking the horses and baggage wagon than any security to myself. Ben had escaped all notice and was within a few yards of my quarters, making his observations, when captain Wilson providentially approached him from behind and secured him. Had it not been for the captain's visit to me at that late hour, or had it been delayed but for a few moments, he would no doubt have escaped. He was tried the next morning, and the court unanimously sentenced him to suffer death. I approved of the sentence and intended to have it executed in an hour; but the hour elapsed and another passed by. I excused the delay to my own mind from the circumstance of the troops being engaged in fortifying the camp, and could not be called out to witness the execution. But the fact was that I began to pity him, and I could not screw myself up to the point of giving the fatal order. If he had been out of my sight he would have been executed. But when he was first taken, general Wells and colonel Owen, who were old Indian fighters, as we had not irons to put on him, had secured him a-la-mode de savage. This is done by throwing the person on his back, splitting a log and cutting notches in it to receive the ankles, then replacing the severed parts and compressing them together with forks driven over the log into the ground; the arms extended and tied to stakes secured in the same manner. The situation of a person thus placed is as uneasy a one as can possibly be conceived. The poor wretch thus confined, lay before my fire, his face receiving the rain which occasionally fell, and his eyes constantly turned upon me as if imploring mercy. I could not withstand the appeal and I determined to give him another chance for his life. I had all the commissioned officers assembled and told them that his fate depended on them. Some were for executing him, and I believe that the majority would have been against him but for the interference of the gallant Snelling. 'Brave comrades,' said he, 'let us save him. The wretch deserves to die; but as our commander, whose life was more particularly his object, is willing to spare him, let us also forgive him. I hope, at least, that every officer of the fourth regiment will be upon the side of mercy.' Snelling prevailed, and Ben was brought to this place where he was discharged. To those who may censure me for pardoning Ben, you can state the circumstance of general Wayne's pardoning Antoine Lasselle, who, you know, was not only found fighting with the Indians against us, but actually hid within our lines, and although he was condemned as a spy, he was pardoned by the general. I have yet another providential interference in my favor to mention. I had in the campaign, for my own riding, a grey mare and a sorrel horse. They were both fine riding nags, but the mare was uncommonly spirited and alive. I generally rode them alternately, day and day about. On the day we got to the town I was on the mare, and as it was our invariable rule to have the horses saddled and bridled through the night, the saddle was kept upon her, and, like the other horses belonging to my family, she was tied to a picket driven into the ground in the rear of my marquee and between that and the baggage wagon. In the night the mare pulled up the picket and got loose. The dragoon centinel awakening my servant George, the latter caught the mare and tied her to the wagon wheel on the back side. When the alarm took place I called for the mare. George being aroused from his sleep and confoundedly frightened, forgot that he had removed her to the other side of the wagon and was unable to find her. In the mean time major Taylor's servant had brought up his horse. The major observed that I had better mount him, and he would get another and follow me. I did so. Poor Owen accompanied me, mounted upon a remarkably white horse. Before we got to the angle which was first attacked, Owen was killed. I at that time supposed that it was a ball which had passed over the heads of the infantry that had killed him; but I am pursuaded that he was killed by one of the two Indians who got within the lines, and that it was extremely probable that they mistook him for me. Taylor joined me in a few minutes after, mounted on my grey mare. I immediately directed him to go and get another. He returned to my quarters, and preferring my sorrel horse to another of his own that was there, mounted him, and we thus continued on each others' horses, till near the close of the action. Being then with both my aid-de-camps, Taylor and Hurst, in the rear of the right flank line, the fire of several Indians near to the line was directed at us. One of their balls killed the horse that Taylor was riding, and another passed through the sleeve of his coat, a third wounded the horse I was riding in the head, and a fourth was very near terminating my earthly career. Now, what a singular combination of circumstances happened to save me. If I had been mounted on my grey mare I should have inevitably been killed, and I should have been on her if she had not broken loose in the night, or if, after being caught she had been tied where the other horses were, or if my servant had recollected where he had tied her. It occurred to none of us that it was dangerous to be on a white animal until after Owen fell, or he would not have been suffered to ride his own white horse, as there were several spare ones belonging to my own family. I have seen a paragraph in one of the papers stating that 'the white horse on which I had ridden the day before the action, was riddled with balls,' this is not the fact; neither colonel Owens' horse, which colonel Wells has since taken home to his widow, or my mare were touched with a ball, and no one was upon the mare during the action but major Taylor, and he only for a minute or two.

A

JOURNAL

OF TWO CAMPAIGNS OF THE FOURTH REGIMENT OF U. S. INFANTRY

IN THE

MICHIGAN AND INDIANA TERRITORIES

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

COL. JOHN P. BOYD AND LT. COL. JAMES MILLER
DURING THE YEARS 1811 AND 12

BY ADAM WALKER,
Late a Soldier of the 4th Regiment

KEENE, N. H.

PRINTED AT THE SENTINEL PRESS,

By the Author

1816

PREFACE

WHEN the Author of the succeeding pages had determined on recording the events and operations of the Regiment to which he belonged, it was far from his intention to give them publicity. They were noted down for the amusement of his leisure hours and the perusal of his Friends, when he should return from the toils of the Camp and the fatigues of war;—to portray to the view of those Friends the various vicissitudes of fate attendant on the life of a Soldier.—But since his return, many who have perused the manuscript, have expressed their ardent desire to see it published, and to gratify their wishes, he has been induced to submit it to the press.—He indulges the hope that his simple narrative will fall into the hands of none but the candid and liberal, who affect not to despise the humble and unvarnished tale of the Private Soldier.

THE AUTHOR

JOURNAL[1]

The 4th Regiment of U. S. Infantry was raised principally in the year 1808—from the five New England States, viz.: Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and consisted of between 800 and 900 men—under the command of Colonel John P. Boyd. The regiment was not embodied until

April 29, 1811.—When we received orders from Government to rendezvous at the Lazaret to Barracks on the Schuylkill, five miles below Philadelphia. Captain Whitney's Company of U. S. Riflemen, then stationed at Newport, R. I., was also ordered to join the 4th Regiment at this place.

May 24.—The whole regiment (except one company under Captain Rannie, which were detained at Marblehead) had arrived, and were immediately formed, consisting of about 600 of as noble fellows as ever trod the tented field; all in good health and fine spirits, and their discipline unrivalled; nothing worthy of note took place while we remained here, which was but a few days, except the degrading situation in which Captain Whitney of the riflemen had placed himself while commanding officer, by descending to the level of a musician, and with his own hands bestowing corporeal punishment upon the bare posteriors of two privates of his company, in the face of the whole regiment on parade. Such conduct in a commander, merited, and received the pointed scorn of every officer of the regiment. The two men, who had heretofore been good soldiers, deserted within two hours after receiving their punishment—and a few days afterwards Captain Whitney resigned a command he was totally unworthy of and returned home. Lieutenant A. Hawkins, a fine officer, was afterwards appointed to the command of this company. We received our tents, camp equipage, &c., and Colonel Boyd and Lieutenant Colonel Miller having arrived to take the command—On the

3d June, 1811, we commenced our march for Pittsburgh. Crowds of spectators from the city of Philadelphia came to witness our departure; the day was extremely warm and we were almost suffocated with heat and dust. We marched five miles from the city and encamped about 4 o'clock. Many respectable citizens from Philadelphia accompanied us to our encampment.

I omit the particulars of our march through the state of Pennsylvania, as no event transpired except what falls to the lot of all soldiers on long marches. The country being extremely rough and mountainous, our shoulders pressed beneath the weight of our cumbrous knapsacks, our feet swollen and blistered, and performing toilsome marches beneath a burning sun, amid clouds of dust, in the warmest season of the year, rendered our situation painful in the extreme and at times almost insupportable. A number of desertions took place on this march, in consequence of its having been whispered among the troops that they were to be sent to New Orleans—and it is believed, had not Colonel Miller given them to understand that no such thing was intended, one-third, at least, of the regiment would never have reached Pittsburgh. However, placing unbounded confidence in the word and honor of Colonel Miller, order was restored and the fears of the men were calmed.

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[1] This *Journal* is from a copy furnished by the Library of Congress and printed here without change or comment.

On the 10th June we arrived at Carlisle, a handsome little town about 120 miles from Philadelphia, where we halted one day to refresh and rest our wearied limbs.

June 12th we again proceeded on our march and arrived at the beautiful town of Pittsburgh on the 28th June, 1811. At Pittsburgh we found excellent quarters, necessaries of all kinds, cheap and plenty; —The inhabitants were kind, generous and hospitable; they knew how to commisserate, and were happy in relieving the sufferings of the soldier. While we on our part were grateful for their favors, which we endeavored to merit by treating them with the respect due to good citizens. Our time here passed very agreeably for two weeks, at the expiration of which we received orders to descend the Ohio River to Newport (Ken.).

July 29th. The regiment embarked on board ten long keel boats, each boat being sufficiently large to contain one company of men. With our colors flying and drums beating, we left the shore in regular order and commenced our passage while the band, attached to the regiment, were chaunting our favorite ditty of Yankee Doodle amidst the cheers and acclamations of the generous citizens of Pittsburgh, assembled at the place of our embarkation. After passage of four days, without accident, we arrived at the little town of Marietta, where we had the pleasure of meeting with many of our hardy Yankee brethren from New England. We tarried here over night, and early next morning we continued on our passage, and on the 8th of August we all safely arrived at Newport, a small village situated at the mouth of the Licking, which empties into the Ohio, and directly opposite the town of Cincinnati in the state of Ohio. Here we were to remain until further orders; while Lieutenant Hawkins was dispatched to Indiana to inform Governor Harrison of our arrival at Newport and to receive his command.

The troops at this time were perfectly ignorant of their destination, or the real object our government had in view, in sending us at such a distance to the westward. Many were still fearful that we were to be sent to New Orleans, and knowing the fate of former troops that had been stationed there who had been swept off by sickness, it created much uneasiness in the minds of New England troops, and some few desertions took place. We experienced some very warm, sultry weather, and considerable fear was entertained by Colonel Boyd for the health of the troops. Captain Welsh, an amiable officer, died and was buried with Masonic and Military honors.

August 28th. Lieutenant Hawkins returned with orders from Governor Harrison for the regiment to proceed with all possible dispatch to Vincennes, in the Indiana Territory, where the conduct of the Indians on the Wabash had become very alarming. The Governor had previously been authorized to employ the 4th Regiment in his service, should circumstances make it necessary.

On the 31st August we left Newport and proceeded down the Ohio, without difficulty, until we arrived at the falls or rapids, when we were obliged to disembark and have the baggage taken from the boats and conveyed round by land to the foot of the rapids, while skillful pilots navigated our boats through this difficult passage.

Governor Harrison was at this place, and accompanied by Colonel Boyd, proceeded across the country to Vincennes, leaving the command of the regiment to Lieutenant Colonel Miller to continue their passage by water.

September 4th. Early in the morning we left the rapids, and on the 9th, without any occurrence worthy of note, we arrived at the mouth of the Wabash, a distance of 1,022 miles from Pittsburgh; but the most disagreeable and difficult task in our navigation was yet to be performed. We had now 160 miles to ascend the Wabash, the current of which is very rapid, and at this season of the year was quite low and much interrupted by rocks and sand-bars. We were daily obliged to wade the river and haul the boats after us over the rapids, which occasioned many of our men, on our arrival at Vincennes, to be disordered with that painful disease, the fever and ague. Every precaution possible was taken by the humane and generous Colonel Miller to preserve the health of the regiment; himself waded the river as well as every other officer; in many instances performing the duties of the common soldier, and assisting them to haul up the boats. At the close of each day we brought the boats to a convenient landing; placed our guard for the night, while those who had obtained an evening's respite from the toils of this tedious and laborious passage, were suffered to regale their spirits over an extra glass of whiskey, bestowed by the liberality of our commander. The utmost harmony and good humor prevailed—no contention—no Murmuring—all cheerfully performed their duty.

September 19, 1811. After a fatiguing passage of ten days through an unsettled country, which presented nothing to the view but a wild and dreary wilderness, our ears were cheered by a prospect of the town of Vincennes. It was dark before we landed and by the noise and confusion about us we concluded the town to be overrun with troops. A rabble soon gathered about the boats and assisted in hauling them ashore —their whooping and yells and their appearance caused us to doubt whether we had not actually landed among the savages themselves. Many of these militia spoke the French language; their dress was a short frock of deer-skin, a belt around their bodies, with a tomahawk and scalping knife attached to it, and were nearly as destitute of discipline as the savages themselves. The militia from Kentucky and a few companies of Indiana were decent soldiers, yet the large knife and hatchet which constituted a part of their equipment, with their dress, gave them rather a savage appearance. The hatchet, however, was found to be a very useful article on the march—they had no tents but with their hatchets would in a short time form themselves a shelter from the weather, on encamping at night.

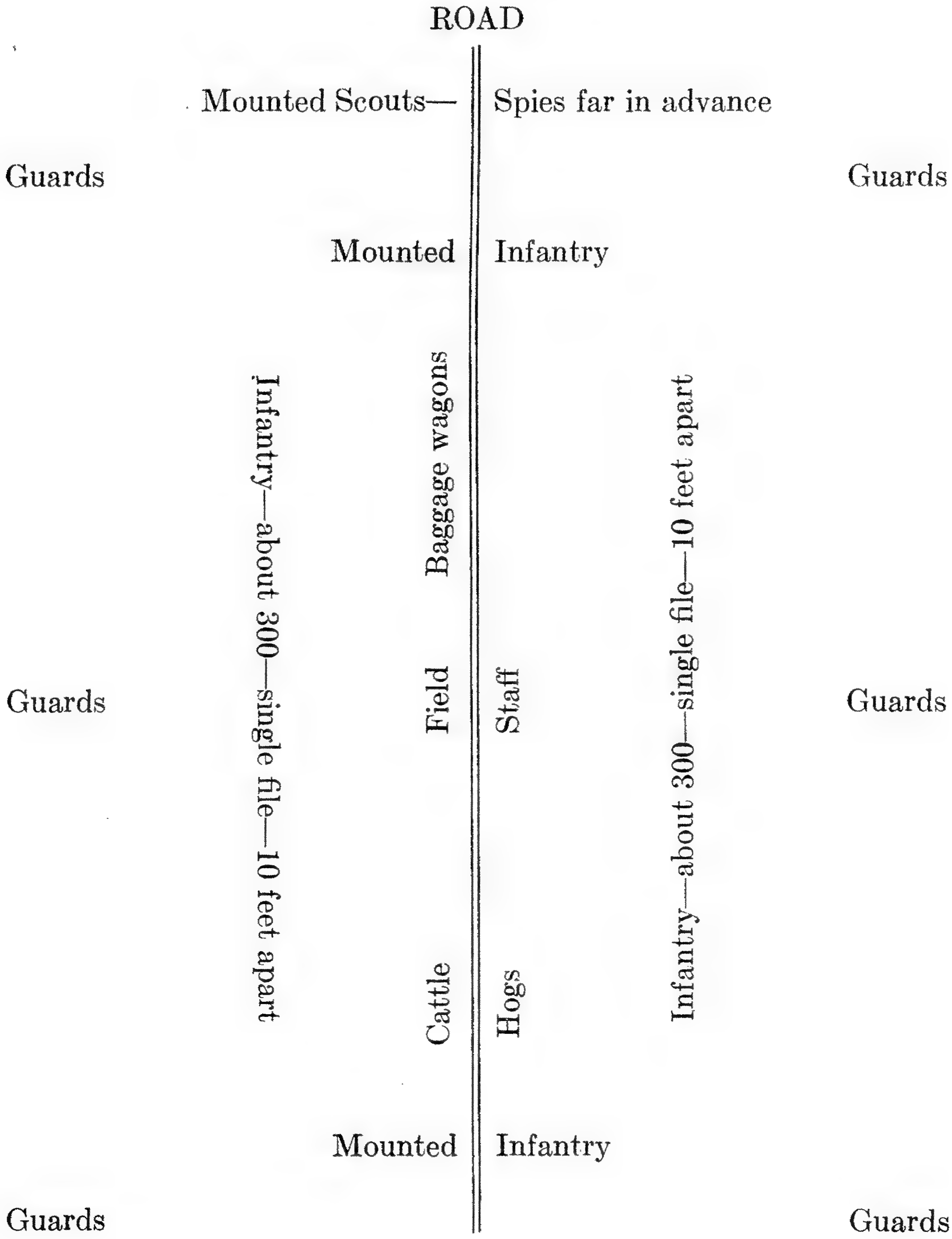
The Dragoons, commanded by Major Daviess, consisting of about 120 men, were well mounted and handsomely equipped, and composed of some of the most respectable citizens from Kentucky and Indiana.

The Indians who had been lurking about the town for a number of days suddenly disappeared, and on the

27th September. The army was embodied, consisting of between 10 and 1200 men; and under the immediate command of Governor Harrison, we took up our line of march from Vincennes, being well furnished with arms, ammunition and provision, advancing with but little variation in the following

ORDER OF MARCH

Mounted Riflemen.



In this manner we proceeded on our march by the taps of the drums at the head of each column, to prevent the lines distancing each other too far. It was customary each morning, an hour before day-break, to rouse the troops from their slumbers, with three solitary taps of the drums of each line, when they turned out and formed in front of their tents, which was the line of battle in case of an attack; in this manner, they stood to their arms until the beating of the Reveille. This precaution was deemed a very necessary one, knowing it to be the time that the Indians generally choose to make their attacks, as the troops sleep more sound, and the sentinels become wearied and sleepy, and consequently less vigilant.

October 3d. After a march of six days, through an uninhabited country, we arrived at a place on the banks of the Wabash, called Battelle des Illinois. Here we formed our encampment with the intention of tarrying a few weeks, to ascertain more correctly the disposition of the Prophet and his warriors. A fort and Block Houses were ordered to be built at this place, which gave sufficient employment to the militia.

Some murmuring took place among them, being heartily sick of the camp, and desirous of returning to their homes. Many indeed, threatened to leave us at all hazards, which caused the Governor much anxiety and trouble. He appeared not disposed to detain any man against his inclination; being endowed by nature with a heart as humane as brave; in his frequent addresses to the militia his eloquence was formed to persuade; appeals were made to reason as well as feeling—and never were they made in vain—when the militia unused to military restriction, threatened a desertion, his eloquence calmed their passions, and hushed their discontented murmurings—and in a short time all became tranquil, and unanimity reigned throughout the army.

About this time many Indians came peaceably into camp, and held frequent Council with the Governor; but all endeavors to effect an accommodation with the Prophet were vain—they still continued stubborn and refractory—and would not listen to any terms of peace made them by the Governor. Their lurking Indians were nightly prowling about our encampment, and alarming the sentinels on their posts. On the 20th October in the evening, an Indian crept cautiously through the bushes, opposite one of the sentinels in the main guard and shot him through both thighs—the sentinel nearest to him, saw the flash of the rifle, and immediately presented his piece—snapped it twice—both times it missed fire! The Indian made his escape, the camp was alarmed, and the troops called to arms. The Dragoons were instantly formed, and under the command of that gallant and spirited officer, Major Daviess, sallied out and scoured the woods in the vicinity of the encampment; but no Indians could be found. The Dragoons in passing the line of sentinels, were fired upon by mistake, the sentinels supposing them to be the enemy (it being very dark) but fortunately no one was injured. We stood to our arms the whole of this night, while the Gov. and Col. Boyd were riding down the lines animating the troops to do their duty in case we were attacked.

Thus after a tedious course of negotiations, the fruitless endeavors to effect by fair means, a redress of our wrongs, and the patience of the Governor and of the army being nearly exhausted it was determined to give them some *weightier* reasons than had been heretofore offered, why peace should be concluded. Orders were therefore given for the army to be in readiness to march to the Prophet's town.

October 21st. We commenced our march from Fort *Harrison*, so called in honor of our worthy Commander; Col. Miller, the officer so highly esteemed by the troops of our regiment was unfortunately detained at this place by sickness. After a few days of tedious marching, and having crossed the Wabash, we arrived at Vermillion river—Capt. Baen, who had been long absent from the command of his company, had a day or two previous, joined us on the march, and being the oldest Captain in Commission, was appointed to act as Major and headed the left column of the army. Having a number of sick who were unable to proceed farther, a small blockhouse was erected for their accommodation, and a Sergeant's guard was left for their protection.

November 1st. We crossed the Vermillion river into the Indian possessions, at which time the weather became rainy and cold. Many Indians were discovered by our spies, lurking in the woods about us; supposed to be the scouts of the Prophet, watching our movements. After marching about fourteen miles, we crossed a small creek, and encamped on a high open piece of land; still rainy and cold. An alarm was here given by one of the sentinels, who fired on a Horse, which had strayed out of Camp.

November 3d, continued on our march—came to an extensive level prairie, which took up the whole of this day in crossing—started up many deer, two of which we killed—also an animal called a prairie wolf. Nothing of importance transpired until—

November 6th. When our spies, who had ventured near the Indian village, returned, and informed the Governor we were within a few miles of the Prophet's town—we were ordered to throw off our knapsacks, and be in preparation for an attack. We advanced about four miles to the edge of a piece of woods, when we were ordered to break off by companies, and advance in single lines; keeping a convenient distance from each other to enable us to form a line of battle, should necessity require it;—this was frequently done in the course of our advance toward the town, in consequence of the unevenness of the land, and the appearance of many favorable places for the enemy to attack us. In this manner we advanced very cautiously, until we came in sight of the Indian village, when we halted. The Indians appeared much surprised and terrified at our sudden appearance before their town; we perceived them running in every direction about the village, apparently in great confusion; their object however, was to regain in season their different positions behind a breast work of logs which encircled the town from the bank of the Wabash. A chief came out to the Governor, begging of him not to proceed to open hostilities; but to encamp with the troops for that night, and in the morning they solemnly promised to come into camp and hold a council, and they would agree to almost any terms the Governor might propose; expressing their earnest desire for peace without bloodshed—but the treacherous villains merely made this promise to gain sufficient time to put their infernal scheme in execution. The Governor enquired of the chief where a situation suitable for encamping might be found; being informed, he dispatched three or four officers to examine the ground, who returned with a favorable report of the place—which was a piece of narrow rising ground, covered with heavy timber, running some length into a marshy prairie, and about three-quarters of a mile northwest of the town. Here we encamped for the night, as near the form of a hollow-square as the nature of the ground would admit. Being cool, cloudy weather, we built large fires in front of our tents, to dry our clothing, cook our provisions, etc. The signal for the field officers to collect at the Governors marque was given; we were soon after ordered to lay with our cartridge boxes on, and our guns at our sides—and in case of an attack (as was always the order, while on the march), each man stepped five paces in front of his tent, which formed the line of battle.

On the morning of the 7th November, a few minutes before 4 o'clock, while we were enjoying the sleep so necessary to the repose of our wearied limbs—the attack commenced—when only a single gun was fired by the guard, and instantly we were aroused by the horried yells of the savages close upon our lines.

The dreadful attack was received first by a company of regulars, under the command of Capt. Barton, and a company of militia, commanded by Capt. Geiger,—their men had not the least notice of the approach of the Indians until they were aroused by a horrid yell and a discharge of rifles at the very door of their tents; considerable confusion ensued in these two companies before they could be formed in any regular order; but notwithstanding the disorder this sudden attack created, the men were not wanting in their duty—they sprang from their tents and discharged their pieces upon the enemy, with great execution, and kept their ground good until relief could be brought them. The attack soon extended round to the right line, where the troops were formed in complete order, and the assaults of the savages were returned in full measure. One company of Indiana militia fell back, in great disorder, but after some arduous exertions of their officers, they were again rallied and fought with a spirit that evinced a determination to escape the odium of cowardice. The battle had now become general, every musket and rifle contributed its share to the work of carnage. A few Indians had placed themselves in an advantageous situation on the left of the front line, and being screened from our fire by some large oak trees, did great execution in our ranks. The small company of U. S. Riflemen, commanded by Lieut. Hawkins, were stationed within two rods of these trees, and received the heaviest of their fire, but maintained the position in a most gallant manner, although the company of militia on their left were giving way in great disorder. Major Daviess, with a small detachment of dragoons attempted to dislodge them; but failed in the attempt, and was himself mortally wounded. Capt. Snelling, of the regulars, soon after made a desperate charge at the head of his company, with success, losing one man, who was tomahawked by a wounded Indian. The Indians fell back, and for a short time, continued the action at a distance—here was some sharp shooting, as they had greatly the advantage, by the light afforded them from our fires, which could not be entirely extinguished. We were well supplied with buck shot cartridges, which were admirably calculated for an engagement of this nature. The savages were severely galled by the steady and well directed fire of the troops. When near day-break they made their last desperate effort to break our lines, when three cheers were given, and charge made by the 4th Regt. and a detachment of dragoons —they were completely routed and the whole put to a precipitate flight. They fled in all directions leaving us masters of the field which was strewn with the bodies of the killed and wounded. Some sharp-shooters of the militia, harrassed them greatly in their retreat, across the marshy prairie. The day was appropriated to the mournful duties of dressing the wounds of our unfortunate comrades, and burying the dead. To attempt a full and detailed account of this action, or portray to the imagination of the reader the horrors attendant on this sanguinary conflict, far exceeds my power of description—the awful yell of the savages, seeming rather the shriek of despair, than the shouts of triumph—the tremendous roar of musquetry—the agonizing screams of the wounded and dying, added to the shouts of the victors, mingling in tumultuous uproar, formed a scene that can better be imagined than described.

The following statements are from Sergeant Montgomery Orr, of Capt. Barton's Company, (one of the Companies first attacked) and that of William Brigham, a private of the late Captain Whitney's Company of Riflemen, who was on his post, in front of Barton's Company, at the time of the attack; the latter of whom was mortally wounded, and died of his wounds a few weeks afterwards at Vincennes. Their veracity is unquestionable, and as I had the recital from their own lips, I do not hesitate to declare my belief of them.

Statement of Sergeant Orr.

"About twenty minutes before the attack, I got up and went to the door of my tent (No. 1) and overheard the sentinels talking in front —listened, but could not distinctly hear what was said—it was rainy and very dark. I laid down and was partly asleep, when some person rushed by and touched the corner of the tent—I sprang partly up—all was still. I jogged Corpl. Thomas [David L. Thompson] (who slept in the same tent) and asked, "if he did not hear somebody run by the tent?" He said, "no—I've been asleep". I then laid down again, when something struck the top of the tent—Corpl. Thomas rose up, took his gun; in a moment three or four rifles were discharged at the very door of the tent, and an awful yell ensued—Thomas fell back on to me—I said, "Corpl. Thomas, for God's sake don't give back"—he made me no answer, for he was a dead man. I got out of the tent as soon as possible—the men were in confusion, some in front and some in the rear of the tents firing—the Indians within a rod of us. Capt. Barton ordered the men to form instantly they were too much broken, and no regular line could be formed; but they kept up a steady fire on the Indians, who fell back. Capt. Geiger's company of militia, stationed near us, were in great confusion—they could hardly be distinguished from the Indians—I received a wound and was obliged to retire."

Statement of William Brigham.

"On the night of the battle, I was warned for Guard, and took post a little after sunset—Wm. Brown (a regular) was the sentinel on my left, and a militia man on my right. These three posts were directly in front of Capt. Barton's Company of U. S. Infantry.

I examined the ground adjacent to my post very particularly. There was a small thicket of willows on a stream of water, about two rods in front of my post, and high grass between me and the willows—I observed it to be a favorable place for the approach of Indians and determined to be on the alert. Capt. Barton's Company were a few feet higher, and between us there were logs and some small bushes. I was relieved off post about 10 o'clock. At 3 o'clock I again took post; very dark and rainy. I had resumed my station about half an hour, when I heard a faint whistle, not far from Wm. Brown's post, as I supposed—he called to me; but I did not think it prudent to answer—however, after he had called several times, I answered "holloa"—says he, "look sharp"—(the usual word of caution between sentinels)—I kneeled down with my gun on a charge. It was so very dark that no object could be discerned within three feet of me, and I could hear nothing except the rustling noise occasioned by the falling rain among the bushes. At this time, Brown, (being much alarmed) very imprudently left his post, and came towards me. I heard light footsteps—presented my gun, and should have fired upon him had he not that moment spoke, much agitated—"Brigham, let us fire and run in—you may depend on it there are Indians in the bushes." I told him not to fire yet for fear we should give a false alarm. While we were standing together, something struck in the brush near us (I suppose an arrow)—we were both frightened and run in without fireing—the Indians close upon our heels—we passed swiftly by Cap. Barton's tents—I soon afterwards fell into Capt. Wilson's Company of militia, where I received a wound which broke my right arm."

Had this attack been delayed but ten minutes longer, the troops would have been formed in line of battle, and in readiness to receive it. The General had arisen but a few minutes previous to its commencement, and in four minutes more would have ordered the usual signal (three taps of the drum) to be given for the troops to rise and stand to their arms. The orderly Musician at the same time stood in readiness for that purpose, awaiting the orders of the General. Some of the troops, were up, and sitting by the fires; many of which had been furnished with fresh fuel, and the light arising from them, must have afforded the Indians a pretty correct view of our situation, and of the most proper place to make their assault. Every exertion was made to extinguish these fires the moment the attack commenced, which could not be but imperfectly accomplished as the Indian marksmen were sure to pick off whoever approached them.

It was truly unfortunate that these fires were not extinguished the moment the troops retired to rest; for it is certain that the Indians derived a great advantage from their circumstance in the course of the action.

The hasty charge made by Major Daviess to dislodge the Indians from behind the trees on the left of the front line, was made with only twenty of the dragoons, dismounted; and its fatal consequence to the Major, was in a great measure owing to his having on a white blanket surtout. He was easily distinguished by the Indians, and received three balls in his body; he immediately fell, exclaiming, "I am a dead man;" he was taken up and lived, however, till the close of the action. The fall of this brave and amiable officer was greatly lamented by the army, as well as the citizens of the state of Kentucky, where he held the office of Attorney General. He volunteered his services in the expedition under Gen. Harrison, who, knowing his worth, appointed him to the command of the volunteer dragoons.

Col. Owen, another brave officer, considerably advanced in years, and acting as aid-de-camp was shot from his horse by the side of the General and immediately expired. Judge Taylor, the other aid, had his horse shot under him; in their fall the horse came on top of the Judge, where he lay confined for some time, unable to extricate himself; he was relieved from this disagreeable situation by a soldier, who happened to pass near him.

Capt. Baen, who had been with us but a few days, was shockingly mangled with the tomahawk;—he was taken up in a delirious state, and died a short time afterwards. There was but one other instance of any person being tomahawked in this engagement; which was a private soldier of Capt. Snelling's company, upon a charge in the midst of the Indians.

Gen. Harrison received a shot through the rim of his hat. In the heat of the action, his voice was frequently heard and easily distinguished, giving his orders in the same calm, cool and collected manner with which we had been used to receive them on a drill or parade. The confidence of the troops in the General was unlimited, and his measures were well calculated to gain the particular esteem of the 4th Regt. All kinds of petty punishments, inflicted without authority for the most trifling errors of the private soldier, by the pompous sergeant, or the insignificant corporal, were at once prohibited. A prohibition of other grievances which had too long existed, in this regiment, at once fixed in the breast of every soldier, an affectionate and lasting regard for their general. The benefit of which was fully realized in the conduct of the troops in the engagement, as well as throughout the campaign.

After the action, a soldier of the Kentucky militia, discovered an Indian at some distance above the encampment, leading a horse out of the woods, into some high grass in the prairie; he caught his rifle and made after him. The Indian had loaded his horse with two others wounded, and was returning, when the Kentuckian gave a whoop, discharged his rifle, brought the Indian down, and returned in triumph to the camp, leading in his horse.

One Indian only broke through the lines into the encampment, and he was immediately afterwards dispatched by Capt. Adams, the paymaster of the regiment.

The force of the enemy in the engagments could never be correctly ascertained; but from the best information that could be obtained, it was calculated to amount to between ten and twelve hundred warriors, headed by Winnemac, a Kickapoo Chief—and that they lost about four hundred in killed and wounded. Our loss amounted to forty-one killed, and one hundred forty-seven wounded. The names of those of the 4th regt. are given in the latter part of this Journal.

A Potawatimie Chief was found severely wounded on the field, sometime after the action. He was brought before the General, and expressed the greatest sorrow at what had happened—and accused the Prophet of deceiving them. His wounds were dressed by the surgeon, and the best care taken of him while he remained with us on the ground. The Gen. left with him a speech to be delivered to the Indians, if they should return to the battle ground.

November 8th. A small detachment of mounted men were ordered to advance to the Prophet's town, and see what had become of the Indians. They entered the town and found an aged squaw only, who informed them that the Indians had left in great haste, immediately after the action, and had crossed the Wabash. It was a handsome little Indian village of between one and two hundred huts or cabins, and a large store house, containing about 3,000 bushels of corn and beans. In their hasty retreat they left many articles of value to themselves, which except a few were destroyed in the conflagration of the town.

November 9th. After destroying considerable of our baggage, in order to make room in the waggons for the conveyance of the wounded we began our march on the return to Vincennes expecting the Indians would follow, and attack us. Such an event was greatly to be dreaded; as we were nearly out of provisions, and had upwards of a hundred and thirty wounded men to be attended to, who were painfully situated in the waggons, especially those who had broken limbs, by their continual jolting, on an unbeaten road through the wilderness.

Having suffered severely in consequence of the light afforded the Indians from our fires in the late attack, we adopted another method on our return, by building large fires some distance beyond the line of sentinels, while those in the encampment were extinguished on our retiring to rest; which in case of an attack, would have been of much service by placing the enemy between us and the fires. The sentinels on post at night having been frequently alarmed by lurking Indians would place a stake in the ground about the height of a man, and hang their blanket and cap upon it, and retire a few paces, behind some log or tree; as it had become hazardous for sentinels to walk their posts while the Indians were continually hovering about them. It was said that arrows had been found in some of the blankets put up in this manner, which is very probable, as they would approach within a few feet of a sentinel in the stillest night, without being discovered, as was the case at Fort Harrison, where a sentinel was shot down by an Indian, who had made his way through a thicket of bushes directly in front, and within twelve feet of the man on post.

On the 14th we arrived at the small blockhouse on the Vermillion river, where we left our sick, who had looked with painful anxiety for our safe return. The vigilance of Sergeant Reed, who commanded at this place was highly applauded in the arrest of two militia men, who deserted us the moment the action commenced, and fled with such precipitancy that they reached the blockhouse the night following, informing Sergeant Reed that the army was defeated, and nearly all were destroyed —advising him to leave the place and hasten back to Fort Harrison. Their advice was disregarded by the sergeant, who put them under arrest. The express on his way to Vincennes a few hours afterwards passed the blockhouse and informed them of the success of our engagement.

We suffered much for the want of provisions during our march to this place. Many of the troops had made use of horse meat to satisfy their craving appetites for the last five days. Col. Miller, then at Fort Harrison, being apprized of our destitute situation, immediately dispatched a boat with fresh provisions to our relief, which fortunately arrived at the blockhouse nearly at the same time with the army.

November 15th. The wounded were placed in boats, and arrived at Fort Harrison on the morning of the ensuing day. Capt. Snelling with his company were left to garrison the Fort, and the army proceeded on their march.

The author being one of the wounded, was put on board a boat with other disabled men and sent down the river to Vincennes. About 12 o'clock at night the boat we were in struck on a sand bank; which obliged us to lay by until the next morning. The night, as may be supposed, was passed in a very uncomfortable manner—the weather was freezing cold, and our wounds which had not been dressed for two days past, became stiff and extremely painful.

November 19th. Arrived at Vincennes nearly at the same time the army did by land, and immediately after were placed in excellent quarters, and every possible attention paid to the sick and wounded, by Gov. Harrison and Col. Boyd, who always evinced the most anxious solicitude for the welfare of their soldiers.

Nothing more was heard from the Indians until the latter part of December when a Kickapoo Chief, bearing a white flag, with a few others, who were desirous of concluding a peace with the United States, came to Vincennes with the intention of holding a council for that purpose. The Governor informed them that he did not consider them as qualified for making a treaty which would be binding on their leader the Prophet; and therefore no treaty would be made unless the Prophet was present at the council, with his principal chiefs.

They informed the Governor that the warriors of the Prophet had all left him; reproaching him with being the instigator of all their misfortunes, and threatened to put him to death. They were impressed with a belief that they could defeat us with ease; and intended to have attacked us in our camp at Fort Harrison, had we remained there a week longer.

The Potawatimie chief who was taken prisoner by us and left on the battle ground, they said, had since died of his wounds; but that he faithfully delievered the speech of the Governor, to the different tribes, and urged them to abandon the Prophet, and agree to the terms offered them by the Governor.

March 10, 1812. We experienced some heavy shocks of an Earthquake about this time, which occasioned considerable alarm; but did no other damage than throwing down a few chimnies in the town. On the Mississippi the shocks were more severe, where considerable damage was done, especially to buildings. It is said the motion of the earth in that quarter was from six to eight inches to and fro; but at Vincennes, 250 miles to the north, it did not exceed three inches in the heaviest shocks, as was ascertained with a lead ball suspended by a thread from the ceiling in the house. The duration of the longest shock was about three minutes—they continued at intervals throughout the month.

March 29th. About 150 Indians who were said to have remained neutral in the late contest, came to Vincennes, and encamped about two miles north of the town. They were requested to deliver up their arms, and a guard of soldiers should be placed over them for their protection, and tents supplied them while they tarried with us; this they complied with and desired an audience of the Governor on the ensuing day, which was granted.

In Council, they declared their destestation of the Prophet and his adherents, expressing their wishes to remain in peace and friendship with their father, the President of the United States. The Governor, in a short reply, warned them against entering into any alliance with the Prophet and his warriors—telling them, if he should again be disturbed and obliged to come among them, it would be out of his power to restrain his young warriors from destroying them all. A treaty was signed, and the Indians received their annual presents of blankets, broadcloths, calicoes, etc., and left the town for their encampment.

April 2d. The Indians again came in, habited in their new dresses, performing their dances through the town, to the great diversion of the regiment, who were unacquainted with their peculiarities, except their propensity to deception and treachery; the ill consequences of which we had been taught at the battle of Tippecanoe. Towards evening they retired in good order, and soon after received their arms, and returned to their villages up the Wabash.

There were still remaining many refractory Indians on the Wabash, who would agree to no terms of peace with the United States. They had even opened the graves of our unfortunate comrades who fell in the late action—stripped and scalped them, and left their bodies above ground. Col. Miller was preparing to send a detachment of troops to the battle ground to have them again interred; but some friendly Indians undertook this office and the bodies were again replaced.

April 4th. Information was received of the murder of a family of seven persons on White river, and others in Indiana, besides many depredations on the Mississippi. The settlers were alarmed, and fled to the forts and the most populous towns for protection, leaving their property to the mercy of the savages.

April 9th. A family on the Embaras river, only seven miles from Vincennes, consisting of a man, his wife and three small children, were massacred while in the act of leaving their home for the purpose of finding protection at Vincennes. A young man who had resided with the family escaped and fled to Vincennes, where he arrived about 12 o'clock at night, and gave the alarm; the troops were immediately called to arms, expecting an attack upon the town. The next day Col. Miller, with a small detachment from the regiment, proceeded to the river Embaras, where they found the bodies of the murdered family, shockingly cut up with the tomahawk and scalping knife. The man had his breast opened, his entrails torn out and strewn about the ground. They were all scalped except an infant child in the mother's arms, which was knocked on the head. The bodies were decently interred and the party returned to Vincennes without being able to discover the perpetrators of this horrid massacre.

We received information soon after the above transaction that the famous Chief, Tecumseh, brother to the Prophet, had collected a considerable force on the Wabash with the intention of attacking the town of Vincennes, saying to the Governor, "You have destroyed my town in my absence; I shall, when the corn is two inches high destroy yours before your face." Tecumseh was not an enemy to be despised; and the information of his approach towards Vincennes created considerable alarm among the inhabitants. The town was filled with families who came to avoid the fury of the savages. Many of the principal dwelling houses were piqueted in, and the militia were called upon to be at their posts at a moment's warning; thus were we kept in fearful apprehension of an attack being made upon us by the Indians, whenever we should retire to rest; add to this the frequent shocks of earthquakes and the reader may imagine the unhappy situation in which we were placed.

A serious misunderstanding had for some time existed between Gov. Harrison and Col. Boyd, the grounds of which, the author could never correctly ascertain; yet was supposed to originate from some hasty remark of Col. Boyd upon the conduct of the militia of Indiana, during the campaign; and perhaps he had laid claim to a greater share of the laurels won in the late engagment, than the people of Indiana were willing to allow him; however, it is admitted by all, that the bravery good order and discipline of 4th Regiment secured to the army the victory at Tippecanoe for this Col. Boyd deserves the highest praise.

April 12th. Col. Boyd left Vincennes for the city of Washington, and Col. Miller assumed the command of the regiment, when we soon after received orders from the Government to march to Dayton, in the state of Ohio, there to join the army under Brigadier Gen. Hull. The citizens of Vincennes sincerely lamented our departure, as there would be but a small force left for their protection against the savages, who had now assumed a formidable aspect, and threatened destruction to the place. Capt. Snelling, and his company arrived from Fort Harrison, where they had been stationed during the winter.

May 3d. We swung our knapsacks and commenced our march for the falls of the Ohio. The road was so very bad that we were obliged to keep pioneers in advance to clear it, which greatly retarded our march. We observed on our route through Indiana, several houses piquetted in, where a number of families had collected, and formed little garrisons, to defend themselves against the Indians, who daily committed the most flagrant depredations upon the defenseless emigrant; we frequently saw men armed going to their fields to work, leaving their women and children to garrison their dwellings until their return in the evening.

May 11th. We arrived on the banks of the Ohio, and immediately crossed the river to Louisville, Ky., where great respect was manifested towards us. Many of the citizens of this place had fought by our sides at the battle of Tippecanoe.

List of killed and wounded of the 4th Regiment U. S. Infantry, in the battle of Tippecanoe.

Late Capt. Whitney's Riflemen.

Under the command of Lieut. Abraham Hawkins.

Killed—Ira Browbridge. Wounded—Ensign Burchefted; Sergeant Reuben Newton; Sergeant Aaron W. Forbush; Adam Walker; Ebenezer T. Andrews; Wm. Brigham; Samuel Briggs; Eph. Hall; Edward R. Tuck; Israel Newhall; Samuel Thing. Total, 12.

Capt. Paul Wentworth's Company.

Commanded in the action by Lieut. George P. Peters.

Killed—Wm. H. King, private. Wounded—Lieut. George P. Peters; Corporal S. Johnson; Curtis Phipps; Charles Wait; Wm. Layman; Caleb Critchet; Jacob Kealer; Noah Furnald; Jos. Burditt, dead; Stanton Smiley; Nathaniel Haynes; Isaac M. Nure, dead. Total, 13.

Capt. W. C. Baen's Company.

Wounded—Capt. W. C. Baen, dead; Dexter Earl, dead; Sylvester Dean; John Donnahue; Timo. Foster; John D. Jones; Daniel Rodman; John Mahannon; Frank Nelson; Isaac Rathbone. Total, 10.

Capt. Snelling's Company.

Killed—Joseph Tibbetts. Wounded—Ithiel Hathway; ———— Goodenough. Total, 3.

The late Capt. Welch's Company.

Killed—Corporal James Mitchell; Corporal David L. Thompson; Levi Cary, private. Wounded—Lieut. Geo. Gooding; Sergeant Montgomery Orr, dead; Corporal John Rice; John Crowell, dead; Daniel Gilman, dead; Stephen Pettis; Wm. Pomroy; Lucius Sallis; Jas. Stevenson, dead; Samuel Tibbetts, dangerous. Total, 10.

Capt. Barton's Company.

Wounded—Daniel Kearness, dead; Lewis Taylor, dead; Lemuel E. Welch, dead; John Clark; Robert Douglas; Wm. Foster; ———— Souther; Wm. Turner. Total, 8.

Capt. George Prescott's Company.

Wounded—John Sandborn, dead.

Capt. R. B. Brown's Company.

Wounded—John Yeomans, dead; Bliss Lovell, dangerous; Augustus Bradford. Total, 3.

Capt. Cook's Company.

Wounded—Sergeant Henry Munn; Nathan Snow, dead; Amos Rice, dead; Daniel Lee, dead; Dennison Crumby, dead; Robert Thompson; Charles Coger, dangerous; Wm. M. Saunders; Daniel Rogers. Total, 9.

Lt. Albright's detached 1st and 7th regiment.

Killed—Isaac Butler. Wounded—Sergeant Walcott Babbit; Sergeant Nathan Fairbank; Samuel Potter, badly; Lewis Margum; Elisha Napps. Total, 6.

Killed—1 Capt., 2 Corporals, 19 privates. Wounded—3 Subalterns, 6 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, 1 Musician, 44 privates. Whole number killed and wounded of the army, 188.

TAYLOR TO DAWSON

CINCINNATI, July 15, 1823

Dawson, *Harrison, 226*

SIR,

Your [Mr. Dawson's] letter, which you handed to me last evening, containing certain queries relative to the affairs on the Wabash, in November, 1811, I have perused, and will proceed to give you concise answers to each of them, without going much into detail, which my recollection at this late period will not admit of.

To your first question, I answer, that I was aid-de-camp to Governor Harrison, with the rank, pay, and emoluments of a major, upon the expedition on the Wabash in 1811.

To your second, I state positively, that the Indians did not dictate to the Governor the position to encamp the army the night before the battle of Tippecanoe. When the army reached the Indian town in the afternoon, perhaps about sunset, the Governor ordered major [Marston G.] Clark and myself to proceed to the left, and endeavor to find a suitable place for an encampment; we did so, and discovered the place upon which the battle was fought the next morning; upon our return to the army, we reported to the Governor our opinion about the place, which we stated to be favorable for an encampment.

He had, at the time he despatched major Clark and myself upon this service, sent captain William Piatt, who was the chief of the quartermaster department, above the town to look for a suitable situation for an encampment; his report was unfavorable, and the Governor determined to occupy the ground selected by Clark and myself.

To your third querie, I answer, that both major Clark and myself considered the ground upon which the army encamped to be favorable, and I believe the same opinion was entertained by every officer in the army.

To your fourth, I answer, that the plan of preparing the troops to be ready upon the march or in camp, to engage the enemy, appeared to me to be judicious; and fifth, I understood it to be the plan of general Wayne, adopted by Governor Harrison, with an improvement by the latter in marching in single files by columns, instead of double files, as practiced by general Wayne; of this, however, I can speak with no degree of certainty.

To your sixth, I answer, that the changes in the position of the troops during the action were made by the Governor himself, or by his orders, as far as my observation extended, or I have understood from others.

To your seventh, I recollect only one instance in which I was ordered to conduct any of the changes of position, and that was in a detachment commanded under captain [David] Robb, from the right flank to the relief of [Spier] Spencer's on the left.

To your eighth, I answer, that Governor Harrison on the march, was active, vigilant, and prudent; in the action, he appeared to be firm, cool, and collected, and upon the return of the army to Vincennes, he did every thing in his power for the comfort of the wounded, and to be prepared to repel an attack, should one be made by the Indians.

To your ninth, I answer, that no officer was killed or wounded upon either of Governor Harrison's horses, he having two.

To your tenth, I answer, that I understood and believe (for I was not present) that major [Joseph H.] Daviess was killed in charging the enemy with a few dismounted dragoons; others can give more correct information upon this subject than I can, and to those I refer you.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WALLER TAYLOR

THOMAS SCOTT TO DAWSON

VINCENNES, July 25, 1823

Dawson, *Harrison*, 227

MOSES DAWSON, Esq.

SIR,

You request my opinion of General William Henry Harrison, as a citizen, a soldier, and a general.

I have had the pleasure of an acquaintance, intimately, for many years, with General Harrison, and ever considered him a man of honor, one who sought to do justice, and who was always willing to assist and benefit the condition of those with whom he was acquainted and associated; and know him to be the friend of the oppressed and injured. Hospitality without ostentation was always to be found within his doors, and his household was ever ready to extend charity to the sick and needy.

As a soldier and an officer, I can speak from an acquaintance formed with him as such, that I shall ever be proud of. I served under him in the campaign of 1811 upon the Wabash, as a captain, and shared with him the danger in the action of Tippecanoe, in the night of the 7th November, 1811; no one on the march, or on the return, did I hear murmur a complaint of the General's conduct; he possessed the confidence, and was the pride of the army; his absence even for one day was felt by the army.

I have thought, and still think, that few generals would have faced danger at so many points as General Harrison did in the action of Tippecanoe. Wherever the action was warmest, was General Harrison to be found, and heard encouraging, and cheering the officers and soldiers. His humanity, his attention, and his care to the wounded, after the action, from the battle ground to the hospital in Vincennes, was that of a benevolent christian, and was evidence of the goodness of his heart.

I cannot but say, that I consider General Harrison's conduct on the campaign, and in the action of Tippecanoe unexceptionable, as a soldier and officer of the United States, when correctly informed, who was a friend to the late war, an enemy to Indian warfare, and who returned from the army with clean garments.

I am, sir, yours, etc.

THOMAS SCOTT[1]

LARRABEE TO DAWSON

CINCINNATI, OHIO, 13th October 1823

Dawson, *Harrison, 228*

SIR,

I have a desire to place in a true light, (as far as I am able) several circumstances attending Tippecanoe battle, which have gone abroad to the people in a wrong view, and from which they have drawn erroneous impressions towards the conduct of the commanding General.

1st. It is understood that the encampment occupied at Tippecanoe, was made choice of by the General from a report of the Indians in favor of it.

Three officers, well able to judge, went out in search of a place, and they reported the one taken up. The situation was such, that if the army had been called upon to make choice of a place to fight Indians, I venture to say nine-tenths would have made that their selection. There was but one encampment during the whole campaign, to which a preference could be given, and this was a cluster of trees, surrounded by prairie, while the one at Tippecanoe had only three sides prairie, the other being woods.

2d. The impression prevails, generally, that the army were surprised in the attack.

At the time the army left Vincennes, they were formed in the order of battle against the attack of Indians, and were never out of this situation till they returned; each one occupied the ground he would defend himself upon, whether marching or at rest upon it. This all-daring idea was instilled into the army collectively and individually by the General, from the time we entered the wilderness, till a trial was had of the effect. The army was trained to be prepared to receive that attack, and nothing but the unremitted attention of General Harrison to enforce the necessary discipline, could have brought the troops to such a state of perfection and order as the result of the battle proved. The fact of the army rising from rest, and being ready to receive the Indians in two minutes (of which there ought not to be a doubt) after the report of the first fire, is sufficient to satisfy all persons capable of judging, as well as all unprejudiced minds, that it was not a surprise; the officers and soldiers slept with their clothes and accoutrements on, with drawn swords, muskets loaded, and bayonets fixed, laying by the sides of those who were to use them in a night attack. In this situation, on the morning of the 7th November, 1811, about fifteen minutes before the usual time of rising, the Indians attacked us by firing upon the guard three hundred paces from the lines; they then rushed upon the camp. The troops, although at rest at this moment, were in line and ready to receive them as they came up. An army marching against Indians in their country, (the wilderness) is differently situated than when going against civilized enemies. The sending out scouts and spies, cannot be done with the most distant prospect of their returning. The army is thus compelled to keep compact, and their authority or knowledge of the Indians, extended no further than the ground they occupy; the first that is known of them is the report of their fire.—Such attacks from a civilized force would be considered as a surprise, while by Indians it cannot, except the army is unprepared for them. At the battle of general Wayne, the Indians got the first fire; at the battle of Brownstown the Indians got the first fire, and they got no further advantage at Tippecanoe. These battles and their results were similar, except the Indians engaged more desperately in the later. If the army had been surprised, according to the general understanding upon such attacks, I may conclude by saying not one would have ever returned to tell the tale. The mistake which is prevalent amongst the people, in regard to this attack, is not attributable to the General or to the army, but to themselves; and the cause is very obvious they rarely being qualified to judge of the circumstances. The General has been condemned for not attacking the Indians on the 6th; when he marched up in front of their town, his orders were to act on the defensive. This is enough to satisfy common sense, and it would be useless to multiply words with a view to appease stubborn prejudice upon this point.

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[1] Thomas Scott was appointed a lieutenant in the Knox Co. militia June 1, 1812 he was appointed Lieut. Col. and July 9, 1813 made colonel.

I am, respectfully, sir,
your obedient servant

C. Larrabee

WILLIAM POLKE TO NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER

CHIPPEWA, Fulton County Indiana,
Feb 10, 1840

Mss. furnished by Mrs. Fanny S. Rumely

GENTLEMEN

I observe Extracts from many of the administration papers in which the often Refuted slander of the Indians Selecting the Encampment for gen Harrison the evening previous to the Battle of Tippecanoe is repeated with as much Boldness as if it never had been proven a falsehood and as the statement will be published in all parts of the United States many Honest persons of all parties will believe it to be the fact if not contradicted. It has occured to me that my perfect knowledge of the whole transaction which has given rise to the slander Renders it not more than an act of Strict Justice to gen Harrison to state candidly and impartially the facts of the case and leave the public to Draw their own Conclusions, which should you think of Sufficient Importance to occupy a small space in your Paper I have to request of you to Publish the same.

I am gentlemen your &c.

WM. POLKE

ps. for my Character I Refer you to the entire Indiana Delegation both in the Senate & H R

W. P.

In the Campaign of 1811 under the Command of governor Wm. H. Harrison the Command of a Small Company of Spies and guides was Entrusted to Cap T. Dubois one of the oldest and most Respectable of the french Citizens of Vincennes well acquainted with the Indian Character and customs and perfectly acquainted with the Indian Country. Capt. Dubois not being an English Scholar at his Request I acted as his Clerk in making out his reports to the Commander in Chief which kept me constantly in his company and Near his person on the march and at all times while engaged in his Highly Responsible and Confidential duties which enables me to speak with the more certainty. On the Morning of the 6th of November the Day preceding the memorable Battle of Tippecanoe soon after the army was put in motion we discovered that the Indian Spies were watching our movements the fact was communicated to gen Harrison who directed Capt. Dubois to endeavor to Bring the Indians to a parley as his Instructions was to make them propositions of peace and not to attack them in accordance with these Instructions in Company with Capt Dubois and the Interpretters we advanced a few hundred yards in front of our small Company but all attempts to bring them to a parley were unavailing they gradually Retiring as we approached them between 10 and 11 o'clock A M we approached Burnets Creek on which was a small wet prairie Difficult to Cross and where Capt Dubois was of opinion if attacked at all that would be the place of attack Harrison put his army in order of Battle and directed the Spies & guides not to pass untill the army was near enough to support us. On passing the defile above named about 11 o'clock A. M. the army was halted and formed in order of Battle and Capt. Dubois directed to go on to the town (about two miles) with the gens proposals for a parley but to Run no Risks should there be an appearance of Danger on Capt Duboises advancing with a single Interpretter the Indian in his front on the truce Retired while Indians were discovered on his flanks evidently with the Intention of falling in his Rear and preventing his Return on Returning and Communicating the fact to the gen the army was again put in motion and the Spies and guides with the Interpretters were directed to march a few hundred yards in front and if possible to Bring them to a parley the army had proceeded but a short distance before several Indians halted untill we came up and expressed their willingness to have a friendly talk as they termed it with genl in a few minutes gen Harrison advanced with the advanced guard and the Spkesman who I was Informed was the White Horse a principal man among them agreed to have a conference the next morning and Expressed a wish that the army Should then Encamp on gen Harrison Replying to him that was no place for the army to Encamp the Indian pointing to a Rise not far off on arriving there the gen told the Interpretter to Inform him that was no place for an army to encamp there being no water near the gen then Inquired of Capt Dubois if he knew whether there was a good Situation for an Encampment above the town on the River who Replyed he thought there was the gen then directed Cap Park of the Dragoons (the late lamented Judge Parke of Indiana) to take twenty five of his men and accompany Capt Dubois and also the Quarter master Cap Piatt but directed us not to approach so near the town as to interfere with the Indians on arriving above the town the Situation was not approved of and Majors Taylor & Clark having been Dispatched in another Direction reported favourable and on that ground the army Encamped and on the Next morning was atchieved the Victory of Tippecanoe I have since frequently examined the ground and believe a Better selection could not have been made and I must be permitted to say I have had some experience in Indian warfare having in Early life been taken Captive by the Indians near the conclusion of our Revolutionary war from Kentucky and acted as one of the Major Prices Battalion of Spies in the memorable Battle of gen Wayne on the 20th August 1794 when both gen Harrison & Major Price were noticed with approbation by that Distinguished Commander I mention that not by way of a Boast but only to vindicate the character of our Beloved Commander at Tippecanoe.

WM. POLKE[1]

FUNK'S NARRATIVE, THE TIPPECANOE CAMPAIGN

Draper Mss. 5 y y 16-29

The British still retained armed possession of the posts on our frontier in violation of the treaty of 1783, when, Gen. Anthony Wayne succeeded Gen. St. Clair in the Command of the Army of the Northwest.

Gen. Wayne passed the winter of 1793, 4 at Fort Washington;[1] and in the spring having his force nearly doubled by the accession of 1,100 Kentucky mounted volunteer riflemen, proceeded north in pursuit of the savages. The enemy made a stand in August on the river Maumee, and met a signal defeat under the guns of the British Fort situated at the rapids[2] of that river.

The treaties of Greenville with the Indians and of Jay in 1795 with Great Britian gave repose to the West—Jays treaty expired in 1805, and the first order in Council directed against neutral commerce was promulgated in the spring of 1806; in this last named year, Tecumseh[3] began his efforts to array the Northern and Southern Indians against the whites of the United States, but no hostilities occurred except in the campaign of 1811, until the attack on William Collins settlement at the Pigeon Roost, seventeen miles from Louisville, Ky., in July, 1812.

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[1] Some details of the biography of William Polke may be found in the Indiana Magazine of History Vol IX, 95 and Vol. X, 83. Mrs. Fannie Scott Rumely of La Porte has kindly furnished the editor a collection of Judge Polke's papers and it is hoped something more may be done to preserve the biography of this worthy pioneer.

[1] Fort Washington was located within the limits of the present city of Cincinnati.

[2] Near the site of Maumee City—The Indians were apparently confident of their British allies arresting our force at this fort for which they retreated but were refused protection, that a few miles only from the Battle field they had encamped their squaws, children, and property, a fact not then known to Gen. Wayne at the time of the engagement.

[3] There were two Tecumsehs—the prophet, who it was supposed instigated the attack on Harrison's force at Tippecanoe—and Tecumseh the warrior, a Brigadier general in the British army, killed at the battle of the Moravian Towns in 1813.

The restlessness of the savages produced no doubt by the efforts of the Tecumseh engaged the attention of our Government, and William H. Harrison, then Governor of the North Western Territory, and subsequently the President of the United States, was directed with a sufficient force, to penetrate if necessary to the Prophet's town, on the Wabash, and require of the Indians, adherence to and fulfillment of existing treaties. This expedition resulted in the battle of Tippecanoe.

Our fellow citizen Major Peter Funk now aged 79 years is probably the only surviving officer of that campaign, then, as now he occupied his large and fertile farm eight miles from Louisville, and with good health, he still preserves a vivid recollection of the men and occurance of that marked event in our history. The following narrative is compiled from his dictation:

In August 1811 Captain Funk was in command of a company of militia of Cavalry. Adjutant Adams of the 4th U. S. Infantry waited on him and invited him to an interview with Gov. Harrison who was then at Louisville. Capt. Funk immediately sought the governor who informed him that he desired to increase the force then assembling at Vincennes by one company, of Cavalry, and one of Infantry and that he had been advised that, he, Capt. Funk could raise the Cavalry, and Capt. James Hunter[4] the infantry. Capt. Funk assured him of his willingness to do so and desiring to have the sanction of the Governor of Kentucky, was furnished by Gov. Harrison with letters to the Executive. In such hot haste as to kill the fine horse on which he started, Capt. Funk presented himself to Gov. Scott (himself an old Indian fighter) who gave his immediate assent and urged the Captain to prompt action.

Before leaving Lousiville Governor Harrison came to the conclusion that Funks cavalry would be a sufficient reinforcement, and therefore dispensed with the services of Capt. Hunter—he ordered Capt. Funk to report to Col. Bartholomew.

In a few days the Captain raised his company and early in September joined Col. Bartholomew's regiment, then marching on Vincennes.

Vincennes was the rendezvous of Governor Harrisons forces; there Jo. Davis who had at one time held the commission of Col. of Militia in Kentucky came up with the expedition with two volunteers James Mead and Ben Sanders who had accompanied him from Lexington, the Col.'s then place of residence, and four young gentlemen from Louisville who were waiting there for company.[5] The cavalry of the expedition consisted of Captains Baggs, Funks and Parks companies, to the command of this arm Col. Jo Daviess was appointed much to the dissatisfaction of the officers and men who being volunteers, considered that they should have been consulted in the choice of their immediate superior officers.

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[4] Capt. James Hunter second in Command to Major Croghan at the defense of Fort Stephenson near Lower Sandusky in Aug. 1813.

After a few days delay, the little army passed up the Wabash river to Terre Haute, the design being, there to build a fort, but the banks of the river proving too high, a point four miles higher up was selected, where in 29 days was constructed Fort Harrison.

At Fort Harrison and subsequently on its route toward the prophet's town, the expedition was frequently visited by parties of Indians who committed no depredations and asserted that all difficulties and misunderstandings would be overcome by their chiefs.

The troops having become sickly, the 4th Regiment suffering the most, Gov. Harrison before leaving the Fort having been informed that the Indians were more numerous in his front than he had previously been led to expect, sent Davis Floyd and George R. C. Floyd to Kentucky to apply for a reinforcement of 500 men. Consequent upon this application made by the two envoys to Brigadier General Samuel Wells, he ordered out his brigade and beat up for volunteers. The privates hanging back, General Wells and several of his officers stepped out and being joined by some of the file, the volunteer force was swelled to 32 men, and it, electing Col. Frederic Geiger as their Captain proceeded to join the expedition.

It should be stated that Gen. Wells having called out his brigade without first obtaining the sanction of the Executive, which would have instantly been granted on application, the soldiers had scruples as to the propriety of volunteering that the Executive authority was not applyed for may have arrisen from the fact that Frankfort, the residence of Gov. Scott is 250 miles from Fort Harrison, that at the time of the departure of the envoys thence Gov. Harrison expected in a few days, to move onward, to the goal then distant less than 100 miles, and that the probability was, that before the force required could be at Fort Harrison the object of the campaign would be accomplished, and leave no laurels to be gathered by the reinforcing party.

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[5] George Croghan of Louisville subsequently deceased as inspector Gen. U. S. Army; John O'Fallon of Louisville now the millionaire of St. Louis Missouri—O Fallon and Croghan nephews of Gen. George Rogers Clark; Harbin H. Moore of Louisville, subsequently Capt, U. S. Army, and Hynes of Bardstown, Ky.

At Fort Harrison the expedition crossed the Wabash and shortly after was joined by Captain Geigers company. At the mouth of Vermillion river, two days were occupied in building a block house, and there were left the water craft, and surplus baggage, under a guard—proceeding up the Wabash on the 6th of November about 3 P. M. the force was within 200 yards of the Prophet's town, and was there met by several indians who assured Gov. Harrison that on the morrow a meeting would be arranged and all difficulties adjusted satisfactorily to his government, and they begged that the troops would be restrained from entering the town and frightening their women and children by occupying their town. Our spies[6] reported an eligible camping ground a mile distant, and the expedition was directed to it. It is a tongue of land jutting into the prarie (then a swamp) in the form of a sad iron, elevated some 8 feet on the two sides above the lowland and being about 200 yards across the upland at the base of the triangle.

It appeared that the indians had been impressed with the idea that the army had cannon, but on the 6th the negro driver of Gen. Harrison's cart mixed among them and informed them that no big guns accompanied the expedition. For this treachery, the negro was by a court martial forthwith convicted and condemned to be shot, provided an attack from the indians should ensue—The sentence however was not carried into effect—It is supposed that had the expedition been provided with Cannon, the indians would have been deterred from assaulting our force.

It should be bourn in mind that Gen. Harrisons instructions were to insist upon the fulfilment of treaty stipulations and to avoid hostilities.

The expedition having occupied the ground selected by their spies, threw up a breast work across the end of the encampment where it was continued from the upland and the troops being shown their places of parade in case of attack, and ordered to show no white about their dress with sentinels doubled, slept upon their arms.

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[6] In conjunction with Quarter Master Piatt and Marston G. Clark.

Capt. Funk was arroused two hours before day on the 7th by the yells of the Indians, and the ringing of their fire arms; the morning was dark, and drizzly, nothing could be seen but the flashes of the enemies guns. He immediately mounted his troop which had been stationed near Gov. Harrisons marquee, the occupant of which he repeatedly saw or rather heard during the conflict—finding that the enemies missils reached some of his men while they were unable to annoy their foe he ordered them to dismount and, with sabre and pistol in hand, to stand beside thier horses, ready to repel any attack, that should force the lines of infantry in their front. Thus stationed they ceased to offer objects for the indians aim as the shoulder of the bluff on which the encampment was located afforded protection to those who obstained from showing occupying its margin or elevating themselves on horse back.

The ground occupied by the indians was in the swamp at the two lower sides of the triangle heretofore described, and as a consequence, their missils could do but little harm except to such, as in most cases needlessely exposed themselves near or on the verge of the plateau, but on the left of the encampment, left as you stood with your back to the breast work on the upland there was some down timber on the verge of the plateau, which the Indians having occupied, a galling fire was kept up by them on our encampment. Col. Daviess who some time previously had selected twenty of the best mounted and equipped men from the Cavalry, which selection the governor upon remonstrance from the mounted troops, had refused to dissalow, after the fireing had continued about ¾ of an hour, came to the Gov. and in the hearing of Capt. Funk asked "Will you permit me to dislodge those d— d— savages behind those logs",—The Governor replied denying his request—again in the hearing of Capt. Funk he applyed to the Governor and met a similar response. Subsequently (as he informed Capt. F. after the engagment) he obtained the Gov.'s permission. On foot, wearing a white Capot, he lead his 20 picked men (also on foot) toward the indians masked by the down timbers; when within 30 or 40 yards of his object he fell, shot between the right hip and ribs. From the position he must have occupied, the down timbers on his left his men somewhat to the right, it is fairly inferable that the shot proceeded from our ranks; the attack failed, and the Colonel was bourn to his tent.

Daybreak on the 7th of November in rain, come a little after six o'clock. As the day dawned the infantry in squads charged upon the savages and Funk's and Bagg's companies outstripping the foot men drove the indians into the swamps as far as practicable for horsemen to follow; this was the end of the action.

Great consternation prevailed in the little band, who had thus gallantly repulsed this treacherous night attack, for 10 days it had been reduced to half rations, their few cattle had stampeded during the engagement while they expected from rummors that had obtained currancy, that the indians would return to the attack, reinforced by Tecumseh the warrior at the head of 1000 indians.

About 8½ oclock Capt. Funk waited on Col. Daviess and assisted in changing his clothes and dressing his wound. The colonel was in great pain and consternation fearing the expedition would retreat abandoning its baggage and wounded & he exacted from the Capt. the assurance that in no event would he leave him behind. The Col. a distinguished lawyer who had joined in the campaign from a love of adventure, expired at 1 P. M. the same day.

Although our troops were satisfied that they inflicted severe punishment upon their savage foe, They were aware that if Tecumseh should reinforce them, their situation would be eminently critical.

The day of the 7th was devoted to the care of the wounded to whom all the provisions in the camp were assigned, the burial of our dead, and the strengthening of the encampment. Night found every man mounting guard, without food, fire or light, and in a drizzling rain. The Indian dogs during the dark hours produced frequent alarms by prowling in search of carrion about the sentinels. The 8th dawned fair, the spies for the first time ventured from the encampment, and visiting the prophets town found it abandoned by the indians with the exception of a wounded warrior and an old squaw. Great was the joy in camp when they returned bearing strings of corn as it was evident from the indians abondoning their store of food they had retreated precipitately, after being well whipped. The wagons and mounted men then proceeded to the town and after charging themselves with all the copper & brass kettles they could find, and all the beans and corn they could carry, the remaining property & town was destroyed. On this same day leaving the warrior and squaw at the encampment with abundant store of beans & corn, the expedition, having 22 wagons of wounded retraced its steps arriving at the Block house, on the Vermillion on the third day the troops having drawn no rations since the engagement. Proceeding thence to Fort Harrison & Vincennes & Louisville the Capt.'s Company was mustered out of service at the latter place.

The Captain says that the ground selected at Tippecanoe was eminently adapted for the encampment of the expedition. That Col. Davis's horse was a roan purchased of Frank Moore of Louisville, that Col. Owens was shot from the back of his own white horse & that Gen. Harrison's white horse was ridden against his order by Mr. [Waller] Taylor, his aid. The Captain, also says that the design of Gov. Harrison was that in case of attack his troops should not leave the stations assigned them so long as they could not see—had his orders been followed in this regard many lives would have been spared, as the break of the plateau sheltered our men, and enabled them by lying down to return the indians fire without being exposed.[7]

BARTHOLOMEW TO HARRISON

7th March 1811

Mss. in Indiana State Library

To His Excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON *Governor and Commander in chief of the Indiana Territory*

SIR

they following gentlemen is recommended to fill the vaconcies in the Militia of Clark County ss

William Patrick John McCoy William Montgomery and James Bigger Captains—

John Jenkins John Herrod Henry Joiles and John Chun Lieutenants—

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[7] This was written in 1862 by D. R. Poignand of Taylorsville at the dictation of Captain Funk. Pirtle, *Tippecanoe*, 21. Lossing visited Funk and perhaps used this Mss., Lossing, *Field-Book War of 1812*, 204-6, notes. The first six footnotes are by the author of the Mss. or by Mr. Poignand. The reference to Harbin Moore is interesting but it is not to the famous Indiana lawyer.

Thomas Jacobs Joseph Carr Joseph Bowers and Joseph Stillwell Ensigns—

Col Clark and Mr. Gwathmey will attend to the vacancy occasioned by the death of Capt Thompson

I have the Honor to be very respectfully
Sir your Humble Servant

JOSEPH BARTHOLOMEW *Commanding Clark Militia*

BARTHOLOMEW TO HARRISON

August 11th 1811

His Excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

SIR

Inclosd you will find a general Return of the Several detachments of Militia from the 2d—5th & 6th Regiments of Indiana Militia—I am sorry the are not more complete. The uncertainty whether we will March or not is very much in the way of having the companies complet in every respect. If we get a few days notice before we march I have no doubt but we shall appear in good order So far as Respects the Companies from my Regiment. The following gentlemen were Elected as Officers in the Militia of the second Regiment of Indiana Militia—viz William Kelly Captain Philip Boyer Lieut—and Daniel Stark Ensign in a new Company form-d in the upper part of the County—Tobias Miller Capt in the Jeffersonville Company—please to commission the above gentlemen—The light Company mentioned in my last is not completed—

I have the Honor to be very respectfully
Sir your Humble Servant—

JOSEPH BARTHOLOMEW *Lieut. Col. 2d R. I. M.*

PETITION TO HARRISON

Comr 20th Augt 1811

His Excellency WILLIAM H. HARRISON Esqr *Governor of the Indiana Territory*

SIR

We the Subscriber Inhabitents of Clarksville Township beg live to State to Your Exclency that we labour Under Difficulties for want of another Justice of The peace in This Township in Consequence of Mr. Lemon's Declining business, There is Now None but Andw Gilwick Esqr Acting in The Township and placeing Confidence in The Abilities of Salmon Fuller beg live to Recommend him to your Exelency As a fit person for That Office.

Andw Gilwick
Aron Aplegate
Jacob S. Holt
William Goldsby
Richd Pile
John A. Knight
Waller Taylor
James Lemon

Genl Gibson will please to make out a commission for Martin Huckleberry as Coroner & Solomon Fuller as Justice of the peace for Clark County—

W. H. Harrison

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